

CAMBRIDGE WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ELAM

Formation and Transformation of
an Ancient Iranian State

D. T. POTTS

SECOND EDITION



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ELAM

Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State

Elam was an important state in southwestern Iran from the third millennium BC to the appearance of the Persian Empire and beyond. Less well-known than its neighbours in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, the Levant or Egypt, it was nonetheless a region of extraordinary cultural vitality. This book examines the formation and transformation of Elam's many identities through both archaeological and written evidence; it brings to life one of the most important regions of western Asia, re-evaluates its significance and places it in the context of the most recent archaeological and historical scholarship. This new edition includes material from more than 800 additional sources, reflecting the enormous amount of fieldwork and scholarship on Iran since 1999. Every chapter contains new insights and material that have been seamlessly integrated into the text in order to give the reader an up-to-date understanding of ancient Elam.

D.T. Potts is Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and History at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. He is the editor of *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (2013) and the author of *Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era* (2014), as well as numerous other books and articles in scholarly journals.

CAMBRIDGE WORLD ARCHAEOLOGY

SERIES EDITOR

NORMAN YOFFEE, *University of Michigan*

EDITORIAL BOARD

SUSAN ALCOCK, *Brown University*

TOM DILLEHAY, *Vanderbilt University*

STEPHEN SHENNAN, *University College, London*

CARLA SINOPOLI, *University of Michigan*

DAVID WENGROW, *University College London*

TIM PAUKETAT, *University of Illinois*

The *Cambridge World Archaeology* series is addressed to students and professional archaeologists, and to academics in related disciplines. Most volumes present a survey of the archaeology of a region of the world, providing an up-to-date account of research and integrating recent findings with new concerns of interpretation. While the focus is on a specific region, broader cultural trends are discussed and the implications of regional findings for cross-cultural interpretations considered. The authors also bring anthropological and historical expertise to bear on archaeological problems and show how both new data and changing intellectual trends in archaeology shape inferences about the past. More recently, the series has expanded to include thematic volumes.

RECENT BOOKS IN THE SERIES

ROBIN CONINGHAM AND RUTH YOUNG, *The Archaeology of South Asia*

CLAUDIA SAGONA, *The Archaeology of Malta*

FRANCES F. BERDAN, *Aztec Archaeology and Ethnohistory*

PETER MAGEE, *The Archaeology of Prehistoric Arabia*

KOJI MIZOGUCHI, *The Archaeology of Japan*

MIKE SMITH, *The Archaeology of Australia's Deserts*

A. BERNARD KNAPP, *The Archaeology of Cyprus*

LI LIU AND XINGCAN CHEN, *The Archaeology of China*

STEPHEN D. HOUSTON AND TAKESHI INOMATA,
The Classic Maya

PHILIP L. KOHL, *The Making of Bronze Age Eurasia*

LAWRENCE BARHAM AND PETER MITCHELL,
The First Africans

ROBIN DENNELL, *The Palaeolithic Settlement of Asia*

CHRISTOPHER POOL, *Olmec Archaeology and Early Mesoamerica*

SAMUEL M. WILSON, *The Archaeology of the Caribbean*

RICHARD BRADLEY, *The Prehistory of Britain*

LUDMILA KORYAKOVA AND ANDREJ EPIMAKHOV, *The Urals and Western
Siberia in the Bronze and Iron Ages*

DAVID WENGROW, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt*

PAUL RAINBIRD, *The Archaeology of Micronesia*

PETER M.M.G. AKKERMANS AND GLENN M. SCHWARTZ, *The Archaeology
of Syria*

TIMOTHY INSOLL, *The Archaeology of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa*

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ELAM

Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State

Second Edition

D.T. POTTS

Institute for the Study of the Ancient World



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107476639

© D. T. Potts 1999, 2016

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1999

Second edition 2016

Printed in the United States of America by Sheridan Books, Inc.

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Potts, Daniel T.

The archaeology of Elam: formation and transformation of an ancient Iranian state / D.T. Potts, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World. – [2015 edition]

pages cm. – (Cambridge world archaeology)

Original edition published: 1999.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-09469-7 (alk. paper) – ISBN 978-1-107-47663-9 (pbk.)

1. Elam – Antiquities. 2. Elam – History. I. Title.

DS65.P68 2015

935'.764-dc23

2015024725

ISBN 978-1-107-09469-7 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-47663-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

For Hildy, Rowena, Morgan and Hallam, with much love

CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	page x
<i>List of tables</i>	xv
<i>Preface to the second edition</i>	xix
<i>Preface and acknowledgements</i>	xxi
<i>Acknowledgements for photographic reproduction</i>	xxvii
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	xxix
<i>Note on transliteration and dating systems</i>	xxxvii
1 Elam: what, when, where?	I
2 Environment, climate and resources	14
3 The immediate precursors of Elam	47
4 Elam and Awan	79
5 The dynasty of Shimashki	123
6 The grand regents of Elam and Susa	148
7 The kingdom of Susa and Anshan	176
8 The Neo-Elamite period	249
9 Elam in the Achaemenid empire	307
10 Elymais	348
11 Elam under the Sasanians and beyond	407
12 Conclusion	428
<i>References</i>	441
<i>Index</i>	501

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

1.1 Archaeological sites in western Iran, principally of the earlier periods.	<i>page 2</i>
1.2 Detailed map showing archaeological sites in Luristan and Khuzistan of the earlier periods.	3
1.3 Detailed map showing archaeological sites in Fars through the Bronze Age.	4
1.4 Jean Chardin's copy of DPc.	8
2.1 General map of Iran.	15
4.1 Old Akkadian list of personnel from Susa (MDP 14 no. 18), including twenty-one Amorites and twenty-nine Marhashians.	105
4.2 Ration text listing quantities of grain for Anamu and 'the Marhashian' (MDP 14 no. 23), possibly dating to the reign of Naram-Sin.	106
4.3 Bone (?) cylinder seal from Susa with Harappan signs.	111
4.4 Inscription (Sb 55; Table 4.12.1) on the lower portion of a statue of Puzur-Inshushinak.	115
6.1 Drawing of the Simut-Wartash inscription from Liyan.	169
6.2 The Kurangun relief.	173
6.3 Naqsh-i Rostam II, showing a scene of homage being paid to Bahram II, overcut on top of and partially obscuring an older Elamite relief.	174
7.1 Fragmentary inscription of Shutruk-Nahhunte from Susa on sandstone enumerating tribute in gold, silver, copper and other commodities received from Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Akkad, Upi and other cities.	228
8.1 Depiction of the city of Madaktu from slab 6, lower register, Room XXXIII in Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, bearing Assurbanipal's epigraph, KUR <i>ma-dak-te</i> 'land of Madaktu'.	264
8.2 'Assyrian warriors in a cart captured from the Elamites'.	274
8.3 Alabastron from Susa with an inscription of Amel-Marduk reading '3 GAR 1/3 [<i>qa</i>] palace of Amel-Marduk, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon'.	287

8.4	Depiction of the figures on the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Sb 16) from Susa.	293
8.5	General plan of Izeh showing the locations of Kul-e Farah and Shikaft-e Salman.	297
8.6	Drawing of Hanni as depicted on the Kul-e Farah I relief.	300
8.7	Drawing of the Shikaft-e Salman II showing Hanni and his family.	301
9.1	Map of southwestern Iran showing the principal sites mentioned in Chapters 9–11.	309
9.2	Greek pottery from Susa.	322
9.3	Collated line drawing of PFS 93★ on the reverse of table PF 692, from the Persepolis Fortification Archive.	334
10.1	Map of southwestern Iran showing the principal sites mentioned in Chapters 10 and 11.	350
10.2	Column base with Greek inscription from Susa.	356
10.3	Detail of the inscription on the column base found by Loftus.	356
10.4	Hung-i Azhdar.	385
10.5	Tang-i Sarvak III.	402

PLATES

1.1	Château Susa, the fortified excavation house begun on the Acropole by Jacques de Morgan in 1898.	9
1.2	View over the site of Susa taken from the Château.	10
1.3	View from the site of Susa towards the reputed tomb of the prophet Daniel.	10
2.1	The environment around Pol-e Murd in the mountains between Mamasani and Marv Dasht.	18
3.1	Susa II seal impressions showing a horned building (Sb 2125).	52
3.2	Visitors standing on top of the monumental city wall at Tal-i Malyan.	74
5.1	Tepe Surkhgan (Adamdun?).	125
5.2	The Awan-Shimashki king list from Susa.	136
5.3	Seal impression of the seal of Kuk-Simut given by Idaddu II.	139
5.4	‘Anshanite’ scene under a grape arbor; seal and modern impression in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, serpentine; 3.3 cm high.	142
6.1	Choga Pahn.	164
6.2	Tol-e Peytul (Liyan).	164
6.3	Incised greyware vessel from Susa, excavated 1937 by Roland de Mecquenem and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1948 by exchange for surveying equipment.	165
6.4	The Simut-Wartash inscription from Liyan.	168
6.5	The rock relief at Kurangun.	170
6.6	Close-up of the central panel at Kurangun.	171
6.7	The seated deity on a snake throne at Kurangun.	172
6.8	Attendant figures in procession at Kurangun.	173
6.9	Relief of Bahram II at Naqsh-e Rostam overcutting an earlier Elamite relief.	174

7.1 Fragmentary seal impression (H.T.S. 153b) of Tepti-ahar from Haft Tepe.	180
7.2 View of Haft Tepe.	184
7.3 Goods from the grave of Ginadu at Haft Tepe.	187
7.4 Cylinder seal from the grave of Ginadu at Haft Tepe.	187
7.5 Funerary head from Susa.	188
7.6 Painted pottery from Haft Tepe.	189
7.7 Sword from Haft Tepe.	189
7.8 Inventory of silver objects in Akkadian (H.T. 05-13-134; 13.3 × 10 cm) from the archive room at Haft Tepe.	194
7.9 Female figurine from Haft Tepe.	195
7.10 General view of excavations at Deh-e Now.	202
7.11 Middle Elamite grave at Deh-e Now.	203
7.12 Tol-e Bormi.	205
7.13 Gold and silver male figurines from Deposit II at Susa.	211
7.14 The statue of Napir-Asu.	212
7.15 Detail of Napir-Asu's hands.	213
7.16 The ziggurat of Choga Zanbil.	216
7.17 An inscribed brick in the façade of the ziggurat of Choga Zanbil.	216
7.18 Glazed ceramic wall plaque from Choga Zanbil.	217
7.19 The staircase of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, looking upward.	218
7.20 The staircase of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, looking downward.	219
7.21 The <i>sit shamshi</i> from Susa.	232
7.22 The moulded brick façade from Susa.	233
7.23 Middle Elamite brick ME52.74.1 (7.92 × 13.64 × 22.53 cm) from Susa, with an inscription commemorating Hutelutush-Inshushinak's renovation of the temple of Upurkupak at Shalulikki.	239
7.24 A view of Qal'e Geli.	245
8.1 Restored stele of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Sb 16, 93.5 × 65.6 cm) from Susa.	292
8.2 Photo of Hanni as depicted on the Kul-e Farah I relief.	298
8.3 Shikaft-e Salman II.	299
8.4 Kul-e Farah III.	302
8.5 Detail of worshippers supporting the platform at Kul-e Farah III.	303
8.6 Kul-e Farah II.	303
9.1 The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae.	311
9.2 The winged genius of Gate R, Pasargadae.	312
9.3 The Bisotun relief.	313
9.4 The trilingual inscription in Palace P at Pasargadae.	315
9.5 Sar-i Pol 1.	317
9.6 The statue of 'Penelope' from Corridor 31 in the Persepolis Treasury.	320
9.7 Photograph of PFS 93* on the reverse of table PF 692, from the Persepolis Fortification Archive.	335
9.8 A Persian in court dress wearing an Elamite dagger at Persepolis.	337
9.9 A gold daric from Susa (8.31 g, 15.6 mm in dia.).	338

9.10	The Elamite delegation (upper register) bringing lion cubs and a leashed lioness, preceded by Persian attendants bearing Elamite daggers and duck-headed bows.	339
9.11	Detail of the relief on Grave 5 at Persepolis. An Elamite appears, third from the left, in the upper register of throne bearers.	340
10.1	Gold stater of Alexander the Great, minted at Babylon (8.525 g, 18 mm in dia.).	349
10.2	Silver tetradrachm (16.74 g) of Seleucus I's trophy type minted at Susa.	351
10.3	Bronze of Seleucus I minted at Susa with obverse head of Alexander wearing elephant-skin headgear and a reverse vertical anchor and legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ.	352
10.4	Silver hemidrachm of Seleucus I minted at Susa (1.69 g, 12.5 mm in dia.).	352
10.5	Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus III, minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (14.09 g, 27.5 mm in dia.).	353
10.6	Copper of Molon minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (8.31 g, 22.5 mm in dia.).	354
10.7	The terrace at Mas'jid-i Solaiman.	366
10.8	The Heracles relief at Bisotun.	368
10.9	Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus IV, minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (14.09 g, 27.5 mm in dia.).	377
10.10	Silver tetradrachm of Demetrius II, minted at Abydos (13.33 g, 25.9 mm in dia.).	382
10.11	Silver drachm of Mithridates I (4.47 g, 19.6 mm in dia.).	384
10.12	Hung-i Azhdar.	386
10.13	Detail of Hung-i Azhdar.	387
10.14	Silver tetradrachm of Hyspaosines of Charax (16.68 g, 33.4 mm in dia.).	388
10.15	Silver drachm of Phraates IV (3.9 g, 22.6 mm in dia.).	393
10.16	Silver drachm of Gotarzes II (11.1 g, 27.3 mm in dia.).	395
10.17	The terrace at Bard-e Nechandeh.	395
10.18	Copper of Orodes I of Elymais (3.67 g, 15.1 mm in dia.).	399
10.19	Silver drachm of Orodes II of Elymais (2.95 g, 14.6 mm in dia.).	399
10.20	Tang-i Sarvak II.	400
10.21	Tang-i Sarvak II.	401
10.22	Tang-i Sarvak III.	401
10.23	Tang-i Sarvak IV.	402
11.1	Silver drachm of Ardashir (3.71 g, 25 mm in dia.).	408
11.2	Silver drachm of Artabanus IV (3.57 g, 18.5 mm in dia.).	409
11.3	Silver drachm of Shapur I (3.99 g, 26.9 mm in dia.).	411
11.4	Aureus of Gordian III, minted AD 238–44 shortly before his capture by Shapur I (4.9 g, 21 mm in dia.).	411
11.5	Silver antoninianus of Valerian, minted in AD 257 at Mediolanum (Milan) (3.545 g, 21.5 mm in dia.).	412
11.6	Naqsh-i Rostam VI showing Shapur I's triumph over Valerian (standing) and Philip the Arab (kneeling).	412

11.7	Sasanian weir at Dizful.	413
11.8	Silver antoninianus of Aurelian, minted AD 270–5 at Antioch-on-the-Orontes (4.13 g, 25.1 mm in dia.).	417
11.9	Silver drachm of Shapur II (3.735 g, 26 mm in dia.).	421
11.10	Silver drachm of Khusrau II (4.1 g, 31.5 mm in dia.).	424

T A B L E S

2.1 Elevation, rainfall and temperature data from southwestern Iran.	<i>page</i> 17
2.2 Relative distribution of ancient and modern village sites in environmental zones within the Mahidasht survey area.	28
2.3 Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through Chalcolithic) in Luristan.	29
2.4 Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through Chalcolithic) in Fars.	33
2.5 Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through early third millennium BC) in Khuzistan.	34
2.6 Distribution of minerals in Iran according to Chinese, medieval and early modern records.	36
2.7 Cultivars in early Khuzistan.	39
2.8 Aromatics (resins, gums and volatile oils) native to various parts of Iran.	40
2.9 Hans Wulff's 'list of useful timber . . . compiled in conversations with woodworking craftsmen and peasants' and archaeologically attested tree species from excavated sites in western Iran.	41
3.1 Distribution and characteristics of bullae and tablets in levels 18–16, Acropole Sounding 1, Susa.	62
3.2 Comparison of the formal and structural characteristics of Mesopotamian proto-cuneiform (Jamdat Nasr/Uruk III period) and Susa III texts.	69
4.1 Summary of the conflict between Eannatum and regions to the east.	83
4.2 Elam and Elamites in pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash.	84
4.3 Overview of the archaeological assemblages of the Pusht-i Kuh.	87
4.4 Principal sites of the Deh Luran plain in northern Khuzistan during the early third millennium BC.	88
4.5 Eastern regions named in the Old Babylonian copies of Sargon of Agade's royal inscriptions.	93
4.6 Eastern regions named in original and Old Babylonian copies of Rimush's royal inscriptions.	95
4.7 Akkadian regents in Elam during the Old Akkadian period.	97
4.8 Elamite names attested at Susa during the Old Akkadian period.	102

4.9	Elamite names attested in southern Mesopotamia during the Old Akkadian period.	103
4.10	Susa and Tepe Farukhabad during the late third millennium BC.	107
4.11	Diagnostic metal artifact types at Susa during the late third millennium BC.	108
4.12	Inscriptions of Puzur-Inshushinak.	113
5.1	Groups and countries constituting ‘Elam’ during the Ur III period.	127
5.2	Synopsis of relations between the Third Dynasty of Ur and Elam.	128
5.3	Expenditures for travellers to and from Elam at Puzrish-Dagan (Drehem) during the Ur III period.	131
5.4	Shimashkian kings attested in texts and cylinder seal legends.	137
5.5	Shimashkian kings attested during the Ur III and early Isin periods, with those named in the Shimashki king list.	138
5.6	Distribution of dated tablets belonging to the archive of the scribe Igibuni in Ville Royale B, level 7.	142
5.7	Kaftari site distribution in comparison to the growth of Malyan.	143
6.1	Tentative sequence of the <i>sukkalmaḥs</i> and their relationships to other high-ranking officials.	151
6.2	Relations between Mari and Elam according to texts from Mari.	159
6.3	References to <i>sukkalmaḥs</i> in texts from Ville Royale A, levels XI and XII.	162
6.4	Brick inscriptions showing the building activities of various <i>sukkalmaḥs</i> at Susa.	163
7.1	Summary of Haft Tepe stele 1.	185
7.2	Summaries of selected texts from the Haft Tepe temple complex.	191
7.3	References to Tepti-ahar and other high-ranking officials in the Haft Tepe texts.	196
7.4	Stratigraphic distribution of texts mentioning rulers from the Middle Elamite II and III periods at Susa.	198
7.5	Tentative family tree of the Igihalkids.	198
7.6	The ‘Berlin’ letter.	199
7.7	Selection of important Middle Elamite II inscriptions from Susa, Bushire and Deh-e Now.	200
7.8	Deities for whom Untash-Napirisha built or reconstructed various religious buildings.	206
7.9	Mesopotamian booty seized by Shutruk-Nahhunte and other Elamite kings which was recovered at Susa.	226
7.10	Shilhak-Inshushinak’s building works at Susa.	231
7.11	Shilhak-Inshushinak’s western campaign as related in Šil S 27 = EKI §54.	235
7.12	Radiocarbon chronology of Middle Elamite occupation at Tal-i Malyan.	241
8.1	Summary of Sargon II’s Elamite campaign.	256
8.2	Epigraphs elucidating the depictions of Assurbanipal’s triumph over Te’umman in Room XXXIII of Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh.	272
8.3	Synopsis of the content of Assurbanipal’s Elamite room (XXXIII) in Sennacherib’s palace at Nineveh.	273

8.4 Early Achaemenid genealogy according to Herodotus, the Bisotun inscription, the Cyrus Cylinder and P. de Miroschedji.	281
8.5 Objects inscribed by Neo-Babylonian kings from Susa and Persepolis.	286
9.1 Development of the Bisotun monument.	314
9.2 Selection of Persepolis fortification texts of various types mentioning Susa.	321
9.3 Selection of Persepolis fortification texts of various types mentioning Elam.	321
9.4 Summary of Darius' inscriptions from Susa.	324
9.5 Elamite deities attested in the Persepolis fortification texts.	341
9.6 Elamite personal names with theophoric elements in the Persepolis fortification texts.	342
10.1 Greek inscriptions from Susa published in CII II/1.	358
10.2 Babylonian astronomical diaries, 145–77 BC, mentioning Elam.	371
10.3 Main features of Elymaean coinage.	397
10.4 Chronological distribution of Elymaean rock reliefs.	403
11.1 Chronological and spatial distribution of early Christian and Nestorian (post AD 409) bishops in Khuzistan.	418

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

More than fifteen years have passed since the original publication of *The Archaeology of Elam* in 1999. Much of relevance to Elamite studies has occurred in the intervening years. In addition to the hundreds of new publications that have appeared (for compilations of bibliography see Haerinck and Stevens 2005; De Schacht and Haerinck 2013; Jahangirfar 2015; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2015), many older works have been consulted here that were not incorporated into the original edition, amounting to an augmentation of the references list by more than 800 titles. Moreover, several important conferences on Elam and Iranian archaeology have taken place. But perhaps most importantly, fieldwork in Iran has been conducted by both Iranian teams and joint expeditions involving Iranian and American, Australian, British, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Polish and other scholars (see e.g. Azarnoush and Helwing 2005). These have investigated a wide range of topics touching on nearly all aspects of Elam's history and archaeology.

As a result of these developments, Asya Graf, Archaeology and Renaissance Studies editor at Cambridge University Press, and I decided, in the autumn of 2013, that a second, revised edition of *The Archaeology of Elam* was warranted. My thanks go to Cambridge University Press, and Asya Graf in particular, for facilitating this revision. While I have no wish to alter the dedication of this book to my family, I would like to acknowledge the large number of colleagues, particularly in Iran, who have shared their knowledge of Elam with me over the years, and furthered the study of this subject. Iranian history and archaeology are nothing if not diverse. I would not wish to suggest that Elam is more worthy of study than many other aspects of Iranian antiquity. Yet having embarked in earnest on the trail of the ancient Elamites many years ago, I am happy to travel down that path yet again, this time with considerably more data at hand than was previously the case.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Of all the major constituents of the ancient Near East, Elam has surely proven one of the more difficult to come to grips with. For most students of antiquity Elam appears aloof, somewhat exotic – a place of hard-to-pronounce names, unfamiliar sites, a poorly understood language and a somewhat barbaric population to the east of Mesopotamia. Alternately subject to Mesopotamian domination or busily subverting it as best they could, the Elamites are present in the archaeological and written record for thousands of years, reacting to foreign aggression, forging local alliances of which we have few details, cropping up in the written record of their western neighbours, saying little of themselves in their own inscriptions. Archaeologists and historians have consciously or unconsciously regarded the brutal Assyrian campaigns against the Elamites in the seventh century BC as the [final chapter](#) in their troubled history, the rise of the Achaemenid Persians as a new dawn in Iranian antiquity which heralded the start of another era. Yet the Elamites and their language crop up in post-Elamite, ‘Persian’ Iran. Elamites appear in the histories of Alexander the Great and his Seleucid successors. In the guise of Elymaeans they fought for independence against the later Arsacid dynasty. And in the early Medieval era ‘Elam’ became the name of an ecclesiastical province of one of the most important branches of eastern Christianity, the Nestorian church. Anyone interested in the creation of identity and ethnicity, in the past or the present, will find in the story of Elam a palimpsest of ever-changing definitions of what it meant to be Elamite, glimpses of which are revealed in a patchwork of archaeological and epigraphic evidence as difficult to comprehend as any in the ancient Near East.

Numerous distinguished historians, sociologists, social theorists and anthropologists have explored the invention of national and ethnic consciousness and identity (e.g. Nash [1989](#); Hobsbawm and Ranger [1983](#); Hobsbawm [1990](#); Fullbrook [1993](#); Teich and Porter [1993](#); Gillis [1994](#); Pickett [1996](#); Ross [1996](#); Bischof and Pelinka [1997](#)), leaving us in no doubt that these are socially

constructed and highly mutable. By the time the reader has reached the end of this book I would hope that not merely the artificiality of the construct ‘Elam’, but the notion that many Elams were constructed over time, no two of which were probably coterminous culturally, politically or geographically with each other, will have become clear. Every period – each in itself an artificial construct of modern scholars – is characterised by an Elam of the external written sources (initially Sumerian and Akkadian, later Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc.), an Elam of the indigenous archaeological and epigraphic sources and an Elam of twentieth-century historiography. Why I have chosen to speak of the formation and transformation of Elam in the title of this study is precisely because of the mutability of Elam through time, an entity which was constructed and re-created continuously by ancient participants in the Elamite cultural and linguistic community, ancient observers of the Elamites and modern students of the subject.

In 1900 the French historian Henri Berr’s ‘terrible craving for synthesis’ led him to establish the *Revue de synthèse historique* (Keylor 1975: 133; cf. Müller 1994: xvi–xvii), just as a desire for *histoire totale* spurred Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch to found the journal *Annales d’Histoire Economique et Sociale* twenty-nine years later (Lyon 1987: 200). While not presuming to class the present work amongst the many influential studies in *Annaliste* history which have emerged since *Annales* began appearing, nor wishing to join an avowedly *Annaliste* club of archaeologists (e.g. Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992), I am nevertheless adamant in declaring that this is explicitly a work of synthesis which wholeheartedly embraces the tenets of *histoire totale*, and I am happy to be counted amongst those ‘rash souls who wish to move outside the limits of what they themselves have studied and aspire to a comprehensive view’ (trans. Keylor 1975: 133). Because I do not believe that one can arrive at a satisfactory understanding of Elam by chopping it into chronological bits or looking only at its art or texts, I have striven to cover all periods in Elamite history using all types of available evidence, whether architectural, ceramic, numismatic, radiometric, epigraphic, literary, environmental, religious or ethnographic. In my view, we need the chronologically extended synthesis as much as the particular analytical focus sometimes referred to as microhistory (Egmond and Mason 1997). Without time depth and topical breadth we would be unable to chart the repeated restructuring of Elam through time. And because I can see no justification for terminating the story of the Elamites with the campaigns of Assyria and the emergence of the Achaemenid Persian empire, the present study ranges into the Seleucid, Parthian, Sasanian and early Islamic periods, eras which have traditionally been considered ‘post-Elamite’. If some readers have difficulty in this attenuation of Elamite archaeology and history, they need not bother with the final chapters. But I hope that others will see, perhaps for the first time, that the story of Elam and the Elamites does not end with Assurbanipal or the coming of Cyrus the Great.

The quantity of data presented here may suggest that I have succumbed to a kind of naive historicism and abandoned the traditional concern of archaeologists with long-term trends and societal morphology. I trust I have not fallen prey to the former, but I freely admit that I have eschewed the latter. The amount of detail which confronts readers of this book is vital to the arguments outlined in [Chapter 12](#), however, for while I may embrace the idea of *histoire totale* in this study, I conclude by rejecting the notion of the *longue durée*. These more theoretical views, however, are largely confined to this Preface and the conclusion of this book, and readers should approach the intervening chapters without fear of suddenly finding themselves on the ideological battleground of historical method. That is not the *raison d'être* of this book. It is still a study of Elam in its many manifestations, even if that study seems to me to raise important questions about how we interpret the past.

But apart from wishing to create an *histoire totale* of Elam, there is another important reason for writing a work of synthesis like this. If Elam today is not exactly a household word, then that is less a reflection of its role in antiquity than a by-product of two major linguistic problems. For on the one hand, the difficulties posed by the Elamite language have made Elamite texts much less amenable to translation and interpretation than those of Sumer, Assyria or Babylonia, not to mention Greece or Rome. On the other hand, the fact that perhaps two-thirds of the scholarship available on Elam is written in French and German has meant that Anglophone students and laypersons, in particular, have only had access to a very limited number of primary and secondary publications on Elam. This predicament is not unique to Elamite studies, but as I have taught the archaeology and early history of Elam off and on over the past seventeen years it has become increasingly clear to me that the subject is made inherently more difficult than, for example, North American or Australian archaeology, precisely because students 'doing' Elam will only get a very fractured view of the subject if they are limited to the literature available in English. I do not wish to imply, of course, that there are no good, accessible works in English on Elam already available. It is, nevertheless, true to say that those book-length, synthetic studies which already exist in English (e.g. Cameron 1936; Hinz 1972; Carter and Stolper 1984) have not nearly said the last word on the subject. None of them can be remotely considered up-to-date, and each concludes with the rise of the Achaemenid empire, neglecting more than a millennium of later Elamite history. In spite of the impossibility of conducting archaeological fieldwork in Iran today, journals each year continue to receive and publish numerous studies of a microhistorical type which are dedicated to Elam. But like Henri Berr, I cannot help but comment on the stubborn reluctance of many contemporary authors of *Elamitica* to stand up and demonstrate 'how obscure, marginal, or unusual cases can be used to address crucial historical issues' (Egmond and Mason 1997: 2–3). The study of Elam may not be long for this world if cogent, readable syntheses are not available

with which to teach the subject. I have attempted to write such a study here. In an effort to guide readers unfamiliar with Elam through the maze of material assembled, I have offered text boxes at the beginning of each chapter which briefly summarize the matter to be discussed; maps showing the sites mentioned in the text; and a summary chart at the end of each chapter which highlights the main points of interest within the lowlands, highlands, Mesopotamia and the entity 'Elam' in each period and adds relevant dates for chronological orientation.

This book was written at the University of Sydney, where I taught Elam to Australian undergraduates, and revised at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. Initially, my bibliographical resources were those of Fisher Library, undoubtedly the best library for a study of this sort in Australia. By the time this revision was made, the world had changed and websites like the Internet Archive (archive.org), Academia.edu, Google Scholar and Google Books, not to mention JSTOR and online journals, had made literature available which was simply not accessible to me in the 1990s. For their gracious help in sending me offprints and pdfs of useful literature, I would like to acknowledge with thanks the late A.B. Bosworth (Perth), P. Briant (Toulouse), J.A. Brinkman (Chicago), A. Caubet (Paris), J. Córdoba (Madrid), R.K. Englund (Los Angeles), E. Haerinck (Ghent), H. Hunger (Vienna), M. Jursa (Vienna), P. Kalensky (Paris), A. Kuhrt (London), P. Magee (Bryn Mawr), P. Michalowski (Ann Arbor), B. Mofidi-Nasrabadi (Mainz), the late P.R.S. Moorey (Oxford), H.J. Nissen (Berlin), D. Prechel (Mainz), the late H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (Groningen), R. Schmitt (Plön), M.W. Stolper (Chicago), J. Teixidor (Paris) and the late J.G. Westenholz (Jerusalem).

The maps were prepared by Dr. Thomas Urban (Dr. Urban & Partner, Archäologie und Denkmaldokumentation, Birkenwerder, Germany). Dr. Alex Stephens (Sydney Grammar School) prepared English translations of selected Greek texts from Susa ([Table 10.1](#)).

To write a book is one thing, to publish it quite another. I would like to thank Professor Norman Yoffee and the other members of the board of the Cambridge World Archaeology series for accepting this book for publication when it was only a rough outline with a bit of bibliography, and for persevering with it when it appeared to be something other than what they originally expected from me. I am sincerely grateful to the readers of an earlier draft, Professor M.W. Stolper (Chicago), Professor E. Carter (Los Angeles), Professor N. Yoffee (Ann Arbor) and Dr. K. Abdi (Tehran), for their many detailed comments and suggestions for improving the text. I have appreciated all of their remarks and have made many changes accordingly. Further, I wish to express my sincere thanks to my original editor, Jessica Kuper, for her patience and goodwill, and Asya Graf, for encouraging me to undertake this revised edition. My family knows by the dedication of this book that I have appreciated their support more than words can say.

Finally, I would like to say a word about Iran, as opposed to Elam. To begin with, I must thank two of my professors at Harvard whose influence may be expressed only indirectly in the pages of this book, but who in very different ways sowed the seeds of a lifelong interest in Iran in me as a student. C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky introduced me to both Iran and Iranian archaeology. Two memorable seasons of excavation at Tepe Yahya in 1973 and 1975 kindled an abiding interest in Iranian archaeology. The late Richard N. Frye introduced me to the pre-Islamic religions of Iran and first fostered my awareness of the incredibly rich historical, linguistic and spiritual heritage of Iran. The Iranian Revolution meant the interruption of my active involvement with the subject, but in 1995, 1996 and 2001 I was able to return to Iran with my wife, children Rowena and Morgan, and a group from the Near Eastern Archaeology Foundation of the University of Sydney. Those visits gave me the opportunity to visit Susa, Choga Zanbil, Haft Tepe, Kul-e Farah and numerous other sites of Elamite history for the first time. Parvaneh Sattari and the staff of Pasargad Tour in Tehran made both trips enormously successful and reminded me why I have spent much of my adult life thinking about Iran's past. Subsequently, I was privileged to survey and excavate in the Mamasani region of Fars Province in collaboration with the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research and with funding from the Australian Research Council. Many Iranian and Australian colleagues and students took part in our expeditions between 2002 and 2010, but I would particularly like to thank Kourosh Alamdari, Karim Alizadeh, Sheler Amelirad, Alireza Askari Chaverdi, Amanda Dusting, Tom Ellicott, Jalil Golshan, Ardeshir Javanmardzadeh, Matthew Jones, Alireza Khosrowzadeh, Arash Lashkari, Bernadette McCall, Kat McRae, Hasan Fazeli Nashli, Cameron Petrie, my wife Hildreth Potts, Kourosh Roustaei, Alireza Sardari, Lloyd Weeks, Edna Wong, Afshin Yazdani and Mohsen Zeidi for making these seasons both memorable and successful. The late Massoud Azarnoush facilitated our work in many ways. My sons Morgan and Hallam were able to participate in the 2003 season as well, and it is safe to say that all who participated in this work had an unforgettable experience.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FOR PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION

In addition to my own photographs, I have been fortunate to be able to use images from a number of other sources. These include photographs taken by Erik Smekens for the Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, kindly supplied by Dr. Bruno Overlaet (Brussels); the late Baroness Marie-Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University, through the kind assistance of Joanne Bloom Toplyn, Photographic Resources Librarian; and the late Professor Machteld Mellink, Bryn Mawr College, made available through the Artstor Digital Library. Several images of objects in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, available for academic use through Artstor, have also been used, as have more than a dozen images of Seleucid, Roman, Elymaean, Arsacid and Sasanian coins in the Yale University Art Gallery. A number of friends have allowed me to reproduce their own photographs or drawings, and for this assistance I would like to warmly thank Prof. Javier Álvarez-Mon (Sydney), Dr. Gian Pietro Basello (Naples), Prof. Mark Garrison (San Antonio), Dr. Wouter Henkelman (Paris/Berlin), Dr. Trudy Kawami (New York), Dr. Brian Krittr (Burtonsville) and Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi (Mainz).

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Siglum of texts in the Louvre Museum
A ¹⁻³ S	Artaxerxes I–III, Susa inscriptions
AAASH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
AAM	Archives administratives de Mari
ABL	Harper, R.F. (1892–1914), <i>Assyrian and Babylonian letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum</i> , London and Chicago: University of Chicago.
AcIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AFP	Briant, P. and Henkelman, W., eds. (2009), <i>L'archive des fortifications de Persépolis: État des questions et perspectives de recherches</i> , Paris: Persika 12.
AH	<i>Achaemenid History</i>
AIN	Petrie, C.A., ed. (2014), <i>Ancient Iran and its neighbours: Local developments and long-range interactions in the fourth millennium BC</i> , Oxford and Oakville: British Institute of Persian Studies.
AIO	De Meyer, L. and Haerinck, E., eds. (1989), <i>Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalia: Miscellanea in honorem Louis Vanden Berghe</i> , Leuven: Peeters.
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli</i>
AIT	Archäologie in Iran und Turan
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJPA	<i>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</i>
AMI/AMIT	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)</i>
Amorites	Buccellati, G. (1966), <i>The Amorites of the Ur III period</i> , Naples: Ricerche 1.
AO	<i>Der Alte Orient</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOF	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>

AOS	American Oriental Series
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i>
AS	Assyriological Studies
BA	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft</i>
<i>Bab.</i> 8	Genouillac, H. de (1924), ‘Choix de textes économiques de la collection Pupil’, <i>Babyloniaca</i> 8 (1924), 37ff.
BAH	Institut Français d’Archéologie de Beyrouth, Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute</i>
<i>BaM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BBVO	Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BIN	Babylonian inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies, Yale University
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BM	British Museum
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
C	Cyrus
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CANE	Sasson, J.M., ed. (1995), <i>Civilizations of the ancient Near East</i> , vols. I–IV, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons.
CC	Sigrist, M. and Gomi, T. (1991), <i>The comprehensive catalogue of published Ur III tablets</i> , Bethesda: CDL Press.
<i>CDAFI</i>	<i>Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique Française en Iran</i>
<i>CDLB</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin</i>
<i>CDLJ</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Journal</i>
<i>CDLN</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Notes</i>
CDR	Gasche, H., Tanret, M., Janssen, C. and Degraeve, A., eds. (1994), <i>Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien offertes en hommages à Léon de Meyer</i> , Ghent: Peeters.
<i>CHI</i>	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CII II/1	Rougemont, G. (2012), <i>Inscriptions grecques d’Iran et d’Asie centrale</i> , London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II/1.
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications
CNRS	Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique
CO	Gasche, H. and Hrouda, B., eds. (1996), <i>Collectanea Orientalia: Histoire, arts de l’espace et industrie de la terra, études offertes en hommage à Agnès Spycket</i> , Neuchâtel/Paris: Civilisations du Proche-Orient Serie 1, Archéologie et environnement 3.
CRAIBL	<i>Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>

CRIIP	Osada, T. and Witzel, M., eds. (2011), <i>Cultural relations between the Indus and the Iranian Plateau during the third millennium BCE</i> , Cambridge: Harvard Oriental Series Opera Minora 7.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CST	Fish, T. (1932), <i>Catalogue of Sumerian tablets in the John Rylands Library</i> , Manchester.
CT	Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets . . . in the British Museum
CTNMC	Jacobsen, T. (1939), <i>Cuneiform texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen, chiefly of economical contents</i> , Copenhagen: C.T. Thomson.
CUSAS 17	George, A.R., ed. (2011), <i>Cuneiform royal inscriptions and related texts in the Schøyen Collection</i> , Bethesda: Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17.
DAFI	Délégation archéologique Française en Iran
DB	Darius, Behistun inscriptions
DN	Darius, Naqsh-e Rostam inscriptions
DP	Darius, Persepolis inscriptions
DP	Allotte de la Füye, F.-M. (1908–20), <i>Documents présargoniques</i> , Paris: E. Leroux.
DS	Darius, Susa inscriptions
DS II	Basello, G.P. and Rossi, A.V., eds. (2012), <i>Dariosh studies II. Persepolis and its settlements: Territorial system and ideology in the Achaemenid state</i> , Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli ‘L’Orientale’, Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo Series Minor 78.
DV	Drevnosti Vostocnyja, Moscow
EC	Kozuh, M. et al., eds. (2014), <i>Extraction & control: Studies in honor of Matthew W. Stolper</i> , Chicago: SAOC 68.
EKI	König, F.W. (1965), <i>Die elamischen Königsinschriften</i> , Graz: AfO Beiheft 16.
EnIr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
EP	Álvarez-Mon, J. and Garrison, M.B., eds. (2011), <i>Elam and Persia</i> , Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
EW	<i>East and West</i>
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FGH	Jacoby, F. (1923–), <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Berlin: Weidmann.
FHE	De Meyer, L., Gasche, H. and Vallat, F., eds. (1986), <i>Fragmenta historiae Elamicae: Mélanges offerts à M.J. Steve</i> , Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSOA	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient

HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
H.T.	Haft Tepe text
<i>IrAnt</i>	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
IRS	Malbran-Labat, F. (1995), <i>Les inscriptions royales de Suse: Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'Empire néo-élamite</i> , Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
IRSA	Sollberger, E. and Kupper, J.-R. (1971), <i>Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes</i> , Paris: Littératures du Proche-Orient 3.
ITT	Thureau-Dangin, F. and de Genouillac, H. (1920–1), <i>Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée impérial ottoman</i> , Paris: E. Leroux.
<i>IW</i>	Alizadeh, A., Majidzadeh, Y. and Shahmirzadi, S.M., eds. (1999), <i>The Iranian world: Essays on Iranian art and archaeology presented to Ezat O. Negahban</i> , Tehran: Iran University Press.
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the Ameican Oriental Society</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>JIAAA</i>	<i>Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology</i>
<i>JRGS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
<i>JWP</i>	<i>Journal of World Prehistory</i>
<i>KP</i>	<i>Der Kleine Pauly</i>
KZ	Ka'ba-i Zardosht inscription of Shapur I at Naqsh-e Rostam
<i>LPR</i>	Sallaberger, W., Volk, K. and Zgoll, A., eds. (2003), <i>Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke</i> , Wiesbaden: Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 14.
M	Unpublished Mari text
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MAPSO	Potts, D.T., Roustaei, K., Petrie, C.A. and Weeks, L.R., eds. (2009), <i>The Mamasani Archaeological Project Stage One: A report on the first two seasons of the ICAR–University of Sydney expedition to the Mamasani District, Fars Province, Iran</i> , Oxford: Archaeopress.
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Susiane, Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (for specific text refs. acc. to vol. number, see in general under Scheil 1900–39).
<i>MHEOP</i> 1	De Meyer, L. and Gasche, H., eds. (1991), <i>Mésopotamie et Elam</i> , Ghent: Mesopotamian History and Environment Occasional Publications 1.

MJP	Vallat, F., ed. (1990), <i>Mélanges Jean Perrot</i> , Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
MSKH	Brinkman, J.A. (1976), <i>Materials and studies for Kassite history I: A catalogue of cuneiform sources pertaining to specific monarchs of the Kassite dynasty</i> , Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
MSVO	Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients
MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neo-sumerico
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>
NH	Pliny's Natural History
Nik.	Nikolskij, M.V. (1908), <i>Dokumenty chozjajstvennoj otčetnosti drevne-jsej epochi Chaldei iz sobranija N.P. Lichaceva</i> , St. Petersburg.
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OHAI	Potts, D.T., ed. (2013), <i>Oxford handbook of ancient Iran</i> , New York: Oxford University Press.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIS	Oriental Institute Studies
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>
OrAnt	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
OSP I	Westenholz, A. (1975), <i>Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian texts in Philadelphia chiefly from Nippur</i> , Malibu: BiMes 1.
P	Persepolis (used for seals)
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania
PDS	Perrot, J., ed. (2010), <i>Le palais de Darius à Suse: Une résidence royale sur la route de Persépolis à Babylone</i> , Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne.
PDT	Çig, M., Kizilyay, H. and Salonen, A. (1954/56), <i>Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen</i> , Teil I: Nrr. 1–725, Helsinki; and Yildiz, F. and Gomi, T. (1988), <i>Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen</i> , Teil II, Wiesbaden.
PF	Persepolis fortification text
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
RA 8	Delaporte, L. (1911), 'Tablettes de Dréhem', <i>RA</i> 8, 183–98.
RCS	Harper, P.O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F., eds. (1992), <i>The royal city of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern treasures in the Louvre</i> , New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
RCU	Royal Cemetery of Ur
RE	Pauly's <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften</i>
RGTC	Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes
RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>

RN	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>
RTC	Thureau-Dangin, F. (1903), <i>Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes</i> , Paris: E. Leroux.
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SE	De Graef, K. and Tavernier, J., eds. (2009), <i>Susa and Elam: Archaeological, philological, historical and geographical perspectives: Proceedings of the International Congress held at Ghent University, December 14–17</i> , Leiden and Boston: Brill.
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SEL	<i>Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente</i>
SH	Tell Shemshara text
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
SRPR	Sialk Reconsideration Project Report
STH	Hussey, M.I. (1912), <i>Sumerian tablets of the Harvard Semitic Museum</i> , Cambridge: HSS 3.
StIr	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
STTI	Donbaz, V. and Foster, B.R. (1982), <i>Sargonic texts from Telloh in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum</i> , Philadelphia: Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 5.
Suse	Anonymous (no date), <i>Suse, site et musée</i> , Tehran: Ministry of Culture and Arts.
TAD	Langdon, S.H. (1911), <i>Tablets from the archives of Drehem</i> , Paris: Geuthner.
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TEN	Sigrist, M. (1983), <i>Textes économiques néo-sumériens de l'Université de Syracuse</i> , Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
TMO	Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient (Lyons)
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
TrD	Genouillac, H. de (1911), <i>La trouvaille de Dréhem</i> , Paris: Geuthner.
TRU	Legrain, L. (1912), <i>Le temps des rois d'Ur, recherches sur la société antique, d'après des textes nouveaux</i> , Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études 199.
TS	Tablette (de) Suse
TÜBA-AR	<i>Turkish Academy of Sciences Journal of Archaeology</i>
TuM 5	Pohl, A. (1935), <i>Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte</i> , Leipzig: Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection 5.
UET	Ur Excavation Texts
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

VD	Dittmann, R. et al., eds. (2000), <i>Variatio Delectat, Iran und der Westen: Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer</i> , Münster: AOAT 272.
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnej Istorii</i>
VHA	<i>Vegetation History and Archaeobotany</i>
VR	Ville Royale (of Susa)
WAP	Curtis, J. and Tallis, N., eds. (2010), <i>The world of Achaemenid Persia: History, art and society in Iran and the Ancient Near East</i> , London: I.B. Tauris.
XP	Xerxes, Persepolis inscriptions
XS	Xerxes, Susa inscriptions
YBYN	Miller, N.F. and Abdi, K., eds. (2003), <i>Yeki bud, yeki nabud: Essays on the archaeology of Iran in honor of William M. Sumner</i> , Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology.
YOS 4	Keiser, C.E. (1919), <i>Selected temple documents of the Ur dynasty</i> , New Haven: Yale Oriental Series 4.
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>

Note: Articles in *NABU* are cited by their article, not their page number; for example, *NABU* 1997, 6 = note number 6 in *NABU* (1997), not page 6.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND DATING SYSTEMS

As this book is aimed primarily at archaeologists and students of archaeology, rather than Assyriologists, I thought it simplest to forgo the use of diacritical marks in the transliteration of Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Aramaic, Syriac, Persian and Arabic words (principally personal names and place-names). I have not sought to impose a single, uniform system of transliteration but have used those forms most current in the archaeological and Assyriological literature. Where I have cited Elamite and Akkadian terms, these are italicized. Sumerian words and phrases are given in bold.

As for the stipulation of dates, radiocarbon dates when cited are always given in their calibrated form. Absolute dates when cited for individual Mesopotamian rulers conform to the so-called middle chronology and follow Brinkman 1977.

CHAPTER 1

ELAM: WHAT, WHEN, WHERE?

In order to discuss the origins and development of Elam, we must first establish where the name comes from and what it signified. This chapter examines the etymology of the name and introduces the reader to the changing nature of its application. It also takes up the fundamental chronological issue which must be tackled before launching into an examination of the material and historical evidence covered here. When do we first find Elam mentioned? How late did Elam exist? Finally, where was Elam? Seeming contradictions between epigraphic, literary and archaeological evidence are investigated which bear on the problem of how ancient observers and modern scholars have located Elam in their treatments of the subject. Finally, the chapter closes with some observations on how and why the meanings of broad geographical and ethnic designations often change in the course of time. For us it is important to realize that the area identified as Elam in one period may not have been the same as that referred to by the same name in another period. These are some of the ambiguities which must be understood before the subject of Elam can be intelligently discussed.

WHAT IS ELAM?

Elam (Figures 1.1–1.3) is an artificial construct, a name coined by Mesopotamian scribes gazing across the alluvium towards the Iranian plateau, who imposed it from without on the disparate regions of highland southwest Iran and its peoples. In Sumerian sources dating to the middle of the third millennium BC (see Chapter 4), the name Elam was written with the sumerogram NIM meaning simply ‘high’, often accompanied by the determinative KI denoting ‘land, country’. The Akkadian form used was normally KUR *elammatum* or ‘land of Elam’ (Quintana 1996a: 50; Krebern timer 2006: 62–7).

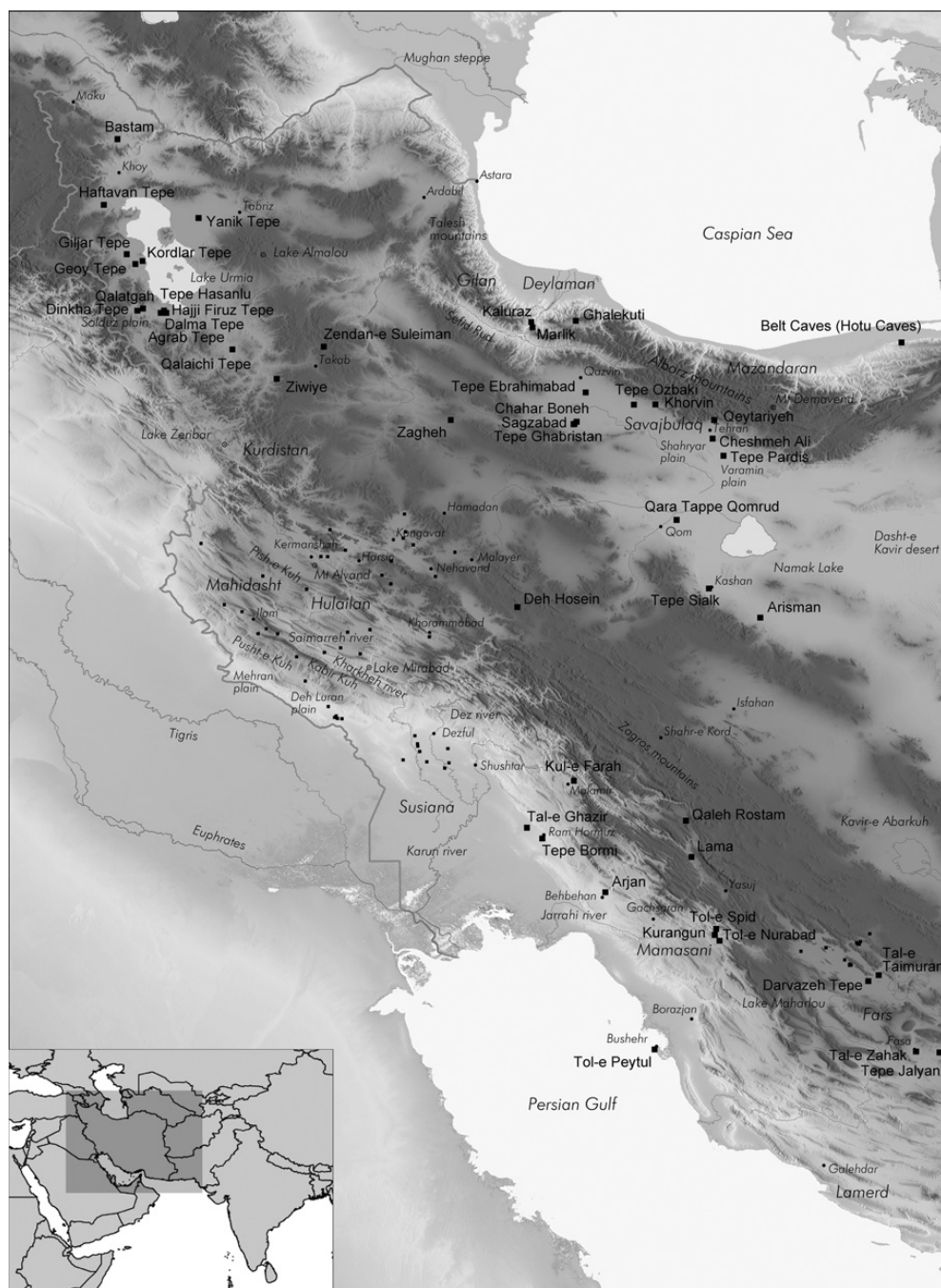


Figure 1.1. Archaeological sites in western Iran, principally of the earlier periods.

The etymology of Elam has been much discussed. Elam ‘may be an Akkadianized rendering of both Sumerian and Elamite terms influenced by *elûm*, “to be high” (Damerow and Englund 1989: 1, n. 1). It was not until the reign of Siwe-palar-hupak, in the eighteenth century BC, that a name for the

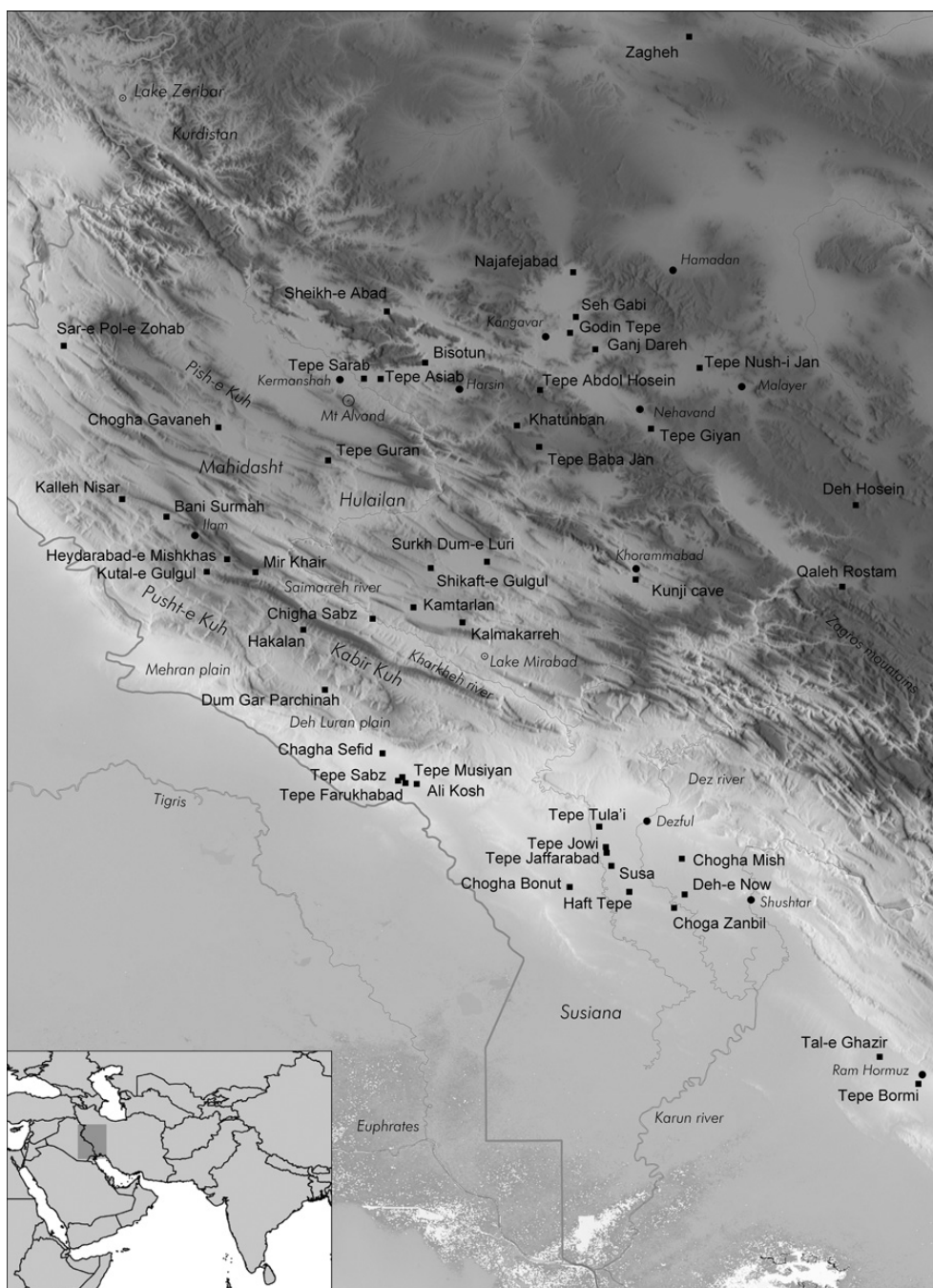


Figure 1.2. Detailed map showing archaeological sites in Luristan and Khuzistan of the earlier periods.

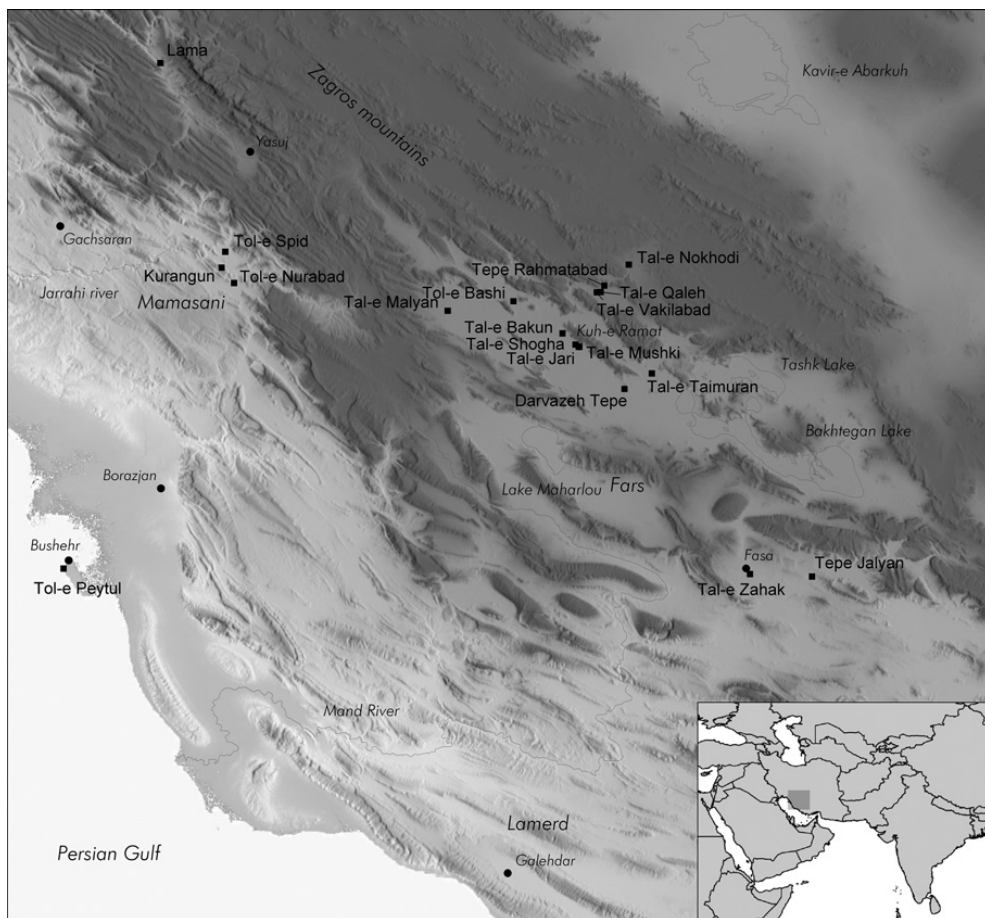


Figure 1.3. Detailed map showing archaeological sites in Fars through the Bronze Age.

land described by Sumerian and Akkadian scribes as Elam appears in the Elamite language as ^{hal}*Hatamti*, *hal Hatamti* or *Hatamti*- (Vallat 1996f: 89; see also 1993a: 90–3; on the language in general see e.g. Reiner 1969; Khačikjan 1998; Starostin 2002; Stolper 2004; Krebernik 2005). Walther Hinz suggested that this was a composite term made up of *hal* ‘land’ + *tamt* ‘gracious lord’ (1971b: 644), and it has even been suggested recently that it might be an Elamite contraction of Akkadian *ala’itum matum*, ‘high land’ (Quintana 1996a: 50). It seems more likely, however, that Akkadian *Elamtu* derives from Elamite *Ha(l)tamti* (Vallat 1996f: 89). Be that as it may, the fact remains that the apparently first, indigenous name for Elam did not appear until the early second millennium BC, and it is doubtful whether the region’s inhabitants looked on western Iran as a single unified region. In the third millennium, when our story properly begins, the peoples of highland Iran, a disparate collection of ethnically and linguistically diverse groups, never identified themselves using

the rubrics Elam or Elamites. As R. Zadok has stressed, by the late third millennium BC the Sumerian designation ELAM(.MA^{ki}) was applied to ‘any highlander from the Iranian Plateau and its piedmont’ (Zadok 1987: 3). Significantly, however, the sumerogram NIM was never used by Elamite scribes when they wrote in Elamite, and the few cases where it is alleged to have been present have all been termed ‘illusory’ by M.-J. Steve (Steve 1992: 158–9).

Other than scholars, most people, if they have ever heard of Elam, know of it from scattered references in the Bible. Elam appears in the Old Testament Table of Nations (Gen. 10: 22; see also Simons 1959: 27–8; Nöldeke 1874: 187–9), and a king of Elam named Kedor-Laomer is mentioned in Genesis 14:1, as well (his realm was interpreted as a reference to Luristan by the French cleric Sanson 1694: 221–2). Elam figures prominently in the forty-ninth chapter of the Book of Jeremiah (Jeremiah 49: 35–9; see also J.A. Thompson 1980: 728–9; Holladay 1989: 387–9). The prophet Daniel dreamt that he was ‘at Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam’ (Daniel 8: 2), also the scene of the principal events described in the Book of Esther (Esther 1: 1). Finally, Jews from Elam, present in Jerusalem at Pentecost, are mentioned in the New Testament (Acts 2: 9).

The late appearance of an ‘indigenous’ name for Elam in Elamite sources and the possibility that Elam might even be a loanword from another language may seem bizarre, but throughout history people and regions have been identified by names other than those which they and their inhabitants themselves used, and comparable examples of what could be termed ‘imposed ethnicity’ abound in the more recent past. The Inuit of Canada and Greenland, whose name means simply ‘the people’ in their own language, have been known for centuries by the term ‘Eskimo’, a European corruption of a Native American term meaning ‘eaters of raw flesh’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Similarly, the Huron were so named by French colonists. French *huron* denotes a ‘rustic rural resident’ (Roosens 1989: 99), and, although the Huron were part of a larger group calling themselves ‘Wendat’, the name Huron was eventually adopted by the Wendat and continues to be used to this day. Moreover, it is instructive to note that neither the demise of the Huron language nor the eradication of most Huron traditional customs diminished the intensity of feelings of Huron ethnic identity in the twentieth century (Roosens 1989: 96).

One thing is, in any case, certain. The available written sources which predate the eighteenth century BC give absolutely no indication that the diverse groups inhabiting the Iranian Zagros and plateau regions ever identified themselves by a common term as all-embracing as Elam. Dozens of names of regions and population groups (see Chapter 5) attested in the late third millennium sources (principally in the Ur III period, 2100–2000 BC) give us a good impression of the heterogeneity of the native peoples of western Iran, all of

whom were simply subsumed under the Sumerian rubric NIM and the Akkadian term KUR *elammatum*. Nor did the peoples of these diverse regions all speak a common language which, for lack of an indigenous term, we may call Elamite (for an early attempt to synthesize the data available on the Zagros peoples, see Hüsing 1908a; see now Balatti 2014). Judging by personal names in cuneiform sources, the linguistic makeup of southwestern Iran was heterogeneous, and the language we call Elamite was but one of a number of languages spoken in the highlands to the east of Mesopotamia (for alleged ties between Elamite and the Dravidian language family at an unspecified but very early date, see McAlpine 1981; Blažek 1999). Yet it is not the preponderance of Sumerian, Akkadian and Amorite personal names in texts from Susa, a product of long periods of political and cultural dependency and the widespread use of Akkadian, which justifies our speaking of linguistic heterogeneity in southwestern Iran. Rather, it is the plethora of indigenous, non-Elamite languages attested to mainly by the extant corpus of Iranian (geographically, not linguistically) personal names in Mesopotamian cuneiform sources. Individuals are known from Anshan, Shimashki, Zabshali, Marhashi, Sapum, Harshi, Shig(i)riš, Zitanu, Itnigi and Kimash with names which cannot be etymologized as Elamite (Zadok 1991: 226–30).

WHEN DID ELAM EXIST?

As we shall see in Chapter 4, there is no certainty that the sign NIM was used by Mesopotamian scribes to refer to Elam until the middle of the third millennium BC. Some of the earlier occurrences of the sign might have had the meaning Elam, but there is no way of demonstrating this conclusively. On the other hand, the lack of a Mesopotamian term for the peoples of the eastern highlands in no way implies that the area was uninhabited, but until we find the word NIM/Elam we cannot prove any link between the archaeological assemblages of the region and the later Elamites. For this reason, if we adopt a minimalist position, as is done here, we cannot in all honesty speak of Elam before c. 2600–2500 BC.

How late did Elam exist? This is less clear-cut than might seem to be the case from a perusal of some of the standard texts on the subject. Traditionally, the Assyrian conquest of Susa in the seventh century BC was seen by most scholars as the great watershed which marked the end of Elamite history (e.g. Schroeder 1925; König 1938), and the rise of the Persian empire was often taken as the beginning of a new era. Thus, G.G. Cameron's 1936 *History of Early Iran* explicitly sought to present 'in a comprehensive fashion the history of the Iranian plateau before Cyrus attained mastery' (Cameron 1936: vii). Although he believed that 'Elam still had an important role to play' in the Achaemenid empire, Hinz also used the fall of Susa to the Assyrians and the rise of the Medes and Persians as the cut-off point in his synthesis of Elamite history and

archaeology (Hinz 1972: 160), as did E. Carter and M.W. Stolper, who devoted just three pages to Elam in the Achaemenid, Seleucid and Parthian periods in their synthesis of Elamite political history and archaeology (Carter and Stolper 1984: 57–9).

The approach taken here is completely different. Elam's absorption into the Achaemenid empire does not mark the point at which one can conclude an assessment of Elam's history and archaeology. Elam's political status may have differed from what it was during the third millennium BC, but it is clear from a reading of, for example, the late Babylonian astronomical diaries (see Chapter 10) that the region of Elymais and its people the Elymaeans, mentioned in Greek and Latin sources, represented latter-day incarnations of Elam and the Elamites. Similarly, during the early Islamic era we continue to find the name Elam used to denote an ecclesiastical province in what is today the Khuzistan province of south-western Iran (see Chapter 11).

Elam was no less an entity with a particular linguistic and cultural character in the post-Assyrian period than it had been in more remote antiquity. At no point in Elam's history were its boundaries fixed, and Elam's absorption by the Persian empire no more signalled its demise than had its suppression by the Old Akkadian or Ur III empires in the late third millennium BC. These and other episodes of political diminution certainly meant that Elam figured less prominently in written sources, but the consistent reappearance of Elam following periods of political reversal show that the essential independence – linguistically as well as culturally – of Elam and the Elamites is a phenomenon of great longevity. Elam and the Elamites periodically underwent a process of transformation until the disappearance of the name from Nestorian ecclesiastical sources well after the Islamic conquest. Thereafter, it was the task of scholars to rediscover and re-create the many Elams of the more distant past.

WHERE WAS ELAM?

In a letter of 21 October 1621, the Italian traveller Pietro della Valle reproduced five cuneiform signs from an inscription of Xerxes (XPb) at Persepolis (reprinted in della Valle 1845: 253). In this he was followed in 1626 by Sir Thomas Herbert, the fourth edition of whose travel account, published in 1677 (Herbert 1677: 142), included 'some copies of cuneiform signs . . . the first that had been published in England'. As R.W. Rogers noted in 1900, however, 'unhappily they did not form a complete inscription'. Rather, 'The first two lines come from one inscription, and the third from another, and the copying was not very well done' (Rogers 1900: 23). Similarly, in 1667 an English East India Company agent named Samuel (or Stephen? see Sainsbury 1916: 239) Flower visited Persepolis in company with a Polish draftsman and artist (Birch

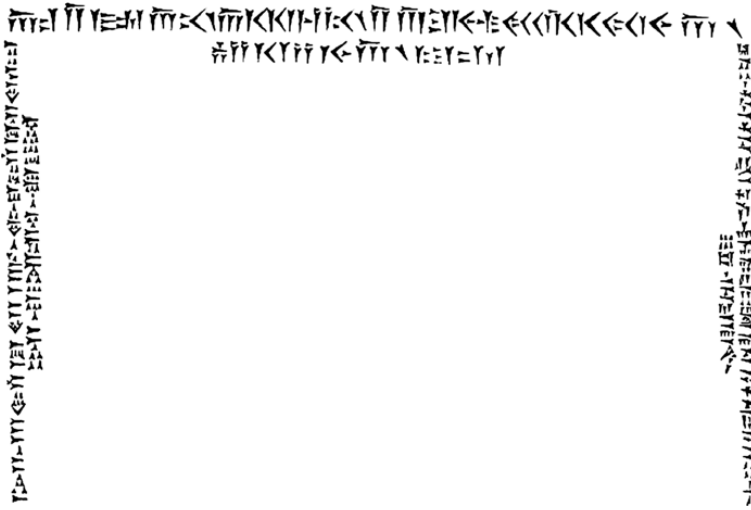


Figure 1.4. Jean Chardin's copy of DPc (after Rogers 1900: 24).

1756: 324) who presumably made the copies of random cuneiform signs that were subsequently transmitted to the Royal Society via Benjamin Lannoy (fl. 1660–8), the English consul at Aleppo (Flower 1693). These, too, originated in different inscriptions, and the sequence in which Flower reproduced them, separated by full stops, was entirely artificial (Rogers 1900: 77). The first coherent copy of an Elamite inscription (Figure 1.4) was made by Jean (Sir John) Chardin, who visited Persepolis three times between 1667 and 1674 (Langlès 1811: 320, and Atlas Pl. 69; Rogers 1900: 24) and whose copy of what was actually a trilingual inscription at Persepolis was published in various editions of his travel account beginning in 1686. It took almost a century, however, before Carsten Niebuhr recognized in 1778 that the Persepolitan inscriptions were written in three different languages. Thereafter, it became conventional to refer to the Elamite column as the ‘second type’ of Achaemenid inscription, and to designate the language represented by it as Elamite, Susian or Scythian (Lenormant 1874; Sayce 1874; cf. Reiner 1969: 54). Eventually, it was realized that some of the signs copied by Flower and Chardin were Elamite (Rogers 1900: 74–83; Pallis 1954: 24), and their copies can rightly be considered the first tangible evidence of Elam found outside the pages of the Bible. Although the nineteenth century witnessed the documentation of numerous trilingual Achaemenid inscriptions (Pallis 1954: 52–3), as well as many attempts at their decipherment, the Elamite versions of these texts were not satisfactorily deciphered until 1890 when F.H. Weissbach published his PhD dissertation on them (later appearing in revised form as Weissbach 1911).

The fact that the first Elamite texts found were discovered in the highlands of Fars province ought to have pointed the way towards the recognition of the highland nature of Elam, but here an accident of archaeological discovery came



Plate 1.1. Château Susa, the fortified excavation house begun on the Acropole by Jacques de Morgan in 1898 (photo: author).

into play. In the twelfth century Benjamin of Tudela visited the ruins of Shush and identified them correctly with Biblical Shushan, ancient Susa (Asher 1840: 117). Subsequently, however, many eminent scholars doubted the identification (Kinneir 1813: 99ff.; Forbiger 1844: 585 for a bibliography of the dispute into the mid-1840s; thoroughly discussed in Potts 1999b), preferring to identify ancient Susa with modern Shushtar, on the Karun River. In 1800 the geographer John Rennell argued the case again favouring Susa (Rennell 1800: 203; cf. Long 1833; Layard 1842: 104; Layard 1846: 61), although some authorities remained unconvinced until W.K. Loftus excavated the first bricks and clay cones with Elamite inscriptions at Shush in 1852. These included, amongst other things, remnants of a trilingual inscription of Artaxerxes II (404–359 BC) – identified by some with King Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther (other scholars believe Biblical Ahasuerus to have been Xerxes, e.g. Heltzer 1994) – mentioning the palace of Darius which had burned in the lifetime of Artaxerxes I as well as the new palace built by Artaxerxes II (Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979). From this point onward there was no longer any doubt about the identity of modern Shush and Biblical Shushan (Curtis 1993: 22, 31–2), and indeed this was the basis for the resumption in the late nineteenth century of investigations at the site by French excavators (J. Dieulafoy 1888; M. Dieulafoy 1885, 1893; de Morgan 1905; see also Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 20–4; Nasiri-Moghaddam 2004; Chevalier 1997, 2010; Mousavi 1996, 2013) (see Plates 1.1 and 1.2).

By extension, therefore, there could be no doubt that the name Elam referred to Khuzistan, for did not Daniel (Plate 1.3) dream that he was ‘at Shushan in the palace which is in the province of Elam’ (Daniel 8.2)? Of course, the controversy over the identification of Shushan and by extension the



Plate 1.2. View over the site of Susa taken from the Château (photo: Professor Machteld Mellink, courtesy of Bryn Mawr College).



Plate 1.3. View from the site of Susa towards the reputed tomb of the prophet Daniel (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

‘solution’ of the problem of Elam’s location happened long before cuneiform scholars had realized that the sumerogram NIM implied a highland rather than a lowland setting for Elam. Yet confirmation of the lowland identification of Elam seemed to be provided by extra-Biblical sources, such as the eighth-century Armenian translation of Cl. Ptolemy’s *Geography* by Moses of Khorene, where we read, ‘A land of Asia is that of the Elymaeans, that is Khuzastan, which the Greeks call *Šošanik*, after the city *Šošan*’ (Marquart 1901: 137).

A very different notion, emphasizing the distinction between Elam and Susiana (i.e. the district of Susa), can be found, however, in other sources. After describing Susis (Susiana) and an adjacent part of Babylonia, the Greek geographer Strabo wrote, ‘Above both, on the north and towards the east, lie the countries of the Elymaei and the Paraetaceni, who are predatory peoples and rely on the ruggedness of their mountains’ (*Geog.* xv.3.12). Thus, it is clear that Elymais (the land of the Elymaei, as the Elamites were called in the last centuries BC), and Susiana were viewed by Strabo as two different geographical regions (see also Hoffmann 1880: 133). Moreover, although later Jewish writers, such as Sa’adya Gaon (c. AD 985) and Benjamin of Tudela (AD 1169), followed the Book of Daniel in equating Khuzistan with Elam, the Talmud scrupulously distinguished lowland Be Huzae, or Khuzistan, from Elam (Neubauer 1868: 325, 380; Obermeyer 1929: 205).

In the early 1970s, inscribed bricks were discovered at the archaeological site of Tal-i Malyan near Shiraz in the highlands of Fars which proved that it was the ancient city of Anshan (Reiner 1973a). This led, several years later, to a complete revision of thinking on the location of Elam, spearheaded by the French scholar F. Vallat, who argued that the centre of Elam lay at Anshan and in the highlands around it, and not at Susa in lowland Khuzistan (Vallat 1980a). The periodic political incorporation of the lowlands, and the importance of the city of Susa (see e.g. Miroschedji 2003), had given the impression to the authors of Daniel and Esther that Elam was centred around Susa and coterminous with Khuzistan. The preponderance of inscriptions written in Elamite at Anshan, and the overwhelming domination of texts written in Akkadian at Susa, with largely Semitic personal names, suggested to Vallat that Elam was centred in the highlands, not in lowland Susiana. One could even suggest that ancient observers had applied the *pars pro toto* principle (Eilers 1982: 10) when it came to the use of Elam in the Bible, whereby a name which had originally designated only an area around Anshan in Fars came to be used for a geographically much more extensive state which held sway over areas well outside the original Elamite homeland. In order to distinguish between these two Elams, one might even be tempted to use terms like *Elam Minor* (for the original Elamite homeland in Fars) and *Elam Major* (for the wider state, which sometimes approached the status of an empire, created by the Elamites).

In fact, this would be wrong, and it is equally misleading to suggest that Elam denoted only the highlands of Fars with its capital city Anshan. For as outlined previously, Elam is not an Iranian term and has no relationship to the conception which the peoples of highland Iran had of themselves. They were Anshanites, Marhashians, Shimashkians, Zabshalians, Sherihumians, Awanites and so on. That Anshan played a leading role in the political affairs of the various highland groups inhabiting southwestern Iran is clear. But to argue that Anshan is coterminous with Elam is to misunderstand the artificiality and indeed the alienness of Elam as a construct imposed from without on the peoples of the southwestern highlands of the Zagros mountain range (the origin of the name Zagros is itself unknown; cf. Hüsing 1908a: 3; Eilers 1982: 44), the coast of Fars *and* the alluvial plain drained by the Karun–Karkheh river system. For although cuneiform sources often distinguish Susians (i.e. the inhabitants of Susa) from Anshanites, this in no way contradicts the notion that, from the Mesopotamian perspective, the easterners – lowlanders and highlanders alike – were *all* Elamites in the direction of Susa and beyond.

CONCLUSION

All too often we take for granted the identity and ethnicity of the archaeological and historical cultures which we study, without considering whether discrepancies exist between our definitions and the self-definitions of the peoples being studied. In the case of Elam, it is now clear that we are dealing with a notion imposed by Mesopotamian scribes, not one which had any basis in indigenous notions of ethnic and linguistic self-definition. Diverse groups in southwestern Iran were subsumed under this foreign label, but at a certain point the label was adopted for it clearly served a purpose in a different context of self-definition. Elam is both a name and a concept. How these changed through time will be explored in the chapters which follow.

In a study of Austrian identity, Franz Mathis noted, ‘When the term “Austria” in the form of *Ostarrichi* was used in a document in 996, it referred to a certain area in today’s Lower Austria, which the people used to call *Ostarrichi*, a land in the east. At that time this land was ruled by the house of Babenberg. Later on, the name was gradually applied to all the lands that the Babenbergs acquired on both sides of the Danube before the end of their rule in 1246. It was not, however, applied to Styria, which had been added in 1192 . . . it was not extended over the lands that the Habsburgs acquired during the following centuries: these retained their former names such as Carinthia, Tyrol and – much later – Salzburg’ (Mathis 1997: 20–1). Mathis went on to analyse the eventual substitution of the name Austria (Österreich) for that of Habsburg, the very late adoption of that name for areas to the west and south of the original *Ostarrichi* domains, and the feelings of identity, or lack of identity, with

the geographical entity so named on the part of the people who lived there. Much of this analysis of Austria and Austrian identity strikes a chord in anyone who has grappled with the problem of defining Elam in its various forms through time and will hopefully do the same in readers new to the subject as they work their way through this book.

CHAPTER 2

ENVIRONMENT, CLIMATE AND RESOURCES

The approximate geographical boundaries of Elam are set out in this chapter, and the topographic and environmental zones within those boundaries are described. The reader is introduced to the climate, rainfall and hydrology of the relevant portions of Fars, Khuzistan and Luristan in southwestern Iran. Evidence for differences between the climate of the past and that of the present is examined and in that context the possibility of anthropogenic changes to the Elamite landscape is raised. Finally, the animal, mineral and vegetable resources of the region are surveyed, showing just what earlier inhabitants of southwestern Iran had at their disposal.

INTRODUCTION

It is important in any regional archaeological or historical study to have an appreciation of what the climate, environment, land-use potential and natural resources of the region under study were like by the start of the period in which one is interested. Although the geographical limits of Elam changed through time, we shall consider the Elamite area at its greatest extent to have extended from Kermanshah province in the northwest to the eastern border of Fars in the southeast. For the sake of convenience we shall take as the region's northern boundary the 'Royal' or 'Great Khorassan' Road leading from Baghdad in the west to Kermanshah, Kangavar and Hamadan (and eventually Qazvin and Tehran) in the east. The western edge of the interior desert basin – the true Iranian 'plateau' (Figure 2.1), as distinct from the mountains of the Zagros chain – may be taken to form the northeastern boundary of our area, while to the southeast a lack of archaeological exploration makes it difficult to define the border, but later historical evidence suggests that a true cultural boundary existed separating Kerman in the east from Fars in the west. This theoretical eastern boundary of Elam was probably located further west than Bandar Abbas, for a genuine cultural border seems



Figure 2.1. General map of Iran.

to exist between Darab and Sirjan, separating Fars from Kerman (on the changing boundary between Fars and Kerman, see Aubin 1977: 285–6). Along the coast of Fars we know of a second millennium Elamite presence at Tol-e Peytul near modern Bushehr (Vallat 1984a), but nothing suggests that the lower coast of what are today Laristan and Tangistan was culturally within the Elamite orbit (see Pohanka 1986 for an introduction to the archaeology of the region). Politically, the entire area just described encompasses most of the former *ostans* (provinces) of Kermanshah, Ahwaz and Shiraz (see Fisher 1968: Fig. 2). Here we shall briefly examine the main features of topography and climate which were of importance for the human populations inhabiting these regions in antiquity.

HIGHLAND ELAM: THE CENTRAL ZAGROS ZONE

Iran has often been likened to ‘a bowl, with a higher outer rim surrounding an irregular and lower, but not low-lying, interior’ (Fisher 1968: 5). Very little of the country is real lowland, and all of it which lies on the peripheries of the high-rimmed ‘bowl’, fronting the Caspian Sea to the

north, the Persian Gulf to the south, and the Mesopotamian plain to the southwest. Otherwise, the average elevation of most of the interior of the country is over 1,000 metres above mean sea-level (m.a.s.l.), a feature which distinguishes Iran markedly from its neighbours, for the mountainous highlands of the Zagros region of western Iran include some of the highest peaks in Western Asia.

With the exception of Khuzistan and the coastal plain of Fars, most of the area just described falls within the central and southern Zagros mountain system, a series of deeply folded, roughly parallel mountain chains oriented northwest to southeast, of variable length but similar alignment (Fisher 1968: 17). The maximum width of the Zagros mountains (southwest of Qum) is roughly 350 kilometres (km), while at their narrowest (southwest of Isfahan) they are some 200 km wide (Brookes 1982: 192). The higher Zagros ranges are separated from the lowland plain of Khuzistan by an intervening strip of foothills roughly 60 km wide. On the northeast side of the Kabir Kuh range lies the Pish-i Kuh, which runs to the south of Kermanshah. The lower-lying area to the southwest of the Kabir Kuh, known as the Pusht-i Kuh, forms the backdrop to the Deh Luran plain of northwestern Khuzistan. In seeking to express the marked contrast made by the Zagros with the Mesopotamian plain, Western visitors and observers have given a number of evocative names to the Zagros mountains. Diodorus Siculus referred to a pass leading into the western Zagros as the ‘ladder’ in an attempt to convey the ‘abruptness and the succession of terraces which lead step-like from the plain to the highlands’, while the mid-nineteenth-century British medical officer W.F. Ainsworth christened them the ‘Persian Apennines’ (Ainsworth 1846), and during World War I the more prosaic Intelligence Department of the Admiralty Naval Staff called them simply the ‘Persian Front’ (Intelligence Department 1918: 29).

With annual winter rainfall often on the order of 350 to 500 mm (Table 2.1; see also van Zeist 1967: 302; Ganji 1968, 1978; Modarres and Sarhadi 2010; exceptionally, some areas, like Mamasani in western Fars, receive 600 mm of rainfall annually; see Roustaei, Alamdari and Petrie 2009: 18) and many mountain ranges reaching 3,000 m or more in elevation, this is an area which, in the words of W.B. Fisher, ‘exhibits much variety in scenery and opportunities for human utilization. . . . Adequate, sometimes abundant, rainfall and a considerable swing of temperature – from bitterly cold winters, especially on the higher parts, to marked summer heat – result in a distinct zonation of vegetation. Though massive expanses of bare rock or gorge greatly reduce the effective soil cover, there still remains an appreciable extent of woodland, which gives way to an alpine pasture on the higher levels. Patches of alluvium also occur, and these support regular cropping’ (Fisher 1968: 20). These areas, generally too small to appear on any soil maps of Iran, are

TABLE 2.1. *Elevation, rainfall and temperature data from southwestern Iran*

City	m.a.s.l.	Temp./rainfall	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
Abadan	3	Max. temp.	18.8	21.4	25.5	32.4	37.9	43.3	44.5	45.1	42.4	36.4	26.5	19.1	146.3
		Min. temp.	7.2	8.7	11.9	17.5	22.2	26.2	27.7	26.8	23.0	17.8	12.5	8.3	
		Rainfall	19.9	14.5	18.5	14.6	3.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	25.9	40.6	
Ahwaz	20	Max. temp.	17.7	20.7	25.3	32.3	38.9	44.5	46.1	45.9	42.1	36.0	26.0	19.2	158.5
		Min. temp.	7.8	8.2	12.2	17.1	22.0	24.9	26.9	25.6	21.3	17.3	12.8	8.6	
		Rainfall	33.5	25.2	16.9	17.3	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.8	26.7	33.5	
Bushire	4	Max. temp.	18.9	20.4	24.4	30.8	34.7	37.1	38.9	39.7	37.4	33.3	26.8	20.5	259.3
		Min. temp.	9.7	10.4	13.7	18.1	22.3	24.9	27.6	27.3	24.1	19.2	14.9	11.5	
		Rainfall	61.4	22.4	19.4	8.6	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	48.4	93.3	
Dizful	143	Max. temp.	19.0	20.5	24.1	31.2	37.7	43.9	46.2	45.6	42.7	36.6	26.8	19.6	355.4
		Min. temp.	8.7	9.3	12.0	17.6	23.4	26.9	30.3	30.2	26.5	20.7	14.7	10.0	
		Rainfall	65.0	45.9	48.6	30.3	4.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	80.0	75.6	
Hamadan	1,775	Max. temp.	4.8	6.4	10.5	16.8	22.2	28.4	32.2	33.1	28.5	20.9	11.1	5.6	385.2
		Min. temp.	-4.9	-3.7	0.1	5.4	8.2	12.0	15.1	14.5	10.9	6.1	-0.8	-3.5	
		Rainfall	36.0	52.8	72.9	78.9	32.7	5.6	1.3	0.5	0.7	11.8	51.8	40.2	
Khorramabad	1,171	Max. temp.	11.7	13.3	16.7	22.4	29.3	36.3	39.9	39.8	36.0	29.1	18.7	13.0	504.0
		Min. temp.	0.1	0.9	4.3	8.7	11.9	15.5	19.7	19.0	14.1	9.5	5.5	1.7	
		Rainfall	66.5	73.2	88.1	82.8	28.4	0.9	0.5	0.4	0.4	10.4	76.7	75.6	
Kermanshah	1,322	Max. temp.	8.4	10.3	13.8	19.8	25.9	33.0	37.2	36.5	32.5	25.6	15.6	9.7	372.7
		Min. temp.	-3.5	-3.1	0.4	0.5	7.6	10.9	16.0	15.0	10.0	5.4	1.3	-1.9	
		Rainfall	37.8	46.3	67.8	68.0	30.0	2.9	0.0	0.1	1.3	13.3	55.3	50.9	
Shiraz	1,490	Max. temp.	12.4	14.6	18.5	24.1	29.8	34.9	36.9	36.0	33.5	27.6	19.8	13.5	384.6
		Min. temp.	0.6	1.8	5.1	8.3	13.2	16.9	20.1	18.7	15.3	9.4	4.4	1.6	
		Rainfall	76.9	47.3	63.4	24.4	12.7	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	-	65.3	93.4	



Plate 2.1. The environment around Pol-e Murd in the mountains between Mamasani and Marv Dasht (photo: author).

important for cultivation, pasturage and grazing in the highland zone (Dewan and Famouri 1968: 258).

As one moves in a southeasterly direction from Kermanshah to Fars, elevations drop generally, precipitation is lower, and the rivers become more and more seasonal (for the geomorphology of Khuzestan's rivers see Heyvaert and Baeteman 2007; Heyvaert, Verkinderen and Walstra 2013). Fars is part of the Iranian plateau and is consequently less wooded and poorer in pasturage than Luristan, and agriculture is less productive without irrigation, although rainfall is often supplemented by significant amounts of water from natural springs (Plate 2.1). Settlement in isolated oases becomes sparser as one moves eastward, and the coastal plain itself is barren with few natural harbours, the main exceptions being at Bushehr and Bandar Abbas. Amongst the most important rivers in the region are the Kur and its affluent the Pulvar, which drain into the Daryacheh-i Niriz, a large inland playa. Arable land is interspersed with salines, marshes, piedmont hills and mountains, some of which, like the Kuh-i Pinar in the north (4,276 m), the Kuh-i Bul in the east (3,965 m), and the Kuh-i Kharman in the east (3,201 m), tower over the adjacent plains. Elevations in the highland plains are often much lower, and Shiraz, the region's principal modern city, lies at 1,530 m.a.s.l.

LOWLAND ELAM: KHUZISTAN – PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT, CLIMATE AND HYDROLOGY

Khuzistan in southwestern Iran constitutes what was, in many periods of Elamite history, the most important lowland component of Elam. Physically and climatically, Khuzistan may be divided broadly into three main zones (following Alizadeh 1992; Carter and Stolper 1984).

The *Arid Zone* of c. 20,000 km² receives under 200 mm of rainfall annually and is situated to the south of Ahwaz. This area is separated from the central and northern parts of Khuzistan by a low range of hills which runs in a southeasterly direction from the Jabal Hamrin to Ahwaz and across towards Behbahan. Agriculturally this area is unimportant as it consists of a combination of saline marshes and arid desert steppe.

The *Semi-Arid Zone* of c. 15,000 km² receives roughly 200 to 300 mm of rainfall per year. This zone extends from Ahwaz as far north as the Agha Jari hills, c. 10–15 km south of Susa and Dizful. The approximate northern limit of this area is formed by a series of hills which runs from the Diz in a southeasterly direction towards Ram Hormuz.

Finally, the *Dry Zone* of c. 25,000 km² receives between 300 and 900 mm of rainfall annually and extends from the upper limit of the Semi-Arid Zone as far north as Deh Luran and the foothills of the Zagros mountains. In summer, temperatures may be as high as 58.9°C, while temperatures in winter have been known to fall below freezing (Johnson 1973: 19–20). Moreover, the average rainfall figures given previously mask the great swings in precipitation which characterize the region. Thus, in some years parts of central and southern Khuzistan have received as little as 85 mm and as much as 580 mm of rainfall (Adams 1962: 110).

Geologically speaking, Khuzistan is an extension of the Mesopotamian alluvial plain fed by five rivers – the Karkheh, Diz, Karun, Marun and Zuhreh or Hindian – which rise in the Zagros mountains, draining between them an area of c. 100,000 km² (Kirkby 1977: 251). Moving from west to east, the Karkheh is the most westerly, originating high in the Zagros to the west of Kermanshah from a combination of smaller streams which include the Kara Su, Malayer, Gamasab and Kashkan (Sykes 1915/I: 43; Rahimi-Laridjani 1988: 232). The Diz rises near Burujird, south of Hamadan, while the Karun enters Khuzistan from the east, following a course which takes it from a point southwest of Isfahan northwest in the direction of Dizful before bending and heading south towards the Shatt al-Arab. The Diz is the least saline of all Khuzistan's rivers, and its summer flow is substantial enough to permit summer irrigation (Alizadeh 1992: 17). The Marun rises some 51 km northeast of Behbahan near the southeastern corner of Khuzistan, tending northwest before turning southwest, joining the Jarrahi and draining into the tidal floodplain and lagoons of southern Khuzistan. Finally, the Zuhreh or

Hindian river runs in a west-northwesterly direction from a point south of Kazerun, passing below Behbahan before turning south and running, through the town of Hindijan, into the Persian Gulf at Chatleh.

In contrast to the Tigris and Euphrates, the waters of which are derived almost entirely from the melting snows of the Taurus mountains, the rivers of Khuzistan are fed by mountain aquifers which are recharged annually by the *c.* 400–800 mm of rainfall experienced in the Zagros (Kirkby 1977: 251). Just as Mesopotamia is an alluvial plain composed of the silt deposited each year by the Tigris and Euphrates, so too is Khuzistan the creation of the five rivers which drain it (Brice 1966: 242). Of these, the Karun, some 828 km long, is the most important, bringing with it an estimated 29,700,000 m³ of silt per year (Cressey 1958: 449).

In 1915, Lt.-Col. (later Sir) Percy Sykes published a vivid description of the Karun:

In the heart of the Bakhtiari country there is a culminating mass of ranges. From this, on one side, springs the Zenda Rud, which runs east to Isfahan, while on the southern slope the Karun takes its rise. From its source the Karun dashes down at an incredible speed, falling 9000 feet [*c.* 3,000 m] before it reaches Shuster. On its way it passes through some of the grandest scenery in the world. The rugged mountain gorges are frequently inaccessible and the river appears like a ribbon thousands of feet below. At one point the gorge is so narrow that it can be jumped by an ordinarily active man. The river flows in every direction by turn, and often parallel to its original course. Indeed the windings between its source and Shuster measure two hundred and fifty miles [*c.* 400 km], although as the crow flies the distance is less than one-third of this total. (Sykes 1915/I: 43–4)

Because of the great amount of water in the Tigris and Euphrates which is siphoned off for irrigation and subsequently lost to evaporation, the Karun actually accounts for no less than 22 out of the 27 km³ of water discharged into the Persian Gulf annually through the Shatt al-Arab by the combined Euphrates, Tigris and Karun system (Cressey 1958: 455).

Much has been written on the changes undergone by the main watercourses of Khuzistan at different points in time, both by natural forces and by human manipulation through the construction of canals, dams and weirs (e.g. Selby 1844; Modi 1889; Kirkby 1977: 276ff.; Neely 1974; Rahimi-Laridjani 1988; Christensen 1993; Alizadeh et al. 2004; Moghaddam 2021b), and enough is known about the river regimes of the main streams draining Khuzistan to be certain that present-day drainage patterns are *not* the same as those of antiquity. It would not, therefore, be correct to project uncritically either modern climatic or geomorphological conditions onto the Khuzistan of the past. The botanist H. Pabot reconstructed the vegetation of the region between sea-level and 300 m elevation as having a scatter of tamarisk, pistachio and jujube trees, with substantial amounts of herbaceous plants suitable for wild browsers and

grazers (Johnson 1973: 22). Here rainfall generally comprises 200 to 300 mm per annum (van Zeist 1967: 302). As Johnson has noted with respect to the northern part of Khuzistan around the site of Susa, 'destruction of forest trees by fire and overcutting; destruction of other woody plants by fuel collection; long term plowing of forest and pasture soils; depletion of organic material; overgrazing; trampling and compression of soils by herd animals, all resulting in streaming and final soil erosion' have altered the natural landscape over the millennia (Johnson 1973: 21). Moreover, recent agribusiness has wrought untold changes on the landscape of Khuzistan, transforming it out of all recognition from what it was only 40 years ago and destroying hundreds if not thousands of archaeological sites (Kouchoukos and Hole 2003; Alizadeh et al. 2004).

Nevertheless, certain natural advantages of Khuzistan should be noted which distinguish it from its better-known western neighbour, the Mesopotamian plain. To begin with, the generally higher rainfall enjoyed by much of the region gave the area an advantage agriculturally over Mesopotamia. Although artificial irrigation was widely employed and indeed, as in Assyria, greatly increased the yields achievable by dry farming, the area's water regime was in many ways superior to that of the lower Euphrates and Tigris region. Moreover, the gravel fans of northern and central Khuzistan offer much better drainage than the silty soils of southern Mesopotamia (Adams 1962).

On more than one occasion in its history, Khuzistan has been controlled by a political force based to the west in Mesopotamia proper. Conversely, forces based in Khuzistan and/or in the adjacent Iranian highlands have raided and sometimes held southern Mesopotamia for years at a time. Why these two areas should have followed essentially distinct if interconnected paths of development is not immediately visible on most maps which suggest the continuous nature of the alluvial plain, but it must be stressed that, in all probability, features such as the Hawiza marshes, into which the Karkheh river now drains, formed real barriers between the eastern and the western portions of the alluvium. This is not to say that contact did not take place through and across those barriers, but given this obstacle and given the fact that sheep and goat herding has long been an important component in the economy of western Iran, it is not surprising to find that seasonal movements of herding groups into the mountains to the north and east during the summer and onto the plains during the winter fostered close and, as we shall see, symbiotic contact between Khuzistan and its piedmont and mountain periphery to a great degree, whereas contacts across the divide with southern Mesopotamia were more often than not politically motivated, whether Elamites attacking Babylonians or vice versa, or Elamites aiding Babylonians against a common enemy, such as Assyria. Travellers and anthropologists working in southwestern Iran have long been aware of the close ties which have traditionally bound the Iranian highlands with the Khuzistan plain. As one example, we may cite Lt. Col.

H.A. Sawyer, writing in 1894, who coined the term ‘Upper Elam’ for the highlands and ‘Lower Elam’ for the Khuzistan plain:

For want of a known general appellation, the country to the northwest of the Kuh-i-Rang has been called in this report by the name of Upper Elam. Of the ancient Elam, nothing need be said except that it lay in the plains at the foot of these hills only a few days’ distant. In summer the plains were, as they are nowadays, insufferably hot, whilst this mountainous country is cool, wooded, with peaks covered with snow. It is not extravagant to suppose, therefore, that in those times, even as now, this higher level country was periodically peopled by the same inhabitants as those who had their permanent homes in the Lower Elam of the plains. (Sawyer 1894: 494)

We must, nonetheless, be wary of inferring conditions in remote antiquity from patterns of the relatively recent past. Since the sixteenth century, for example, Arabic has been spoken and Arabs of the Banu Ka’b have resided in Khuzistan, creating a situation wherein the Shatt al-Arab (the current Iran-Iraq border) was by no means a linguistic boundary separating Arabic from Persian. Furthermore, the Hawiza (Hoveyzeh) marshes themselves, alluded to earlier as a possible barrier between the eastern and the western portions of the alluvium, may not have presented much of a barrier prior to the breaching of the dyke at Kut Nahr Hashim on the Karkheh in the 1830s (Ingham 1994: 97).

INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS OF ENVIRONMENTAL CLASSIFICATION

Western, scientific descriptions of the Iranian environment present a picture which is strikingly different from that of natural or traditional Iranian geography. From an Iranian point of view, the area treated in this book cross-cuts four major environmental zones. These are the *garmsir*, literally ‘warm land’, in the south, where the date-palm, sorghum and sugarcane are grown today; a strangely unnamed region of settlement where a great variety of fruits and vegetables are grown along with cotton, rice, tobacco and sesame; the *sardsir*, or ‘cold land’, those highland valleys up to 2,900 m.a.s.l. characterized by the cultivation of cereals (except for rice and sorghum), potatoes and fruit; and finally the *sarhadd*, the ‘land at the upper boundary’, which is traditionally dedicated to grazing rather than cultivation (Bobek 1968: 284; Rahimi-Laridjani 1988: 62). Quite apart from the problematic state of our understanding of the palaeoclimate of Iran (for an overview see Jones 2013), using a classification such as this to help inform our understanding of agricultural potential in antiquity is problematic if for no other reason than the fact that many of the cultivars listed earlier were unknown in the region in more remote antiquity. We know from both medieval and pre-modern sources that southwestern Iran has

always been agriculturally productive (Christensen 1993: 117–19, 151, 155, 165), but before adopting the traditional Iranian terminology for climatic/geographical units, we must consider the difficult problem of whether the climate has changed appreciably since antiquity.

CLIMATE THEN AND NOW

Most authors of studies of a particular culture area feel obliged to provide their readers with some basic data on rainfall and temperature in the area under study, just as has been done here, but when it comes to addressing the knotty problem of whether conditions have changed appreciably since prehistoric times, one almost invariably falls back on commonplace demurrals about the lack of adequate research and the extent to which results from one area cannot be extrapolated to another. In short, the reader is often left wondering whether an understanding of the current climatic regime is at all relevant to the study of the past, or else goes away with the conviction that as nothing really can be said about palaeoclimate, all one can do is to hope that conditions have not changed so much over the millennia that the data on modern climate is rendered utterly worthless. Needless to say, this is a far from satisfactory situation.

Climatic conditions in the past which differ from those of the present can be detected in a variety of ways which include (but are not limited to) geomorphological and palynological analysis (e.g. Meder 1979). In Khuzistan, geomorphological evidence gathered by M.J. Kirkby suggested that the Karkheh's peak flows have been declining since *c.* 1500 BC when they stood at an estimated 1,100 m³ of water per second (cumecs) to their current level of only 460 cumecs (Kirkby 1977: 279). But this was not necessarily due to a gradually warming climate, and could reflect amongst other things the institution of a reservoir system siphoning off peak flow water for later use in time of low summer flows, or the adoption of better land management practices resulting in improved water retention of irrigation water in the surrounding fields (Kirkby 1977: 279). What probably does reflect changing climate is the pattern of aggradation and erosion in the rivers of Khuzistan. As Kirkby explained,

[I]n semi-arid areas, aggradation is associated with wetter periods, and down-cutting with drier periods. In a slightly drier period, plant cover is sparser, so that rain compacts and seals the unprotected soil surface. The effect is to reduce infiltration into the soil, and increase surface runoff, which carries with it a greatly increased sediment load. To accommodate these changes, more channels are formed and existing ones incised. . . . Thus the initial effect of the drier conditions was to increase the rate of headwater erosion as hillside vegetation became sparser. To begin with, this erosion led to an increase of sediment downstream, causing aggradation all over the plains. Over the last ten thousand years, however, the continued drier climate (overall) has allowed the area of erosion to spread downstream into

the Khuzistan plains, which are now more or less stable, although ‘wetter’ conditions since the 4000 BC climatic optimum might have assisted this stabilization. (Kirkby 1977: 283–4)

Although Brookes contended that Kirkby’s climatic reconstruction ‘runs counter to what would be expected as a result of the climatic and cultural changes so far reconstructed for the central and southern Zagros’, it in fact conforms in the main to the pollen profile at Lake Zeribar in northwestern Iran analysed by van Zeist, who suggested that ‘between *ca.* 10,000 and *ca.* 6,000 BP, a savanna with *Pistacia* [pistachio] and *Quercus* [oak] was present’, indicative of warm conditions, and that ‘after about 6,000 BP, the savanna thickened to an oak forest, suggesting an increase in humidity to modern levels . . . which may have been caused either by a rise in precipitation or a fall in temperature, or by a combination of both’ (van Zeist 1967: 301, 310; cf. Wasylikowa and Witkowski 2008). As Bottema explained in discussing the Lake Zeribar evidence, ‘the decrease of values for *Artemisia* and the parallel increase of *Chenopodiaceae* point to a change in conditions. Precipitation must have been the limiting factor for tree growth, while increasing temperatures did more harm than good to such vegetation. Whereas the present lower limit of forest theoretically stands at sea-level in all the other sites [examined by Bottema, i.e. Xinias and Ioannina in Greece; Lakes Vico and Garda in Italy; Trsteniki in Slovenia; the Ghab valley in Syria], oak forest in the Zagros Mountains only grows above 800 m. The conditions at the beginning of the post-Glacial were so bad that the expansion of such oak forest reached an optimum only at about 5500 BP’ (Bottema 1978: 27). Post-Pleistocene warming has also been deduced from a study of the strandlines around the Neyriz playa east of Shiraz (Brookes 1982: 213) and from the calichification of gravels in the Mahidasht plain west of Kermanshah (Brookes 1989: 35).

Brookes has suggested that during the early to mid Holocene (*c.* 7000–4000 BP) temperatures stood only 1–2°C above those of the present day. Nevertheless, he estimated that this slight difference was significant enough to completely eradicate the Iranian glaciers, thus removing one of the perennial sources of water supply available in the mountains. Brookes suggests, ‘Neolithic farming communities may have had to rely upon stream-flow from winter rainfall, without spring and summer augmentation by glacier melt water. Perhaps this spurred development of irrigation techniques’ (Brookes 1982: 199; on the Neolithization process in Iran, see Weeks et al. 2006; Darabi 2012; Weeks 2013b).

Finally, whereas the Lake Zeribar diagram shows no indication of appreciable climate change after 5500 BP, a core drilled further south at Lake Mirabad, southwest of Khorramabad, shows signs of two ‘short climatic oscillations’ when the lake dried out completely, perhaps the result of drier summers which may have also thinned out the oak forest (van Zeist 1967: 310–11; cf.

Griffiths, Schwalb and Stevens 2001; Jones 2013: 19). An increase in the amount of research conducted in recent years (Stevens, Wright and Ito 2001; Djamali et al. 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Kehl 2009; Jones 2013) only emphasizes the fact that different data sets are susceptible to different interpretations, and extreme caution must be exercised in drawing conclusions about palaeoclimate from the available data, particularly in light of the complicating nature of human impacts on the environment through cultivation, forest clearance and other activities (see later discussion).

Ancient literary sources also give us some climatic data for the period from the arrival of Alexander the Great in Iran to roughly the time of Christ. In his *Geography*, the Greek geographer Strabo (64/3 BC – c. AD 25) describes Fars, or Persis as he calls it, as well as Khuzistan, ancient Susis. ‘Persis is of a threefold character, both in its nature and in the temperature of its air’, he wrote (*Geog.* 15.3.1). The coast of Fars was ‘burning hot, sandy, and stinted of fruits except dates . . . the portion above the seaboard produces everything, is level, and is excellent for the rearing of cattle, and also abounds with rivers and lakes; the third portion, that on the north, is wintry and mountainous’. The ancient authorities on whom Strabo drew (e.g. Aristobulus, Onesicritus and Nearchus) were greatly impressed by the extreme heat of Khuzistan, about which Strabo wrote,

[A]lthough Susis is fertile, it has a hot and scorching atmosphere, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the city . . . when the sun is hottest, at noon, the lizards and the snakes could not cross the streets in the city quickly enough to prevent their being burnt to death in the middle of the streets . . . this is the case nowhere in Persis, although Persis lies more to the south . . . cold water for baths is put out in the sun and immediately heated . . . and . . . although they are in want of long beams, they need large houses on account of the suffocating heat. . . . It is said that the cause of the heat is the fact that lofty mountains lie above the country on the north and that these mountains intercept all the northern winds. Accordingly, these winds, blowing aloft from the tops of the mountains and high above the plains, do not touch the plains, although they blow on the more southerly parts of Susis. (*Geog.* 15.3.10)

If we turn to the subsequent era, one of the results of Brookes’s careful study of the Mahidasht plain has been to show that up to 10 metres of alluvium has been deposited since a date ‘no older than AD 220 and possibly as young as post-AD 1000’ (Brookes 1989: 31). Devastating floods are known to have occurred in the area in 1832, and test excavations at Jameh Shuran, for example, have shown that strata datable archaeologically to c. 1000 BC are today located 1 metre below the flood plain. The net result of these observations has been to show that many sites, particularly smaller ones, lie totally buried beneath the alluvial plain. Moreover, it completely skews our perception of the visible size of sites in this region, a factor which has obvious implications for site size and

hence putative population estimates in antiquity. The ‘absence’ of Chalcolithic sites within two kilometres of the Ab-i-Marik, a stream which runs through the Mahidasht, is clearly therefore an artifact of the buildup of 3 to 6 metres of alluvium in this area, just as the overrepresentation of Middle Islamic period or younger sites in the same zone is a misrepresentation of real site distributions. The fact that sites earlier than this date do not appear at elevations below the 1,360 metre contour line (Brookes 1989: 38) reflects the areal extent of alluviation on the Mahidasht and should serve as a warning to archaeologists and historians not to interpret site distributions without some understanding of local geomorphology.

EARLY HUMAN IMPACTS ON THE ENVIRONMENT

In addition to having a basic understanding of climatic conditions in the past which impinged on human activities in southwestern Iran, it is also interesting to consider what the human impact on the environment has been through time.

Under the rubric ‘human impacts’, one often thinks of deforestation and soil degradation and in that connection of the reduction of protective vegetation cover caused by the overgrazing of domesticated goats, causing ‘a high rate of denudation’ (Brookes 1982: 193). To be sure, however much we may be influenced by the ‘green’ politics of the modern era and an idealized image of native groups living in perfect ecological harmony with their environment, it is just as possible for human-induced environmental degradation to have occurred in antiquity as it is today. In the case of historic southern Mesopotamia, with its massive irrigation system, this is precisely what has been argued by scholars who believe that wilful ‘violation of fallow’ led to ‘engineered disaster in Mesopotamian civilization’ (Gibson 1974: 7–19), or that overintensification led to salinity problems which ultimately reduced yields (e.g. Jacobsen 1982; but see also Powell 1985).

In the Zagros, we have had relatively few detailed studies which can shed light on this problem (but see now Djamali et al. 2009a, 2009b), but certainly the palaeobotanical evidence from Tal-i Malyan in Fars suggests that a slow but progressive pattern of deforestation characterizes the sequence there from the late fourth through the second millennium BC. A gradual decline in the quantity of charcoal from juniper and poplar – trees which lived in the immediate vicinity of the site on the Kur River basin floor – coupled with a steady increase in oak charcoal – a species found in the higher elevations further away from the site – suggest that whether through land clearance for agriculture, in the interests of obtaining fuel to be used for domestic purposes (cooking, heating) or for industrial purposes (firing ceramic kilns and metallurgical ovens), or from a combination of such factors, the tree cover around the site grew ever sparser as time went on (Miller 1985, 1990a: 74). A similar

trend has been observed at Tepe Abdul Hosein in Luristan, where, as G. Willcox noted, ‘that the area around Tepe Abdul Hosein today is completely denuded of trees indicates that the area was progressively over-exploited and subsequently deforested’, even though the quantities of *Pistacia* sp. and *Amygdalus* charcoal found at the site indicate ‘that there was no lack of fuel occurring naturally during the mid-seventh millennium BC’ (Willcox 1990: 226). Another example from Fars of later date is provided by Strabo, who says that when Alexander the Great went to Pasargadae, near Shiraz, he visited the tomb of Cyrus the Great, which was ‘concealed within the dense growth of trees’ (*Geog.* 15.3.7). Today, Cyrus’ tomb is located in an open, undulating plain covered with savanna-like grass.

In discussing the area around Tepe Ali Kosh in Khuzistan, K.V. Flannery observed that the practice of farming introduced cultivars (wheat and barley) which competed with the wild legumes and grasses (wild alfalfa, spiny milk vetch, a fenugreek-like plant, oat grass, Bermuda grass and canary grass) formerly gathered in the area during the pre-agricultural era. As both the wild and the cultivated plants competed for the same alluvial soils, the wild plants changed from being sought after by the human communities in the region to being considered weeds. In the competition, these plants lost out. Thus, not only was the native plant cover greatly modified, but the replacement of previously economically important wild plants by cultivars meant that a reversion to plant gathering was effectively ruled out as a subsistence strategy (Flannery 1969: 87–8).

The changing percentages of wood charcoal at Tal-i Malyan are mirrored by the ever-increasing amounts of weed seeds as one moves through the sequence, a sign, N.F. Miller suggested, that animal dung cakes were used increasingly as a wood substitute for fuel, by then an increasingly scarce commodity (Miller 1984; Miller and Smart 1984). Still, there is no indication of the sort of organized deforestation which Eratosthenes observed on Cyprus, where, according to Strabo, ‘trees were cut down to smelt the copper and silver’, and when even timbering for boat-building proved ‘insufficient to check the growth of timber in the forest, permission was given, to such as were able and inclined, to cut down the trees and to hold the land thus cleared as their own property, free from all payments’ (Strabo, *Geog.* 14.6.5; cf. Brice 1978: 142). Rather, when it comes to ‘living on the land’ in an intelligent manner, Brookes’s work on the Mahidasht plain is instructive, for he found that ‘human settlements would unarguably have been as finely adjusted in their distribution with respect to soil and water resources as they clearly are today’ (Brookes 1989: 35). A glance at Table 2.2 clearly shows this to have been the case, for the figures relating to the siting of settlements on alluvial lowland, alluvial fan and upland locations are strikingly similar.

TABLE 2.2. *Relative distribution of ancient and modern village sites in environmental zones within the Mahidasht survey area*

Village sites	Alluvial lowland %	Alluvial fans %	Upland (pediment, colluvial hills and rock outcrops) %
modern	43.7	34.7	18
ancient (n5515)	44.5	37.5	10.4

NATURAL RESOURCES

If we disregard the great interior desert basins of Iran, the Dasht-i Lut and Dasht-i Kavir, and parts of Baluchistan and Seistan, the rest of the country is rich in natural resources, many of which were exploited in antiquity. For the sake of this discussion, we may classify these resources under the rubrics ‘animal’, ‘mineral’ and ‘vegetable’.

As the faunal assemblages from sites of all periods in our region attest, the range of vertebrate and invertebrate fauna exploited for human consumption was certainly large. Tables 2.3 to 2.5 summarize the species (mammals, reptiles, birds) present in Luristan (Table 2.3), Fars (Table 2.4) and Khuzistan (Table 2.5) from the Palaeolithic through the Chalcolithic (later fauna will be discussed in the following chapters of this book). These tables take no account of percentages and are intended only to show the range of wildlife inhabiting the territory which later became the Elamite zone. Clearly this range was wide and presented enormous opportunities for subsistence. But it should be noted that the diversity of species hunted should not be misinterpreted, for certain species were much more intensively utilized than others. For example, in spite of the seemingly wide range of species diversity during the Upper Palaeolithic, the wild ungulates hunted in the Zagros contributed 99 per cent of the total meat yield, whereas it is clear that in later prehistory, whether by calculating numbers of individuals of a particular species present in the faunal assemblage of a particular site or by calculating the meat yield from those individuals, the broad range of animals available is deceptive in that hunted birds and mammals contributed relatively little to the diet. Nevertheless, one should not forget that animals are important not merely for the meat they yield but also for those secondary products which they are able to supply.

At the Neolithic site of Tepe Abdul Hosein in Luristan, for example, red deer (*Cervus elaphus*) antler was used to fashion tools which had tips polished (Pullar 1990: 190) by some kind of repetitive activity, such as reaming. Hare or fox bones were used to make points at Tepe Abdul Hosein, and similar objects are known from Ali Kosh (Hole, Flannery and Neely 1969: 215) and Choga Sefid (Hole 1977: 219–25), while animal bones of undetermined species were

TABLE 2.3. Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through Chalcolithic) in Luristan

		Distribution in Luristan															
Fauna		Mid. Pal.			Upper Pal.		Epipal			Acer. Neol.		Ceramic Neol.				Chalcolithic	
Latin name	Common name	War	Hou	Kho	War	Kho	War	Kho	PaS	GjD	Asi	Gur	Sar	Sia	Deh	Seh	God
Mammal (wild)																	
Insectivora																	
<i>Hemiechinus</i>	long-eared																+
cf. <i>auritus</i>	hedgehog																
<i>Erinaceus europaeus</i>	European hedgehog												+				
Lagomorpha																	
<i>Ochotona</i>	rufescent pika	+															
cf. <i>rufescens</i>																	
<i>Lepus</i> cf. <i>capensis</i>	cape hare	+															
<i>Lepus</i> sp.	hare		+									+	+			+	
Rodentia																	
<i>Microtus</i> sp.	vole		+														+
<i>Mus musculus</i>	house mouse									+							+
<i>Apodemus sylvaticus</i>	field/wood mouse																+
<i>Rattus rattus</i>	house rat																+
<i>Ellobius</i>		+								+							
cf. <i>fuscocapillus</i>																	
<i>Meriones</i> sp.	jird									+							
<i>Mesocricetus</i>	gold hamster	+															
cf. <i>auratus</i>																	
<i>Tatera</i> cf. <i>indica</i>	Indian gerbil	+															
<i>Cricetulus</i> sp.	gray hamster																+
Carnivora																	
<i>Canis lupus</i>	wolf	+										+		+	+	+	

TABLE 2.3. (continued)

[illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE 2.3. (continued)

Distribution in Luristan																			
Fauna		Mid. Pal.			Upper Pal.		Epipal			Acer. Neol.		Ceramic Neol.				Chalcolithic			
Latin name	Common name	War	Hou	Kho	War	Kho	War	Kho	PaS	GjD	Asi	Gur	Sar	Sia	Deh	Seh	God		
<i>Crex crex</i>	corncrake											+							
<i>Fulica atra</i>	coot											+							
<i>Grus grus</i>	European crane														+				
<i>Otis tarda</i>	great bustard														+	+	+		
<i>Bubo bubo</i>	eagle owl											+							
<i>Merops apiaster</i>	European bee-eater														+				
<i>Pyrhocorax</i>	red-billed chough														+				
<i>pyrrhocorax</i>																			

Notes: Information extracted from Uerpmann 1987; Young and Levine 1974; Bökönyi 1977; Bewley 1984; Hesse 1979, 1982; Flannery 1983; Gilbert 1991.

Abbreviations: War = Warwasi; Hou = Houmian; Kho = Khorramabad caves; PaS = Pa Sangar; GjD = Ganj Dareh; Asi = Asiab; Gur = Tepe Guran; Sar = Sarab; Sia = Siahbid; Deh = Dehsavar; Seh = Seh Gabi; God = Godin Tepe.

TABLE 2.4. Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through Chalcolithic) in Fars

Fauna		Distribution in Fars					
Latin name	Common name	Mid. Pal.	Upper Pal.	Epipal.	Ceramic Neol.		Chalcolithic
		Esh	Esh	Esh	Tal-i	Mushki	Tal-i Gap
Mammal (wild)							
Perissodactyla							
<i>Equus hemionus</i>	onager, half-ass	+	+	+	?		
Artiodactyla							
<i>Bos primigenius</i>	aurochs	+	+	+			
<i>Gazella</i> sp.	gazelle unspecified	+	+	+			
<i>Capra aegagrus</i>	wild goat						?
<i>Ovis orientalis</i>	Western Asiatic mouflon, red sheep	+	+	+			?
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>	red deer	?	?	?			+
<i>Dama mesopotamica</i>	Mes. fallow deer						+
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	roe deer						+
Mammal (domestic)							
Artiodactyla							
<i>Bos taurus</i>	cattle						+

Notes: Information extracted from Uerpmann 1987; Payne 1991; Zeder 1991; Abbreviations: Esh = Eshkaft-e Gavi.

TABLE 2.5. Fauna represented in archaeological contexts (Palaeolithic through early third millennium BC) in Khuzistan

Latin name	Common name	Distribution in Khuzistan												
		1. Fauna		2. Aceramic Neol.		3. Ceramic Neol.			4. Chalcolithic					
		BusM	AliK	MohJ	Sef	Sur	CMT	Sabz	Khaz	Meh	Bay	Far	P-Far	
Mammal (wild)														
Insectivora														
<i>Hemiechinus</i> <i>cf. auritus</i>	long-eared hedgehog		+	+				+						
Rodentia														
<i>Meriones crassus</i>	Karun desert gerbil	+												
<i>Nesokia indica</i>	bandicoot rat		+	+										
<i>Tatera cf. indica</i>	Indian gerbil	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+		
Carnivora														
<i>Canis lupus</i>	wolf		+	+										
<i>Canis</i> spp.	canid unspecified												+	+
<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	red fox	+	+	+						+	+	+		
<i>Hyaena hyaena</i>	hyena		+											
<i>Felis</i> cf. <i>Libyca</i>	wild cat		+	+								+		
<i>Mustela nivalis</i>	weasel		?											
<i>Martes foina</i>	beech marten		+											
Perissodactyla														
<i>Equus hemionus</i>	onager, half-ass	+	+	+				+	+	+	+			
<i>Equus</i> sp.	equid unspecified												+	+
Artiodactyla														
<i>Bos primigenius</i>	aurochs	+	+	+										
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	wild boar	+	+	+				+		+	+	+	+	+

<i>Gazella subgutturosa</i>	goitred gazelle	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	
Mammal (domestic)										
Carnivora										
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	dog						+	+		+
Artiodactyla										
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig									+
<i>Ovis aries</i>	sheep	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
<i>Capra hircus</i>	goat	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
<i>Bos Taurus</i>	cattle					+	+	+	+	+
Reptile (wild)										
<i>Clemmys caspica</i>	freshwater turtle	+	+	+			+		+	+
Bird (wild)										
<i>Ciconia ciconia</i>	white stork		+							
<i>Anas platyrhynchos</i>	mallard			+						
<i>Aythya</i> sp.	diving duck									+
<i>Anser anser</i>	gray lag goose	+								
<i>Anser albifrons</i>	white-fronted goose	+								
<i>Aquila</i> sp.	eagle							+		
<i>Grus grus</i>	European crane		+							+
<i>Ardea cinerea</i>	heron			+					+	
<i>Accipitridae</i>	hawk or kite								+	
<i>Francolinus francolinus</i>	black partridge		+	+						+
<i>Ammoperdix griseogularis</i>	seesee partridge								+	
<i>Corvus corone</i>	hooded crow									+
<i>Phalacrocorax carbo</i>	cormorant									+

Notes: Information extracted from Hole, Flannery and Neely 1969; Uerpmann 1987; Redding 1981.

Abbreviations relate to the phases of occupation identified at Tepe Ali Kosh, Tepe Sabz, Chogha Sefid and Tepe Farukhabad. BusM = Bus Mordeh, c. 7500–6700 BC; AliK = Ali Kosh, c. 6700–6300 BC; MohJ = Mohammad Jaffar, c. 6300–6000 BC; Sef = Sefid, c. 6000–5700 BC; Sur = Surkh, c. 5700–5400 BC; CMT = Choga Mami Transitional, c. 5400–5200 BC; Sabz, c. 5200–5000 BC; Khaz = Khazineh, c. 5000–4800 BC; Meh = Mehme, c. 4800–4600 BC; Bay = Bayat, c. 4600–4400 BC; Far = Farukhabad, c. 4400–4200 BC; P-Far = Post-Farukhabad, c. 4200–1300 BC. After Hole 1987: Tab. 2.

employed as needles, spatulae, burnishers and pendants (Pullar 1990: 189–90). Modified sheep and goat scapulae were used at Tepe Abdul Hosein and Ganj Dareh as tools for removing cereal grains (barley in the case of Ganj Dareh) from the stalk (Stordeur and Anderson-Gerfaud 1985; see the illustrations in Pullar 1990: Fig. 72a–c). Sheep and goat long bones, particularly distal tibiae, were used as gouges at Tepe Abdul Hosein (Pullar 1990: Fig. 73), and we should also assume that the leather obtained from the larger ungulates was used for clothing, bags, buckets and so forth, even if these have failed to survive in the archaeological record.

The mineral resources of highland Iran were as highly esteemed in antiquity as they were in the medieval and early modern eras and indeed continue to be to this day. In 1837, the Qara Dagħ region northeast of Tabriz was described to Lord Palmerston as ‘one enormous mass of the most valuable minerals, whole mountains being almost apparently composed of ores – perhaps the richest in the world – of iron, tin, and copper’ (quoted in Intelligence Department 1918: 68; cf. Floor 2003: 204–8). Hyperbole such as this notwithstanding, Iran boasts a long list of mineral resources (see Fraser 1826: 354–63), not all of which were exploited in antiquity, of course (Table 2.6). Moreover, if one examines the late antique Chinese and medieval sources on the mineral products of Iran, it is clear that some of the things said to come from ‘Persia’ were not indigenous to that region, but merely passed through it before arriving at their final destinations. The list included here is far more extensive geographically than the former regions of Elam would have been, but it is intended merely to convey the wealth of mineral diversity present in Iran. Metals, semiprecious stones, pigments and medicinal mineral compounds were all available over a wide area extending from Azerbaijan in the northwest to Khorassan in the northeast and the Makran coast in the southeast.

TABLE 2.6. *Distribution of minerals in Iran according to Chinese, medieval and early modern records*

Mineral	Uses	Distribution	Select references
alabaster	vessels	Yazd ‘eastern Iran’	Beale 1973
*amber		‘Persia’	<i>Nan shi, Wei shu, Sui shu</i>
antimony		Demawend (Kerman)	Yaquṭ
		Anarak	Intelligence Dept. 1918
azurite	pigment	Anarak, Kashan	Purinton and Watters 1991; Porter and Vesel 1993
bezoar	medicinal	‘Persia’	Milburn 1813
bitumen	vessels, seals, statuary, beads, etc.	Khuzistan, Luristan	Connan and Deschesne 1996; Connan et al. 2008
			Gregg, Brettell and Stern 2007
borax		near Lake Urmia south-west of Isfahan ‘Kerman’	Intelligence Dept. 1918

TABLE 2.6. (continued)

Mineral	Uses	Distribution	Select references
carnelian	beads	Helmand River basin (Seistan)	Beale 1973
chlorite	vessels, statuary, small objects	around Tepe Yahya	Beale 1973
chromite		near Takht-i Sulaiman	Intelligence Dept. 1918
cobalt	pigment	near Kashan	<i>Javaher-name-ye soltani</i>
copper	tools	northeast of Tabriz near Isfahan Anarak Gaud-i-Ahmer (Kerman) 'Kerman' Astaneh-Sarband 'Persia'	Blau 1858: 93; Intelligence Dept. 1918 Beale 1973; Floor 2003: 186 ff.; Momenzadeh 2004; Nezafati 2006; Vatandoust, Parzinger and Helwing 2011 <i>Chou shu, Sui shu</i>
coral	medicinal, talismanic		
diamond	drill points	'Persia'	<i>Ta T'an leu tien</i>
erythrite	pigment?	Anarak, Meskani, Talmesi	Kashani
gold	jewellery	Hamadan Kawand near Zinjan Damghan (Khorassan) near Assarabad near Meshed (Khorassan) southwest of Yazd	Intelligence Dept. 1918
'green salt'	medicinal, eye diseases	'Persia'	<i>Sui shu</i>
(copper oxide)			
iron	metallurgical	'Persia' Bafq, east of Yazd	<i>Chou shu</i> Intelligence Dept. 1918; Blau 1858: 93; Floor 2003: 207–8
iron oxide	pigment	'Persian Gulf islands'	Milburn 1813
lazulite	jewellery, figurines	between Yazd and Isfahan 'northwestern Iran'	Beale 1973
lead		Demawend (Kerman) west of Teheran Anarak, northeast of Isfahan Semnan, east of Teheran northeast of Bafq (Kerman)	Yaqut Intelligence Dept. 1918 Blau 1858: 92
litharge	medicinal	Demawend (Kerman)	Yaqut
marble	vessels, architectural elements	northeast and southeast of Yazd 35 km west of Tepe Yahya (Kerman)	Beale 1973
mercury		Takht-i Sulaiman (Azerbaijan)	Intelligence Dept. 1918

TABLE 2.6. (continued)

Mineral	Uses	Distribution	Select references
obsidian	cutting tools, jewellery, vessels	55 km east of Bam	Beale 1973; Darabi and Glascock 2013
orpiment		Takht-i Sulaiman (Azerbaijan) ‘Kurdistan’	Blau 1858: 93; Intelligence Dept. 1918
pearls	beads	Persian Gulf	<i>Jowhar-name-ye nezami</i>
realgar		Takht-i Sulaiman (Azerbaijan) ‘Kurdistan’	Intelligence Dept. 1918
sal ammoniac	medicinal	Dimindan (Kerman)	Yaqut after Ibn al-Faqih Abu Mansur
salt (rock)		‘Persia’ Hormuz island Qishm island Kamarijj, between Bushire and Shiraz	Milburn 1813 Intelligence Dept. 1918
sulphur		‘Persia’ Demawand	Milburn 1813; Blau 1858: 93 Intelligence Dept. 1918
tin	metallurgical	Deh Hosein (Luristan)	Nezafati 2006; Nezafati, Pernicka and Momenzadeh 2006, 2009; Helwing 2009; Pigott 2011: 284–285
turquoise	decorative	‘Persia’ Nishapur (Khorassan)	<i>Pei shi, Chou shu, Sui shu, Wei shu</i> <i>Cho ken lu, Jowhar-name-ye nezami</i> ; Blau 1858: 94
		Kerman between Kerman and Yazd near Tal-i Iblis (Kerman)	Pliny NH XXXVII 33 Beale 1973
vitriol		Setrushteh	Ibn Haukal
zinc	metallurgical (ingredient in brass)	Demawend (Kerman) Dunbawand (Kerman)	Yaqut Ibn al-Faqih
			Jawbari Milburn 1813
		northeast of Tabriz	Intelligence Dept. 1918

Notes: Information derived from Milburn 1813; Blau 1858; Laufer 1919; Beale 1973; Porter and Vesel 1993; Floor 2003; Momenzadeh 2004 and other sources cited.

Finally, the vegetable resources available in the later Elamite region included a range of cultivars and their wild progenitors (Table 2.7); plants, the gums, resins and oils of which were used for medicinal and religious purposes (Table 2.8); dozens of species of trees providing wood for a wide range of uses (Table 2.9); and wild grasses and legumes, such as fenugreek and plantain,

TABLE 2.7. *Cultivars in early Khuzistan*

Taxon	Common name	<u>Luristan</u>	<u>Khuzistan</u>	AliK	MohJ	Sef	Sur	CMT	Sabz	Khaz	Meh	Bay	Far	P-Far
		AbH	BusM											
<i>Hordeum distichon</i>	2-row hulled barley	+												
<i>Hordeum vulgare</i>	6-row hulled barley		+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	
<i>H. vulgare</i> var. <i>nudum</i>	6-row naked barley		+	+					+	+	+	+		
<i>Triticum dicoccum</i>	emmer wheat	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	
<i>Triticum monococcum</i>	einkorn wheat		+	+					+	+	+	+		
<i>Triticum aestivum</i>	bread wheat													
<i>Lens culinare</i>	lentils	+		+	+				+	+	+	+		
<i>Avena</i> sp.	wild oats	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+		

Notes: Information derived from Helbaek 1969 and Hubbard 1990; cf. Miller 2003; Riehl et al. 2011; Riehl, Zeidi and Conard 2013. Abbreviations as for Table 2.5.

TABLE 2.8. *Aromatics (resins, gums and volatile oils) native to various parts of Iran*

Substance	Origin	Products and uses	Distribution
asafoetida	<i>Ferula narthex</i> , <i>F. alliacea</i> , <i>F.</i> <i>foetida</i> , <i>F.</i> <i>persica</i> , <i>F.</i> <i>scorodosma</i>	aromatic used in medicine as a stimulant and antispasmodic; burnt as incense in religious rites; also used as condiment; leaves cooked and eaten as a vegetable	Laristan, Makran
bdellium	<i>Commiphora</i> <i>mukul</i>	aromatic burned in religious rites; part of Roman and Indian pharmacopeia with wide variety of	Makran, Media?, Bactria
galbanum	<i>Ferula</i> <i>galbaniflua</i> , <i>F.</i> <i>rubricaulis</i> or <i>erubescens</i> ; <i>Dorema</i> <i>anchezi</i>	uses aromatic used medicinally	northern Iran, Hamadan, Demawend; between Teheran and Qazvin
labdanum	<i>Cistus</i> <i>ladiniferus</i> , <i>C. creticus</i>	resin used in perfumery and medicine, for colds	'Persia'
olibanum	<i>Emblica</i> <i>officinalis</i> , <i>Pongamia</i> <i>glabra</i>	aromatic used in medicine and as ingredient in	'Persia'
opoponax	<i>Opoponax</i> <i>chironium</i>	incense gum resin used in medicine, medicinal wine, perfumery and soap	'Persia'
sarcocolla	<i>Penaea</i> <i>mucronata</i> , <i>Astragalus</i> sp.?	resin used as blood coagulant	'Persia', Bushehr
scammony	<i>Convolvulus</i> <i>scammonia</i>	gum resin used as a purgative	'Persia'

Notes: Data drawn from Laufer 1919; Milburn 1813; Potts, Parpola, Parpola and Tidmarsh 1996.

the seeds of which were employed in later history for both culinary and medicinal purposes.

CONCLUSION

Because we can demonstrate no unequivocal connection between the prehistoric assemblages of Fars, Khuzistan and Luristan, on the one hand, and the later material culture of the Elamites, on the other, it is not necessarily relevant to review the entire scope of pre-Elamite archaeology in what was later to become Elam. Nevertheless, even allowing for climatic fluctuations and changing human impacts on the environment, the land, flora and fauna of those

TABLE 2.9. Hans Wulff's 'list of useful timber . . . compiled in conversations with woodworking craftsmen and peasants' and archaeologically attested tree species from excavated sites in western Iran

Latin name	Common name	Area of exploitation	Archaeological presence	Uses
<i>Acacia</i> spp.	acacia	Fars, Laristan		timber, bark used for tanning furniture
<i>Acer insigne</i> , <i>A. laetum</i> , <i>A. monspesassulanum</i> , <i>A. campestre</i> , <i>A. platanoides</i> , <i>A. opulifolium</i> , <i>Acer</i> spp.	maple	Caspian provinces, Khorassan, Kurdistan	Tal-i Malyan B, K	small articles timber
<i>Albizzia julibrissin</i>	silk tree	—		
<i>Alnus subcordata</i> , <i>A. glutinosa</i> , <i>A. barbata</i>	alder	Caspian provinces, Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz		produces red dye
<i>Amygdalus communis</i> , <i>A. amara</i>	bitter almond	Fars		
<i>Amygdalus dulcis</i>	sweet almond	—		
<i>Amygdalus fragilis</i> , <i>A. orientalis</i>	almond	Gilan		
<i>Amygdalus scoparia</i>	mountain almond	—		
<i>Amygdalus</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan B, K	
<i>Amygdalus/Prunus</i> indet.			Tepe Abdul Hosein AN	
<i>Buxus sempervirens</i>	box	Caspian provinces, Gilan, Shiraz, Isfahan		furniture
<i>Caesalpina bonducella</i>	nicker tree	—		
<i>Caesalpina sapan</i>	sapan wood	—		
<i>Capparis</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan K	
<i>Carpinus betulus</i>	common beech/ European hornbeam	Caspian provinces		
<i>Carpinus orientalis</i>	oriental beech/ hornbeam	Caspian provinces		
<i>Castanea vesca</i>	chestnut	—		
<i>Cedrus</i> spp.	cedar	—		
<i>Celtis caucasia</i>	nettle tree	—		small articles

TABLE 2.9. (continued)

Latin name	Common name	Area of exploitation	Archaeological presence	Uses
<i>Celtis</i> spp.			Ganj Dareh AN	
<i>Cercis siliquastrum</i>	Judas tree	Luristan, Caspian provinces		
<i>Citrus limonum</i> , <i>C. medica</i>	lemon	—		
<i>Citrus</i> spp.	orange	Shiraz		inlay work
<i>Cordia myxa</i> , <i>C. crenata</i>	Sebestens tree	Bandar Abbas region		
<i>Cornus mascula</i>	dogwood?	Isfahan, Kargez mountains		tool handles
<i>Cornus sanguinea</i>	cornel tree	—		
<i>Corylus avelana</i>	hazelwood	—		
<i>Cotoneaster nummularia</i>	manna tree?	—		
<i>Crataegus</i> spp.			Tepe Abdul Hosein AN	
<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i> , <i>C. horizontalis</i> , <i>C. fastigata</i>	cypress	Caspian provinces, Fars, Elburz, Baluchistan, Luristan		timber
<i>Dalbergia sissoo</i>	Sissoo tree	Baluchistan		various, incl. boat-building
<i>Dalbergia</i> spp.	palisander, rosewood	—		
<i>Daphne</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan B	
<i>Diospyros ebenum</i>	ebony	—		
<i>Diospyrus</i> spp.	persimmon	—		
<i>Eleagnus angustifolia</i>	sorb/oleaster	Caspian provinces		agricultural tools
<i>Erica arborea</i>	briar or tree-heath	—		beams, bowls
<i>Fagus silvatica</i> , <i>F. orientalis</i>	beech	Caspian provinces, Gilan, Elburz		arrows, spears
<i>Ficus carica</i>	fig	Fars, Khorassan		
<i>Ficus altissima</i>	Indian fig	Bandar Abbas		
<i>Fraxinus excelsior</i> , <i>F. oxyphylla</i> , <i>Fraxinus</i> spp.	ash	Shiraz, Caspian provinces		various
<i>Haemotoxylon campechianum</i>	logwood	—	Tal-i Malyan K	
<i>Juglans regia</i>	walnut	—		furniture
<i>Juniperus</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan B, K	timber

TABLE 2.9. (continued)

Latin name	Common name	Area of exploitation	Archaeological presence	Uses
<i>Laurus nobilis</i>	laurel	—		
<i>Mangifera indica</i>	mango	Baluchistan		
<i>Melia azadirachta</i>	margosa	—		
<i>Mespilus</i> spp.	medlar	Kerman		pipe stems, mouthpieces
<i>Moras alba</i>	mulberry	—		musical instruments
<i>Moras nigra</i>	black mulberry	—		musical instruments
<i>Olea europea</i>	olive	—		
<i>Parrotia persica</i>	ironwood	Caspian provinces		timber
<i>Persica loevis</i>	smooth almond	—		
<i>Phoenix dactylifera</i>	date palm	—		
<i>Pinus eldarica</i>	pine	Caspian provinces		beams
<i>Pistacia acuminata</i> ,	Persian tur- pentine tree	—	Tepe Abdul Hosein AN	
<i>P. Khinjuk</i>				
<i>Pistacia vera</i> ,	pistachio	Caspian provinces,		
<i>P. mutica</i>		Zagros mountains		
<i>Pistacia terebinthus</i>	white	turpentine	—	
<i>Pistacia</i> spp.	pistachio		Tal-i Malyan B, K	
<i>Planera cordata</i>	alder?	Shiraz		
<i>Platanus orientalis</i>	plane tree	—		timber
<i>Platanus</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan K	
<i>Populus alba</i>	white poplar/ aspen	Fars, Isfahan, Caspian provinces		
<i>Populus dilatata</i>	green pool poplar	—		
<i>Populus euphratica</i>	poplar	Khorassan		fuel
<i>Populus nigra</i> ,	black poplar	—		timber
<i>P. pyramidalis</i>				
<i>Populus</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan B, K Tepe Farukhabad JN	
<i>Prosopis spicigera</i>	mesquite	along the Persian Gulf		fuel, beams, opium pipe stems

TABLE 2.9. (continued)

Latin name	Common name	Area of exploitation	Archaeological presence	Uses
<i>Prosopis</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan K	
<i>Prunus cerasus</i> , <i>Cerasus orientalis</i>	cherry	—		
<i>Prunus cerasifera</i>	myrobalan tree	Kohrud mountains		spade handles
<i>Prunus persica</i> <i>Prunus</i> spp.	apricot	—	Ganj Dareh AN Tal-i Mushki CN Tepe Farukhabad TE	weavers' shuttles
<i>Pterocarpus santalinus</i>	red	sandalwood	—	
<i>Pterocarya caucasia</i> , <i>P. fraxinifolia</i>	Caucasian wing nut/walnut	Gilan, Gorgan, Mazanderan		
<i>Punica granatum</i>	pomegranate	—		
<i>Pyrus communis</i>	pear	—		
<i>Pyrus malus</i>	apple	—		
<i>Quercus castaneifolia</i> , <i>Q. iberica</i> , <i>Q. atropatena</i>	oak	Caspian provinces, southwest of Shiraz		fuel timber
<i>Quercus valonia</i>	Kurdistan oak	—		
<i>Quercus</i> spp.			Tepe Farukhabad JN, ED Tal-i Malyan B, K	
<i>Rhamnus</i> spp.			Ganj Dareh AN	
<i>Rhus coriaria</i>	sumac	—	Tal-i Bakun A CN	leaves used for tanning
<i>Sambucus ebulus</i> , <i>S. niger</i>	elder	Caspian provinces		
<i>Salix micalaus</i> , <i>S. fragilis</i> , <i>S. zygostemon</i> , <i>S. acmophylla</i>	willow	—		
<i>Salix babylonica</i>	weeping willow	—		

TABLE 2.9. (continued)

Latin name	Common name	Area of exploitation	Archaeological presence	Uses
<i>Salix aegyptiaca</i>	musk willow	Caspian provinces, Gorgan		
<i>Salix</i> spp./ <i>Populus</i> spp.			Ganj Dareh AN Tepe Abdul Hosein AN	
<i>Sambucus ebulus</i>	elder	—		
<i>Santalum album</i>	sandalwood	—		
<i>Tamarindus indica</i>	tamarind	—		
<i>Tamarix gallica</i>	gall tamarisk, common tamarisk	—		timber
<i>Tamarix pentandra</i>	mannan tamarisk	—		
<i>Tamarix</i> spp.			Tepe Abdul Hosein AN Tepe Farukhabad F-E	
<i>Taxus baccata</i>	yew	Caspian provinces, Gilan		bows, furniture
<i>Tectonia grandis</i>	teak	—		
<i>Terminalia catappa</i>	tropical almond	—		
<i>Tilia rabra</i>	lime	Tehran, Gilan, Gorgan, Caspian provinces		
<i>Ulmus campestris</i> , <i>U. densa</i>	cultivated elm	Caspian provinces, Azerbaijan		
<i>Ulmus pedunculata</i>	Caucasian elm	Gilan		
<i>Ulmus</i> spp.	beech	Caspian provinces, Turkoman steppe	Tal-i Malyan B, K	
<i>Vitex</i> spp.			Tal-i Malyan K	
<i>Vitis vinifera</i>	grapevine	—	Tal-i Malyan K	inlay work
<i>Zelkova crenata</i>	elm	Turkoman steppe, Caspian provinces, Gilan, Bandar Abbas		load-carrying shoulder bars
<i>Ziziphus vulgaris</i> ,	jujube/red	Hyrcanian	Bandar Abbas, Fars, Kerman	
beams				
<i>Z. nummularia</i> ,	willow			

TABLE 2.9. (continued)

Latin name	Common name	Area of exploitation	Archaeological presence	Uses
<i>Z. spina Christi</i>				small articles, load-carrying shoulder bars

Notes: After Wulff 1966; Miller 1981; Willcox 1990, 1992; Miller and Kimiaie 2006. Key: AN = aceramic Neolithic, eighth/seventh millennium BC; CN = ceramic Neolithic, late seventh/sixth millennium BC; Ch = Chalcolithic, mid-fifth/mid-fourth millennium BC; B = Banesh period, c. 3400–2800 BC; K = Kaftari period, 2200–1600 BC (both terms specific to the Tal-i Malyan sequence); F-E = Farukh to Elamite, c. 4500–2000 BC; JN = Jamdat Nasr, c. 3100–2900 BC; ED = Early Dynastic, c. 2900–2350 BC; TE = Transitional Elamite, c. 1600–1300 BC (latter four terms specific to Tepe Farukhabad). See also Aitchison 1890; Mohebbi 1996: 39–58.

regions in the pre-Elamite era would not have been very different from those of later periods when we know that the peoples identified as Elamite lived there. For this reason, it is useful to have an idea of the resource potential of southwestern Iran, since the resources eventually available to the Elamites were, in some cases, common to a wide range of peoples in the ancient Near East, and in other cases – rarer if not unique – to the region of Elam.

CHAPTER 3

THE IMMEDIATE PRECURSORS OF ELAM

Should one, in a work devoted to an ancient state such as Elam, review the entire record of human settlement prior to the earliest unambiguous appearance of that state in the historical record? The answer to a question such as this depends in large part on whether one believes there was or was not a connection between the earliest Palaeolithic or Neolithic inhabitants of the region and the later Elamites. In general, the position adopted here is that while, for example, the late Pleistocene hunter-gatherers of the Zagros may have been related, either biologically or culturally, to the later Elamites, we have at present no way of determining that this was the case. As this is a book devoted to Elam and not to Iranian prehistory, therefore, most of the archaeological cultures which preceded the Elamites in southwestern Iran will not be discussed. Having said this, how far back in time should we look if our aim is to understand the genesis (or ethnogenesis) of Elam?

The approach taken in this book has been to look at two of the core areas of later Elamite activity – central Fars and Khuzistan, particularly the sites of Tal-i Bakun, Tal-i Malyan and Susa – beginning in the later fifth millennium BC. The justification for this is not a firm belief that the peoples of these areas can be justifiably considered ancestors of the Elamites. Rather, it is because questions which arise in the study of Elam when it first emerges in the historical record of the third millennium BC need to be addressed in the context of arguments made concerning, for instance, the original peopling of the site of Susa, or the derivation of the earliest writing system used in the region and its relationship to so-called Linear Elamite. And because of the existence of a considerable body of literature devoted to the ‘Proto-Elamites’ (see the review in Abdi 2003), even if it will be argued later that this is a misnomer, it is necessary to look at certain aspects of the late fourth millennium in Fars and Khuzistan. Since the broad conclusion is that we are not justified in

assuming a link between Proto-Elamite and later Elamite culture, it is unnecessary to review everything we know about the late fourth millennium at Susa, for example. Rather, only those categories of material culture are examined which bear directly on the question of whether the inhabitants of Susa and Fars *c.* 3000 BC can already be considered Elamites.

INTRODUCTION

In discussing the early peoples of central Asia, the Russian anthropologist A. Bernshtam commented, 'In reference to the first millennium BC, we can talk about ethnic names of the ancestors of the present peoples. Yet, we can not say anything positive about their ethnic affiliation. The Sarmatians-Alans of the first centuries AD do not yet represent the Turkmens, the ancient Yenisey Kirgiz of the 3rd century BC are not yet the Tien-shan Kirgiz, and the Bactrians of the end of the first millennium BC are not yet the Tadzhiks' (Bernshtam 1962: 119). Walther Hinz was less cautious in suggesting that the Elamites were 'Proto-Lurs', that is, the ancestors of the inhabitants of modern-day Luristan in western Iran (Hinz 1971b: 644). The problem of ethnogenesis – the creation of ethnicity – is one which must be faced in the study of Elam as well. Do the palaeolithic sites of Fars province represent the ancestors of the later Elamites? If not, then what about the early Neolithic sites in the region? Can we confidently claim that the Elamites are actually present in the prehistoric archaeological record of southwestern Iran? If not, when did Elam first appear?

These questions raise both a specific set of concerns revolving around the subject of this book, as well as the broader problem of how one recognizes an ethnic and/or a linguistic group in the preliterate archaeological record. Fredrik Barth defined an ethnic group as one which is (1) 'largely biologically self-perpetuating'; (2) shared 'fundamental cultural values'; (3) made up a 'field of communication and interaction'; and (4) had 'a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order' (Barth 1969: 10–11). From this set of criteria it can be readily seen that ethnicity is constructed, and it need not take very long for this to happen. Indeed, anthropologists have shown how ethnicity can be created 'almost from historical scratch' (Roosens 1989: 10). When Barth studied the Basseri tribe in 1957/8, his informants pointed out the names of tribes, attested in documents compiled during World War I, that no longer existed and, conversely, tribes existing in the late 1950s that had not yet come into existence a mere 40 years earlier (Barth 1961: 119). Cultural symbols, territorial designations and linguistic identity can all be appropriated *ab novo* in the interests of signalling ethnic identity to the members of one's group and to the outside world. While the symbolic and linguistic vocabulary

used often comes out of an already extant context or a prior, historical set of circumstances, the particular spin put on these features and the combinations and modifications introduced can lead to new forms which proclaim the arrival of a group on the political, economic, religious and social scene. Ethnicity becomes particularly important in situations of competition and aggression, and it will be argued that this is precisely what characterizes the emergence of an Elamite identity. That, however, is a feature of the third millennium BC, and there can be no grounds for suggesting that any of the prehistoric assemblages known in southwestern Iran before that time represent the vestiges of the same ethnic groups known to have inhabited the region in later periods. This conclusion, moreover, is further strengthened when we consider the archaeological sequences of Khuzistan and Fars prior to the mid third millennium BC. We shall not review the entirety of those sequences (see e.g. Moghaddam 2012a, 2013), however, but shall instead commence around 4000 BC by looking at Susa and several sites in Fars, such as Tal-i Bakun and Tal-i Malyan, as a necessary introduction to what has often been termed ‘Proto-Elamite’ culture in Iran. Although, as discussed later, this is a misnomer, the term is so well entrenched in the archaeological and historical literature of Western Asia that it must be dealt with before moving on to the first truly Elamite remains in the region.

THE ORIGINS OF SUSA: THE SUSA I PERIOD

In describing the genesis of the great urban centre of Uruk in southern Mesopotamia, H.J. Nissen stressed that it was originally composed of two discrete areas, identified in the cuneiform sources as *Kullaba* and *Eanna*, which were joined into a single entity only towards the end of the fourth millennium BC, and finally circumvallated several centuries later in Early Dynastic I (c. 2900 BC) times (Nissen 1972). Susa presents us with a somewhat analogous situation, at least in its earliest phase of occupation. G. Dollfus characterized Susa as a “city” of little hamlets’, rather than an uninterrupted, 15–18 ha (hectare) area of settlement as has often been assumed (Dollfus *apud* Pollock 1989: 289). Indeed, the early French excavators recognized four spatially distinct areas of mounded occupation to which they gave the names Acropole, Apadana, Ville Royale and Ville des Artisans (Pézard and Pottier 1926). The only evidence of occupation in Susa’s earliest period, known as Susa I, occurs on the Acropole and the Apadana mounds (see Chapter 9). The rest of Susa was apparently not yet settled at this time (Steve and Gasche 1990: 25, n. 47). Soundings conducted at various points on the Apadana mound suggest that it covered an area of c. 6.3 ha, while trenches on the Acropole reached Susa I levels wherever they were put down, suggesting that its original extent was on the order of 7 ha (Steve and Gasche 1990: 26). The Apadana was, moreover, encircled by a packed mud (*pisé*) wall no less than c. 6 m wide at its base. It

cannot be said whether the entirety of both the Apadana and the Acropole were contained within an outer wall, but Steve and Gasche did not rule out the possibility.

The earliest C14 determination from the Susa I levels on the Acropole falls between 4395 and 3955 cal. BC, the latest between 3680 and 3490 cal. BC (Voigt and Dyson 1992: Tab. 2; see also Weiss 1977). The wide span of time represented by these dates may be due to contamination. On the other hand, Tepe Jaffarabad, which has very similar ceramics and thus appears to be contemporary with Susa I (Dollfus 1978), has generally comparable C14 dates spanning the period from 4140–3865 to 3890–3655 cal. BC.

It has been suggested that the original Susian population came from many of the surrounding villages which were abandoned as a prelude to Susa's foundation (Pollock 1989: 283), and that the burning of part of the site of Choga Mish (Kantor and Delougaz 1996) may have precipitated the foundation of Susa (Hole 1983: 321), possibly in 'a deliberate attempt to reestablish some kind of a center and vacate the area of the previous one' (Hole *apud* Pollock 1989: 292; cf. Alizadeh 2008: 14; but Hole 2010: 231 dates the foundation of Susa several centuries later than the destruction by fire of Choga Mish). Whatever the *raison d'être* behind Susa's foundation, and it may have been very mundane indeed, the site's subsequent development was soon distinguished by a number of architectural developments which would seem to exceed the scope of activities normally associated with village life (Dollfus 1985: 18–19).

If we begin with the Apadana first, although only partially excavated, the Susa I Building ('Bâtiment de Suse I') exposed in part of trench 25 (Chantier 25) was constructed of packed mud (*pisé*) faced with rose-coloured plaster. The walls of the building, which were preserved only to a height of 1.15 m, were nevertheless 2.10 m thick. The thickness of the walls (compare this with the .4–.6 m thick walls at the 'rural hamlet' of Tepe Jafarrabad [Wright and Johnson 1985: 25]) and the unusual interior layout of the rooms led Steve and Gasche to interpret the Susa I Building as something more than a 'simple private habitation'. On the other hand, the fact that a grave of the following Susa II period was dug into the building suggests that neither it nor the immediate environs were part of a religious precinct. Rather, Steve and Gasche were more inclined to view this as the residence of a 'chief' of the settlement of Susa, a seat of civil authority, in contrast to what they interpreted as a seat of religious power on the Acropole (Steve and Gasche 1990: 22). Whatever its function, it is clear that the Susa I Building was not founded when Susa itself was established, for it stood on c. 2.5 m of older archaeological strata of the Susa I period. However, Steve and Gasche were inclined to date the foundation of the Susa I Building to the same time as the construction of the second of the two major features founded on the Acropole (Steve and Gasche 1990: 26).

Early in the Susa I period (Susa IA = Acropole 27), a low mudbrick platform, referred to by the early French excavators of Susa as the *massif funéraire*, was constructed on the Acropole. This platform, the function of which has been repeatedly discussed over the years, is said by its excavators to have stood 3–4 m above the surrounding ground level and to have been roughly 8–12 m in diameter at its base, appearing thus as a truncated cone (Hole 1990: 2). More recent excavations suggest that the *massif* was rectangular, measuring *c.* 7 × 14 m, with a preserved height of 1.7 m, all built of unbaked mudbrick (Hole 1990: 4). Whatever its shape, this feature appears to have served as a focal point for the burial of at least some of Susa's inhabitants in this period. As the excavations of most of the area took place early in the twentieth century, the excavation methods employed leave much to be desired and the information derived from them is contradictory, but it has been suggested that some 2,000 individuals were buried in graves both beneath and dug into the platform, and that these burials included both primary and secondary interments as well as fractional burials in brick cists (Pollock 1989: 286; Hole 1989: 164–6). This has been variously interpreted as a supra-local cemetery for the dead of a cluster of settlements around Susa (Vértesalji 1989), or 'a mass grave resulting from a catastrophic loss of life' rather than a cemetery used over time (Hole 1990: 1). The areal extent of the Susa I graves has been estimated at only 120 to 750 m². The graves are most famous for their tall, finely made ceramic beakers decorated in geometric and naturalistic patterns in black paint on a white ground (Hole 1983, 1984).

Hole interpreted the *massif funéraire* as the foundation of a religious structure, 'perhaps even for priestly residences' (Hole 1990: 5). It was followed in time (Susa IB = Acropole 26–5) (perhaps one or two generations, according to Hole 1990: 7) by the construction of another platform, known as the *haute terrasse*, a stepped construction some 10.08 m high which was erected on top of over a metre of 'residential midden' (Hole 1990: 6), clearly indicating that the construction of the platform was not coincident with the original foundation of the settlement, which in turn sat upon a natural, yellow loess hill some 9 m high (Mecquenem 1911: 65; Canal 1978: 30; Potts 2010b: 54). The upper surface of this second platform is reckoned to have measured *c.* 70 × 65 m, and to have stood on a somewhat larger socle, 2 m high (Canal 1978: 173), the south side of which was 80 m long. The exterior of the 'first stage' of the platform (i.e. that portion above the socle) was decorated with inlaid ceramic cones in groups of four or five (Canal 1978: 173), 'plaque mosaics and clay models of goat horns' (Pollock 1989: 285). According to Hole, this, too, may have served as the support for the residence of a priest or some other 'highly decorated monumental buildings' (Hole 1990: 7).

Each of these structures will remain enigmatic because of less than adequate excavation and recording, but there can be no denying that the size and height of the *haute terrasse* is considerable, far surpassing in dimensions



Plate 3.1. Susa II seal impressions showing a horned building (Sb 2125) (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

contemporary temple platforms in Mesopotamia. The 5,000 m² surface area of the *haute terrasse*, for example, absolutely dwarfs the 375 m² surface of the Eridu VIII temple platform (Amiet 1988b: 7) or the 2,700 m² surface of the Painted Temple at Tell Uqair (Potts 2010b: 54, 2014b: 26). S. Pollock compared it with the *château*, measuring 65 × 125 × 8–9 m, built by the early French excavators at Susa (Pollock 1989: 284). The imitation goat horns in clay recall the striking image of a stepped monumental building with three sets of protruding horns (Plate 3.1) on a cylinder seal impression from Susa dated to late period II (Amiet 1987b: Fig. 1; Potts 1990a). It is, moreover, noteworthy that both the Susa I Building on the Apadana and the *haute terrasse* were destroyed by fire. However, the subsequent fate of these two areas differed. A formation of greenish soil on top of the *haute terrasse* (Acropole sounding 2) suggests a period of abandonment and exposure to the open air lasting well into the middle of the fourth millennium when material of Late Uruk (Susa II) type appeared above it. The Susa I Building on the Apadana, however, seems to have been quickly filled in with domestic debris of the Middle Uruk period, suggesting that there was no hiatus of occupation there (Steve and Gasche 1990: 27).

With roughly forty small settlements around it on the Susiana plain, and another handful of prehistoric sites west of the Karkheh River (Zalaghi 2014), Susa in the Susa I period was at least four times larger than any of its neighbours (Wright and Johnson 1985: 25; see also Hole 1985). Clearly, by virtue of its stepped platform, it boasted a monumental structure which, whatever its function, must have been unusual in late fifth/early fourth millennium BC Khuzistan. Whether it was unique, however, is difficult to say given that,

until recently, little was known of the Chalcolithic occupation of eastern Khuzistan (see now Moghaddam 2012a, 2013; Moghaddam and Miri 2003, 2007). Whether we should characterize Susa as a ‘ceremonial centre’, and its society as a ‘chiefdom’, as some scholars have chosen to do, is another matter. Certainly a number of stamp seals recovered at Susa in layers of this period show a figure whom P. Amiet described as the ‘proto-royal’ (Amiet 1986c: 44, 1988c: 33, 1992a: 77) ancestor of the ‘priest-king’ (*roi-prêtre*) of the Susa II period (Amiet 1988b: 8; Pittman 2013: 297, Fig. 16.1). Amiet linked the glyptic tradition of Susa at this time with that of the highlands of Luristan (Amiet 1979a: 196), but as the Luristan seals in the Louvre on which this conclusion is based were all acquired on the art market (Amiet 1979c: Figs. 1–14) one must be very cautious in this regard. The few which have come from controlled excavations in Luristan, such as those from Dum Gar Parchineh and Hakalan, are in general much simpler and covered with geometric decoration (Vanden Berghe 1987: Fig. 12). They do not display the human iconography of the Susa exemplars which Amiet found so suggestive of political authority. On the other hand, in the course of over a century, the French excavations at Susa yielded no fewer than 261 stamp seals and sealings dating to the Susa I period (Amiet 1986e: 17), and the variety of sealing types would certainly suggest that seals were being employed by persons in positions of administrative authority (Amiet 1988b: 8) to control the flow of goods in and out of one or more offices or centres of redistribution. Some of the Susa I sealings came off doors which had been locked and sealed (Amiet 1994e: 56, 1994f: 88–9; for the principle of sealing doors see Fiandra 1982).

THE LATE BAKUN PERIOD IN FARS

For many years settlement in Fars province contemporary with Susa I was known mainly from the excavations of levels III and IV at Tal-i Bakun A which represent the last phase of the Bakun (c. 4500–4000 BC) and the beginning of the Lapui phase (c. 4000–3900 BC) (Petrie 2013: 125). Substantial contemporary settlement with Bakun-related ceramics and mudbrick architecture is now known elsewhere in Fars, for example at Tepe Rahmatabad, in the Tang-e Bolaghi near Pasargadae (Bernbeck, Fazeli and Pollock 2005); Tol-e Bashi, near Persepolis (Pollock, Bernbeck and Abdi 2010); the large mounds of Tol-e Nurabad and Tol-e Spid (Potts et al. 2009b; Weeks, Petrie and Potts 2010) and numerous smaller sites in the Mamasani region north of Kazerun (McCall 2009; Rezaei and Bargahi 2015); around Bushehr (Carter et al. 2006); and further south, at Tol-e Pir near Lamerd (Askari Chaverdi, Petrie and Taylor 2008; Petrie 2013a, 2013b). Settlements such as these confirm that the population of Chalcolithic Fars was overwhelmingly and probably exclusively sedentary (Potts 2011d, 2014a; contra Alizadeh 1988, 2003, 2009), though herds of domestic sheep and

goats would have been moved from higher to lower pastures on a seasonal basis by shepherds and goatherds.

Although the architecture of levels III and IV at Tal-i Bakun A consisted largely of multiple-roomed dwellings and contained no structures comparable to either the *haute terrasse* or the *massif funéraire* of Susa I, it is nonetheless important to note that, in at least two respects, the communities of highland Iran at this time were just as sophisticated as their lowland counterparts. In line with the indications of copper metallurgy at Susa in period I, sites on the Plateau – such as Tepe Ghabristan, where a smelting or refining workshop has been excavated c. 60 km south of Qazvin; Tepe Sialk, where moulds for the open casting of adzes and conical-headed pins in period III₄ were found; and Tal-i Mushki in Fars, where a single faience bead was recovered – already point to growing sophistication in metallurgy by the fifth millennium BC; and, indeed, it has been suggested that the stimulus for Susa's metallurgical development derived in large measure from contacts with the highlands (Moorey 1982: 85; see Weeks 2013a on fourth millennium BC metallurgy in Iran).

Turning to the comparative evidence of seal use, five different buildings (II–IV, VII and XIII) at Tal-i Bakun A yielded no fewer than 140 seal impressions deriving from sacks or bales, doors and tags, suggesting this area may have been an 'administrative quarter' (Alizadeh 1988: Fig. 20; see the critical appraisal in Fraser 2008). Nothing suggests that the operations undertaken at Tal-i Bakun A were any less sophisticated than those which must have existed in period I at Susa (Alizadeh 1994). The associated pottery, although not of the same technical calibre as some of the Susa I wares, displays the use of a correspondingly varied and complicated range of decorative devices.

The Lapui period in Fars (named after a village near Tal-i Bakun A) was a time of small village-based settlement in the Kur River Basin, with more than 100 settlements averaging 1.1 ha in size, none of which exceeds 4 ha. Apart from a very limited number of parallels between the locally produced red 'Lapui' pottery and red ware sherds from levels 24 and 25 in the Acropole I sounding (Sumner 1988a: 28, n. 1), the ceramic traditions of Fars and Susiana, unlike those of Mesopotamia and Susiana at the same time, were unrelated. By the end of the Lapui phase, dated by C14 at Tol-e Spid in the Mamasani district to the first half of the fourth millennium BC (Petrie 2013b: 178–82; Petrie et al. 2007: 6), increased soil salinity and decreasing agricultural yields may have precipitated a drop in settled population levels in the Kur River basin, according to Sumner (Sumner 1986a: 207). Sumner assumed cultural continuity between the Bakun and Lapui phases, noting that Lapui plain wares were introduced gradually into the painted Bakun pottery repertoire; a substantial number of sites contain both pottery assemblages, and Lapui settlement levels generally occur on sites previously occupied during the Bakun phase (Sumner 1988a: 29). Lapui-type pottery is well represented in western Fars at Tol-e Nurabad and Tol-e Spid (McCall 2009; Petrie 2013a,

2013b; Petrie, Asgari Chaverdi and Seyedin 2005, 2007), and at sites in northern Fars (Sardari 2013) and closer to the coast of the Persian Gulf (Askari Chaverdi, Petrie and Taylor 2008) as well.

THE SUSA II PERIOD

A completely different orientation in the architecture, a change in brick size, and a change in the ceramic repertoire were the criteria used to distinguish the second period in the Acropole I sounding (levels 22–17). On the Apadana, levels were exposed which contained ceramics corresponding to levels 22–18 on the Acropole (Steve and Gasche 1990: 27). Outside of Susa itself, Wright and Johnson, working largely from survey data supplemented by excavated samples from Tepe Farukhabad (Wright 1981), Tal-i Ghazir (or Tall-e Geser, see now Alizadeh 2014), Uruk, Nippur and of course Susa have used the terms Early, Middle and Late Uruk to identify the subperiods dating to between *c.* 3800 and 3100 BC (Johnson 1973: 54–8; Wright and Johnson 1985: 26–9). Although by no means all scholars accept a tripartite division of the Uruk period (based largely on the Inanna Temple sequence at Nippur), and H.J. Nissen stressed that the sequence in the Eanna precinct deep sounding at Uruk can really only be divided into an Early period (levels XII–IX) and a Late period (levels VIII–IV) (Nissen 1993; cf. 2004: 153), the important point to recognize is that ceramically, most of the material found on sites in Susiana dating to this period is (a) patently different from that of the Susa I period, and (b) just as obviously similar to what one finds further west in Mesopotamia proper. Thus, while we may prefer here to speak of the Susa II period because it is a culturally indigenous term which is not borrowed from another area, the fact is that when Wright and Johnson used the terms Early, Middle and Late Uruk, these were not merely a chronological signal for those familiar with the cultural sequence of southern Mesopotamia, but a clear statement to the effect that the ceramic types found on the Susa II period sites surveyed in Khuzistan correspond ‘remarkably well to the reported stratified sequences’ mentioned earlier, even though ‘this is not to imply that Uruk ceramic assemblages are the same everywhere’ (Johnson 1973: 59). But as Wright and Johnson observed, ‘During Late Uruk times . . . standard Late Uruk craft goods replaced goods in a local tradition’ (Wright and Johnson 1985: 28).

Wright and Johnson documented a number of quantifiable trends in the Susa II/Uruk period, including a significant increase in the sheer number of sites on the plain and metric evidence for centralized ceramic production and distribution which were suggestive of major social transformations in the region at this time. While Susa’s size, if one can rely on areal estimates based on limited soundings, may have declined in the initial Susa II period to *c.* 5 ha, the overall number of settlements in Susiana increased, and at least three other sites, including Abu Fanduweh and Deh-e Now, were comparable to Susa in

size. By the middle of the period, Susa is thought to have expanded to 25 ha and to have developed a 'lower town' or residential area off the Acropole and Apadana, a pattern observable at Choga Mish and Abu Fanduweh, as well. The presence of door and jar sealings at the rural hamlet of Tepe Sharafabad (Wright, Miller and Redding 1980: 278) suggests that small settlements were linked up with a central administration at one of the larger sites, and the size differentiation of sites in Khuzistan at this time has been interpreted as a reflection of a hierarchy of settlements belonging to a network of local, interregional exchange. This 'Susiana polity', Wright and Johnson suggested, 'distingegrated at the end of the Late Uruk Period' – that is, at the end of Susa II (Wright and Johnson 1985: 28–9). Despite publishing multiple papers on the dynamics of culture change on the Susiana plain during the Susa II period, Wright and Johnson generally sidestepped the nature of 'the actual political and economic relations between Susiana and Mesopotamia proper' (Wright and Johnson 1985: 29). Yet, the evolution of social complexity in Khuzistan cannot be understood if the very obvious ceramic links with Mesopotamia are left unexplained. On the contrary, the very use of terms like Early, Middle and Late Uruk to describe the ceramics of Susiana during the Susa II period begs the question of what was going on between Mesopotamia and Khuzistan, and compels us to view the problem not in terms of Khuzistan alone, but in light of the very clear Mesopotamian character of the ceramic industry at this time.

For P. Amiet, the situation of broad cultural homogeneity in southern Mesopotamia and Khuzistan throughout much of the fourth millennium stood in marked contrast to the preceding (Susa I) and succeeding (Susa III) periods. Amiet believed that the essential character of southwestern Iran's population in antiquity was its ethnic duality – that portion inhabiting the lowlands being essentially of 'Mesopotamian' type, and that portion inhabiting the highlands being of 'Elamite' type (Amiet 1979a, 1979b) – and that Khuzistan was, throughout history, dominated cyclically, first by one element and then by the other. In his opinion, Susiana during the Susa I period was dominated by the non-Mesopotamian, highland elements with their painted pottery so different from contemporary Ubaid products in lower Mesopotamia. Susa II, in contrast, marked a period which saw 'the insertion of Susiana into the proto-Sumerian cultural world' through the seizure of power by the ethnically Mesopotamian and numerically larger element of the population, at the expense of that part of the populace descended from various groups inhabiting the highlands of Iran (Amiet 1992a: 80) such that Susiana became 'a kind of second Sumerian country, though not a vassal to a then unthinkable Sumerian empire' (Amiet 1979a: 198).

A very different view was taken by G. Algaze, who suggested that Susiana was actually colonized in the Uruk period by 'settlers from the alluvium' (i.e. southern Mesopotamia) in a phenomenon of 'wholesale regional

colonization' (Algaze 1993: 15–17). What reasons could have prompted such a move? Algaze cited five points in defence of his hypothesis. Briefly stated, these were as follows (Algaze 1993: 16–17):

- 1 It 'explains the overwhelmingly Sumerian character of elite activities and material culture in Susiana by the later half of the fourth millennium.'
- 2 It 'accounts for the apparently longer evolution of the Uruk tradition in Iraq as opposed to Khuzestan.'
- 3 It 'explains the archaeological break in the Susiana sequence preceding *and* following the Uruk period.'
- 4 It 'explains the settlement pattern of the Susiana plain in the still little understood Early Uruk period, when settlements concentrate around Susa and Abu Fanduweh on the western portion of the plain – the one closest to the alluvium.'
- 5 It 'explains the full spectrum of Uruk sites and concomitant functions across the plain as well as the homogeneity of Uruk material culture throughout the region.'

What no authorities contest is the striking similarity of the ceramics of Susiana and southern Mesopotamia in the Susa II or Uruk period, and, although Amiet was mistakenly counted by Algaze amongst the upholders of his thesis (in fact Amiet vigorously rejected Algaze's thesis; see Amiet 1994b: 92; cf. Steve 1991: 2), Amiet did not deny that Susa II ceramics are patently Mesopotamian in shape and decoration in a way which the ceramics of the Susa I and III periods are not. However, Amiet objected to Algaze's reconstruction because of a deeply held view that the basic population of Khuzistan was *always* mixed and that, when one sees the Mesopotamian element come to the fore in the Susa II period, one is looking at an element which was in that sense indigenous, not introduced via a colonial process.

P. Steinkeller, while agreeing with some aspects of Algaze's thesis, criticized it for several essential, structural reasons. Questioning the underlying assumption that Uruk colonies were set up for purposes of controlling and extracting resources lacking in the Mesopotamian alluvium, Steinkeller contended that the procurement of resources was never the object of Mesopotamian political and military expansion, and that resources were satisfactorily obtained from many areas abroad during periods which were not characterized by expansive military policies. Indeed, the costs of far-flung expeditions, he contended, 'always vastly exceeded any gains . . . made from obtaining direct access to resource areas' (contra e.g. Butterlin 1995: 24, who, although wary of anachronistic models of colonization, argued that the Uruk expansion should be viewed as a process analogous to the expansion of the European 'world economy' of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries AD; see also Butterlin 2003 and the critique in Potts 2004c). Moreover, Steinkeller insisted, contra Algaze, that the expansion did not follow a spurt

of growth or emerge as a consequence of such growth, but rather it preceded and ‘was a prerequisite for the creation of a centralized socio-economic system’ (Steinkeller 1993: 109). Finally, while some scholars have suggested that the spread of Uruk material culture reflects expansion for political domination (e.g. Lamberg-Karlovsky 1996b: 92–3; see also 1996a: 92 where he is less certain), Steinkeller argued that it was simply unthinkable to suppose that Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium BC possessed the ideology, organization and resources required to launch a program of colonization on the scale envisaged by Algaze, extending from Anatolia in the north to Iran in the east (cf. Englund 2006: 4).

Nevertheless, Steinkeller upheld the thesis of an Uruk period penetration and colonization of Susiana in particular, although for a reason which has been completely overlooked by most other commentators on the issue. According to Steinkeller, ‘Here our chief datum is the name of Inshushinak, the patron god of Susa, which, because of its undeniable Sumerian pedigree, appears to offer iron-clad proof of the Sumerian intrusion into Susiana at some very early point in time’ (Steinkeller 1993: 111). The question is, of course, how early? As we shall see in Chapter 4, by the mid third millennium BC, when he appears as *nin-šušinak* (i.e. ‘lord of Susa’), Inshushinak is attested in a god list from Abu Salabikh (Hinz 1957–71: 546, 1976–80: 117; Steinkeller 1984: 140, n. 18; Alberti 1985: 8; Mander 1986: 47), but this need not imply that the influence responsible for the Sumerian nature of Susa’s chief deity occurred as early as the fourth millennium. Nevertheless, it is an interesting hypothesis which warrants consideration.

Whether or not it represents a phenomenon of colonialism and incipient imperial expansion as argued by Algaze, the Uruk expansion has been conventionally dated to the Late Uruk period, that is, to the end of the Susa II period (Algaze 1993: 56). Recent excavations at Tell Brak in northern Syria, however, have shown signs of Uruk material culture perhaps as early as the Middle Uruk period (D. Oates and J. Oates 1994: 168; J. Oates and D. Oates 2002); Middle Uruk material appears to be present further west at Tell Sheikh Hassan on the Middle Euphrates (Oates 1993: 414); and as we have seen, Uruk types appear in Susiana in the Early Uruk or early Susa II period. It is, however, difficult to see why the ceramic shapes and decoration of the Susa II period should so closely parallel those of the Mesopotamian alluvium if they were the creation of an already-present Mesopotamian element in the population (Amiet’s view), and to accept the notion that by gaining the upper hand, as it were, this element threw over centuries of ceramic tradition in favour of imitating Mesopotamian types. Certainly this point speaks more for an actual introduction of potters and people from outside Susiana at the beginning of the Uruk period than for the simple ascendancy of a previously repressed element in the already existing population stock (Wright suggested that the fast wheel was used more in Susiana

than it was in Mesopotamia, but this can never be more than an impressionistic assessment; see Wright 2013: 68). On the other hand, a second consideration to which insufficient attention has been paid in this regard is the appearance of writing and the economic system thereby implied, and here the evidence does not suggest that Susiana was annexed by a Mesopotamian power. Uruk-type ceramics may reflect colonists entering the region, but the differing approaches to writing found in Khuzistan and southern Mesopotamia do not suggest the subjugation of Susiana by a foreign power.

In contrasting Susa and Uruk, H.J. Nissen stressed that the major settlements of southern Mesopotamia and Susiana are simply not comparable in size and scale of economic activities. For even if Susa did reach a late prehistoric maximum of *c.* 25 ha in the middle Susa II period (Wright and Johnson 1985: 27), and the settlement expanded into the Ville Royale during late Susa II times (Steve and Gasche 1990: 27), the fact remains that, in the same period, Uruk expanded from 70 to more than 250 ha or 2.5 square kilometres (Fassbinder, Becker and van Ess 2005: 20), perhaps due to a shift southward of settlers from the Nippur-Adab region (Falconer and Savage 1995: 46), and was thus vastly larger than any site in Susiana (Nissen 1985a: 39). At Uruk alone, some 44,000 m² of Late Uruk and Jamdat Nasr period architecture has been exposed, far more than at any site in Khuzistan (Nissen 1993: 127). It was in this context that the bureaucratic need arose for the proto-cuneiform writing system which, already in its earliest stage of development, reveals the existence of a rigid social, professional and by implication economic hierarchy best exemplified in the lexical list of titles and professions, a long enumeration of terms which provides us with unique insight into the division of labour and hierarchical organization of Uruk-period society in southern Mesopotamia in the late fourth millennium (Nissen, Damerow and Englund 1990: 156).

What we see in Susiana at this time is not a contemporary florescence in which the local inhabitants contributed equally to the Uruk bureaucratic phenomenon. On the contrary, writing is an invention which, so far as we can tell, was unique to the site of Uruk (Powell 1981: 422) and from there spread outwards. Research has shown that no fewer than thirteen different numerical systems were employed during the Late Uruk and Jamdat Nasr periods (*c.* 3400–2900 BC) in the so-called ‘Archaic’ texts from Uruk to record numbers of different types of commodities (Damerow and Englund 1985). Thus, different systems were employed to record time, cereal commodities, live animals, dead animals, beer and so on. These are so involved that it is simply beyond the realm of reasoning to suppose that, where one or more of the Uruk systems is attested outside of southern Mesopotamia (e.g. at Susa), they could have been invented independently. The following list summarizes the different numerical systems found in the Archaic texts from Uruk (after Potts 1997a: 237–8):

Archaic numerical notation system	Uses
Sexagesimal system S (1–10–60–600–3,600–36,000) [numbers alternate by a factor of 10, 6, 10, etc.]	slaves, animals (sheep, goat, cattle), wool (?), fish, fishing equipment, fish products, stone objects, wooden objects, containers (e.g. of beer, milk products)
Sexagesimal system S' (1–10–60) [numbers alternate by a factor of 10, 6]	dead animals, particular types of beer
Bisexagesimal system B (1/2–1–2–10–60–120–1,200–7,200) [numbers alternate by a factor of 2, 10, 6 etc.]	cereal/bread, fish and milk product rations
Bisexagesimal system B* (1–10–60–120–1,200) [numbers alternate by a factor of 10, 6, 2, etc.]	rations of uncertain type, possibly fish
GAN ₂ system G (<i>IKU-EŠE₃-BUR₃</i>) [numbers alternate by a factor of 10?, 6, 3, etc.]	field and area measurement
EN system E [numbers alternate by a factor of ?, 4, 2, 2, 10]	uncertain; weight?
U ₄ system U (1 day – 10 days – 30 days/1 month – 12 months/1 year or 10 months)	calendrics (day, month, year)
Archaic numerical notation system [numbers alternate by a factor of 10, 3, 12/10]	Uses
ŠE system Š [small units multiplied by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, or 10, alternating by a factor of 5, 6, 10, 3, 10]	cereal, esp. barley, by volume cereal, esp. malt (for use in beer production), by volume
ŠE system Š ⁶ [units increasing by factors of 2, 5, 6]	cereal, esp. types of emmer (?)
ŠE system Š ³ [units increasing by factors of 5, 6, 10, 3, 10, 6?]	cereal, esp. barley groats milk product, probably ghee, by volume
ŠE system S* [small units multiplied by 2, 3 or 4, alternating by a factor of 5, 6, 10, 3]	types of beer, by volume
DUG _b system Db [units multiplied by a factor of 10]	
DUG _c system Dc [units multiplied by a factor of 5, 2]	

At Susa, cylinder seal-impressed tablets with numerical notations occur in the very first building phase of level 18 of the Acropole 1 sounding (LeBrun 1985, 1990: 61; see also LeBrun and Vallat 1978: 31; Pittman 2013: 319–22) and continue, in slightly more rectangular form, to be found in level 17 (Vallat 1986a: 337). Tablets of similar type are known from Uruk IVa and level 15 in the Inanna Temple sounding at Nippur in southern Mesopotamia; Khafajah

in the Diyala River valley of northeastern Iraq; Habuba Kabira, Mari, Jabal Aruda and Tell Brak in Syria; Godin Tepe V in Luristan; Choga Mish in Khuzistan; Tepe Sialk on the central Iranian Plateau; and Tal-i Ghazir in the Ram Hormuz valley between Khuzistan and Fars (Friberg 1979: Fig. 1; see also Schmandt-Besserat 1981: 323; Dahl, Petrie and Potts 2013: 357). By far the largest number of such tablets comes from Susa, where 90 have been found. An early numerical tablet believed to have been found at Uruk by W.K. Loftus in 1850 (Reade 1992a; see also Englund 1994: 17, n. 26) is particularly similar to the numerical texts from Susa (as well as Tell Brak and Jabal Aruda). Englund suggested that the numerical tablets from Godin Tepe are more like those known in northern Mesopotamia (Nineveh, Khafajah) and Syria (Jabal Aruda, Tell Brak, Mari), whereas those from Susiana (Susa, Choga Mish) are most like examples from Uruk (Englund 1998: n. 98).

From the suite of thirteen notational systems in use at Uruk, only three have been documented in the earliest period II texts at Susa. These include the sexagesimal S system, the bisexagesimal B system and the Š systems of capacity notation. As Friberg noted, these systems ‘were practically identical in proto-literate Uruk and Susa’ (Friberg 1994: 485). The archaic Mesopotamian systems employ a restricted repertoire of 60 numerical signs (Nissen, Damerow and Englund 1990: Abb. 8a), the values of which vary according to what system is employed in a given context, and hence what types of things are being counted. The fact that we are obviously dealing with only a small subset of the Mesopotamian suite of numerical systems leaves little room for doubting the Mesopotamian, indeed Urukian origin of the counting systems employed in the Susa II texts (for the situation in the following Susa III period, see later discussion). It suggests, moreover, that many more different types of things needed to be counted at Uruk than at Susa.

At the same time, however, it must also be stressed that tablets with proto-cuneiform signs in addition to simple numerical tablets also occur in Uruk IV contexts. Although intuitively one might assume, as has often been done, that tablets with more complex proto-cuneiform ideograms followed chronologically and developmentally those with only numerical signs, this is by no means certain. At Uruk, for example, both types of tablets occur together (Nissen 1986: 326), and, although stratigraphic arguments have been made to suggest that the numerical tablets should be dated to Uruk V, thus preceding true writing in Uruk IV times, these are problematic at best (Englund 1994: 16). Scholars who favour such a scenario may be tempted to adduce the evidence from Susa in support of such a developmental sequence, pointing to the fact that the vast bulk of the Archaic texts at Uruk were found in secondary trash deposits (e.g. LeBrun and Vallat 1978: 30; Vallat 1986a: 336). The Susa evidence is summarized in Table 3.1, and while, as noted previously, it might make intuitive sense to see the development of writing proceed in this fashion, there is no telling whether the sequence at Susa,

TABLE 3.1. *Distribution and characteristics of bullae and tablets in levels 18–16, Acropole Sounding 1, Susa*

Susa Acropole 1 period and level	Document type	Shape	Contents and surface treatment
II 18	1. bullae	spherical ovoid	tokens + cylinder seal impression(s)
	2. tablets	rounded oblong	numerical signs + cylinder seal impressions
II 17	tablets	cushion- shaped	numerical signs + cylinder seal impressions
II 17x	tablets	cushion- shaped	numerical signs + one pictogram + cylinder seal impressions
III 16	tablets	rectangular	numerical signs + optional cylinder seal impressions + pictograms

where the technology of writing was received and not invented, mirrors that of Uruk.

Moreover, the earliest true proto-cuneiform texts at Uruk include not only economic texts with signs as well as numbers, but copies of lexical texts, including those dealing with titles and professions, vessels, metals, grain and cities (Englund and Nissen 1993: Abb. 2). The fact that these texts show a more fully elaborated type of writing using proto-cuneiform signs, conspicuous by their absence in Susiana, suggests that the language represented by the Uruk texts – as yet undetermined but possibly ancestral to Sumerian (Nissen 1985b: 354–5) – was that of Uruk and those other sites in southern Iraq and Syria with similar texts (e.g. Jamdat Nasr, where copies of the same lexical lists, such as ‘vessels’ and ‘geography’, have been found; see Englund and Nissen 1993: 66; Englund and Grégoire 1991), but *not* Susiana (see also Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 53). Furthermore, although, as noted earlier, three out of thirteen archaic Mesopotamian numerical systems were adopted in Susiana, the physical arrangement of numerical signs on the Susa texts is completely different from that which we see developing on the proto-cuneiform economic texts at Uruk (see also Green 1981: Fig. 1). Finally, the physical shape of the Susa texts differs markedly from the earliest texts of Uruk IV times at the type site Uruk (Fig. 3.10). These points must be a strong argument against the notion that a political force based at Uruk moved into Susiana during the Late Uruk period, and when we do find Susa and Susiana taken over by a Mesopotamian power, as was the case during the Old Akkadian period in the later third millennium (see Chapter 5), scribes were clearly brought in from outside, and written documents appear at Susa much as they did in the Mesopotamian homeland. Moreover, even if a situation of limited economic control over Susa by a small Mesopotamian elite and a few scribes could have effected the introduction of

the numerical systems just described, the fact that many of the tablets themselves of Uruk IV and Susa II type are demonstrably different in physical proportions and graphic style makes it highly unlikely that true political and economic power at Susa was usurped by a Mesopotamian authority (see Schmandt-Besserat 1986: 115–16) in period II. If this had been the case and large numbers of Mesopotamian administrators had been involved, one would have expected to find the appearance at Susa of true proto-cuneiform texts with signs as well as numerical notations, economic as well as lexical texts, and more than just three of the proto-cuneiform numerical systems. Quite clearly, however, this is not the case.

It is increasingly likely that the written expression of these systems on clay tablets was preceded by a more three dimensional vehicle, evidence of which we also find in level 18 of the Acropole 1 sounding, in the form of tokens enclosed within spherical envelopes or bullae (Amiet 1987c; Englund 2006). Although long known from the early excavations at Uruk, where twenty-five complete or broken examples have been found, at Susa, which has yielded forty complete bullae, fifteen broken ones, and fragments of fifty-seven more, and at Choga Mish, where a minimum of twenty-eight have been recorded, it took many years before J. Friberg made significant progress in deciphering the numerical systems represented by the formally diverse tokens and the signs used to mark the envelopes' exterior surfaces with which they correspond (Friberg 1994: 492–5). Friberg's work leaves us in no doubt that 'the accounts were expressed in terms of several systems of number tokens, easily identifiable as forerunners of the protoliterate systems of notations for capacity numbers and sexagesimal, bisexagesimal, or decimal counting numbers' (Friberg 1994: 495).

In sum, I shall take a different position to that of either Amiet or Algaze on the interpretation of the Susa II period. It can be suggested that the increase in the number of sites on the Susiana plain during the Susa II period and the unmistakable similarity of the ceramics found there and in southern Mesopotamia bespeak an infiltration of southern Mesopotamians, probably agriculturalists and their families, potters and other craftsmen who moved into the available agricultural land in Khuzistan and founded new settlements (by contrast, Hopper and Wilkinson 2013: 44 posit a movement in the opposite direction, citing a decrease in settlement in Susiana, Deh Luran and the Islamabad plain *c.* 3600–3500 BC and a growth of settlement in Mesopotamia). They were, in a true sense, colonists, perhaps 'Babylonian elites' who 'traveled there to take and maintain control of new land no longer available to them in southern Babylonia' (Englund 2006: 30). But the fact that only a small subset of accounting procedures, namely three of the thirteen numerical systems attested at Uruk, were introduced to Susa, and then on tablets which differed demonstrably from their proto-cuneiform counterparts, suggests that no Mesopotamian administration can have taken over power at Susa at this time. If this had happened, then we should expect to see economic

account texts of the sort found in Uruk IV contexts at Uruk itself, tablets similar in shape to their Uruk counterparts, accounting procedures following the same patterns of dividing the surface of the text into distinct areas for different types of information, and so forth. The introduction to Susa of just a few of the numerical systems found at Uruk could have been effected by a scribe or two brought in by a local ruler whose site – a fraction of the size of Uruk – and accounting requirements were very different from those in place at Uruk. It could be argued that the Susiana region may still have been annexed by Uruk, but a local Susian put in charge, yet I would still suggest that, had this been the case, one would probably expect Urukian scribes and texts written *à la mode d'Uruk*. What we find instead are texts which are organized physically in a very different manner from contemporary Uruk economic texts, and only a small number of the Uruk numerical systems in use, while a large portion of the apparatus of economic control and scribal tradition found at Uruk was lacking at Susa. For these reasons, I believe we must distinguish an infiltration of Urukian or southern Mesopotamian people trying to farm the alluvium of Susiana, from a political takeover of the district as has often been implied by those who assume the more extreme colonization position. Whether these were refugees fleeing growing political oppression at Uruk, as suggested by Johnson, can hardly be decided on the basis of the available evidence (Johnson 1988–9).

The potential existence of an individual or institution strong enough to have wielded sufficient political power in the fourth millennium to have effected a takeover of Susiana has sometimes been discussed in light of a series of cylinder seal impressions from Uruk, Susa and Choga Mish which, in the opinion of some scholars, depict a 'priest-king' who, it has been suggested, could represent (a) 'the paramount ruler of Uruk who controls Susa'; (b) 'a local surrogate of the paramount at Uruk'; or (c) 'an independent ruler of Susa who is represented as identical to the ruler of a competing polity' – that is, Uruk (Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 52; see also Amiet 1985b).

Some of the clearest representations of this figure come from Uruk and show that he probably wore a cap over his long hair (not a diadem as has been assumed on the basis of less well-preserved representations), which was pulled into a knot at the back of his head, and that he was bearded. The figure wore a skirt and was naked from the waist up. At Uruk, he appears in front of a number of captives who are apparently being beaten or driven forward by guards armed with short whips. The 'priest-king' stands before them with a spear, point down in the earth. Another representation from Uruk, which shows the figure in marshes accompanied by a pair of dogs and two wild boar (?), has our figure grasping a staff, but this too may be a spear, the point of which is lost. The same figure also appears holding a bow on a seal impression from Uruk (W 7883 + 7884). At Susa, the figure is shown wielding a composite bow in two instances (on Sb 2125 [Plate 3.1] and AO 29389), aiming an arrow at

opponents, some of whom he has shot, and some of whom are consequently shown falling off the roof of a two-tiered building. Finally, an impression from Choga Mish shows the figure, mace in hand, seated on a bovid, apparently in a flat-bottomed boat or barge. Larger than all of the other figures accompanying him, he grasps a rope emanating tail-like from the back of a seated figure on the vessel.

Who is this man and what is he doing at Susa and Choga Mish? For Amiet, the presence of images such as this at Choga Mish merely confirms the diffusion, far from Uruk, of those political and religious institutions which seem to immediately precede the appearance of the state in Sumer (Amiet 1986c: 64). In the case of Sb 2125 (Plate 3.1), Amiet went so far as to suggest that, were it not for the fact that the seal used to make the impressions in question was patently present at Susa, one would be inclined to view the impressions on which this scene occurs as imports (i.e. sealings off something sent from Uruk), since the similarities of the bearded figure on them to images known from Uruk are so striking. On the other hand, as Amiet believed the Susa I images of the ‘proto-royal’ figures on stamp seals to be ancestral to those of the ‘priest-king’, it is Susiana which is given chronological priority in the invention of the bearded male as a symbol of sacral kingship (Amiet 1986c: 60). Whatever the iconographic similarities and parentage of this figure, however, it seems unlikely that the virtually identical appearance of him in both the Susiana and Mesopotamian regions is merely a reflection of a shared institution of kingship, sacral or not.

Whether these representations depict a single individual, paramount ruler of either Uruk or Susa, or a picture of a generic ‘model ruler’, like the multitude of anonymous depictions of generic deities on later seals, we shall probably never know. That there was once an important individual who looked like this is made more probable, in my opinion, by the existence of several pieces of anthropomorphic statuary depicting him, but, like portraits on coins which continue to be struck long after the death of the original person represented, there is no way of knowing whether the seal impressions at our disposal come from the lifetime of our hypothetical ‘big man’ or are merely later renditions which encapsulated the characteristics of high authority. For this reason, moreover, it is idle to speculate too much on the architectural facades depicted in the two sealings from Susa, neither of which necessarily relates to a real building at the site. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that the building shown on Sb 2125 (Plate 3.1), with three pairs of horns projecting from the upper story, is adorned with horns in a fashion which continued much later in history and signified both the holiness of the building and the divine power immanent in the horns (themselves a divine symbol from the third millennium onwards [Binder 2012 with earlier lit.]) which could be transferred to secular buildings as well (see Potts 1990a; Amiet 1987b). Thus, whether or not the niched architectural façades relate

to a real or an ideal building, the presence of horns certainly relates to a decorative tradition well-attested at Susa during the course of several millennia.

FARS DURING THE EARLY BANESH PHASE

The Lapui phase in Fars was followed by the Banesh phase (for the transition see e.g. Petrie 2013b: 182–3; Alden 2013: 214–16). Although the Banesh phase has been subdivided differently by those scholars who have worked on it (see e.g. Alden 1982a, 2013; Sumner 1986a; Zeder 1991 for different periodizations), Sumner's division into Early, Middle and Late subphases (Sumner 1986a: 199, n. 2) is adopted here. The Early phase is considered comparable both chronologically and culturally to Susa II: 18–17. The Kur River Basin appears to have experienced a dramatic drop in population between the Lapui and Early Banesh phases, for the latter was characterized by only 26 small sites, or roughly 26 per cent of the settlement found during the Lapui phase (Sumner 1986a: 200; Alden 2013: 227 interpreted the change 'as indicating that full-time transhumant nomadic pastoralism first appeared as a fully developed adaptation during the Early Banesh period'; see Potts 2014a: 27–9 for a critique of this deduction). In contrast, as discussed previously, the number of sites occupied on the Susiana plain *increased* during Susa II times. It has been suggested that grit-tempered Early Banesh pottery was produced at one small centre, Tal-i Kureh (Alden 2003), and distributed from another, Tal-i Qarib (Alden 1982b), but little can be said about the subsistence economy in the region at this time, as Early Banesh levels were not excavated at either site, each of which is known only from surface finds (Alden 1982b: 90).

Alden considered the ceramics of the Early Banesh phase to be a new introduction from outside the region, suggesting an influx of population from Susiana, which he posited may have been reacting to Sumerian (*sic*) expansion (Alden 1982a: 620, 622), a view with which Sumner did not agree (Sumner 1986a: 199). For Sumner, 'similar evolutionary processes, operating in Susiana and the Zagros Highlands, simultaneously produced the first stages of Proto-Elamite civilization' (Sumner 1986a: 200), and he described Early Banesh as 'the precursor of Proto-Elamite civilization' (Sumner 1986a: 199). In view of all that has been said regarding the adoption of Late Uruk proto-cuneiform accounting methods at Susa, this is untenable. As the work of Friberg, Damerow and Englund reviewed previously has shown, everything points to the direct influence of Mesopotamian accounting procedures on Susa in late Susa II times, whereas the absence of Uruk IV-type tablets in the Kur River Basin clearly indicates that, from an evolutionary perspective, a crucial step in the growth of organized administration, present in Khuzistan, was completely lacking in Fars. The two areas did not evolve along similar lines.

SUSA III

The interpretation of the following period of Susa's history has been as fraught with bias and ambiguity as the preceding one. To begin with, however, let us summarize a few stratigraphic observations made by previous scholars who have studied this material. Amiet characterized Susa at this time as 'diminished' (Amiet 1992a: 81), certainly a reflection of the fact that occupation at the beginning of period III (levels 16–14b) is attested only on the Acropole. Just as significant as the apparent diminution of Susa's size, however, are the signs of a rupture in the cultural sequence on the Acropole. Although a handful of ceramic types occur in both levels 17 and 16 (Dittmann 1986: 171–2), it is likely that these are residuals, out of context in level 16, for the overwhelming impression of the level 16 ceramics upon the excavator, A. LeBrun, was one of a complete disjunction marked by the appearance of different fabrics and shapes (LeBrun 1978: 189–90). R.H. Dyson Jr. observed that the Acropole 1 section shows that the walls of level 17B were covered by 'sloping strata of secondary trash termed 17A', and the entire deposit was 'terminated by levelling activity during the construction of the structures of level 16 which have a different orientation from those of 17B', indicating 'a discontinuity in the stratigraphy of unknown duration which must be taken into consideration' (Dyson 1987: 648). In fact, once the 17A trash is removed, the orientation of levels 17B and 16C appears remarkably similar (LeBrun 1971: Fig. 33; Dahl, Petrie and Potts 2013: 356 and Fig. 18.3). On the other hand, the *haute terrasse* seems to have been definitively abandoned at the end of level 17 times (Canal 1978: 173).

In the late nineteenth century, J. de Morgan's excavators at Susa recovered two tablets which V. Scheil published summarily in 1900 (Scheil 1900). Five years later, Scheil presented a larger group of similar texts which he called 'Proto-Elamite' (Scheil 1905; see also Cruveilhier 1921: 143ff.), many of which had been sealed using cylinder seals differing demonstrably in both iconography and style from their Susa II/Late Uruk predecessors (Amiet 1972a, 1986c: 93ff.), and that name has been retained to the present day. Although the early Susa excavations were such that none of these tablets can be said to have been recovered from a good stratigraphic context (see Dahl 2005a: 85, 2013: 234–5 on the disposition of these tablets in the Susa trenches), texts of precisely the same type were later found in levels 16 to 14b of the Acropole 1 sounding by A. LeBrun (and to a limited extent in the Ville Royale sounding by E. Carter), confirming that they date to the Susa III period. Because the linguistic relationship of these texts to later Elamite ones and the cultural relationship of Susa to the highlands in this period are subjects which remain to be investigated, it is perhaps unwise to go on calling these texts 'Proto-Elamite', since this term implies a definite link with later Elamite texts before such a link has been demonstrated, either linguistically or graphically. For this reason, the tablets of

so-called ‘Proto-Elamite type’ shall generally be referred to here simply as ‘Susa III texts’.

All told, roughly 1,557 Susa III texts have been discovered at Susa (Dahl, Petrie and Potts 2013: 354; comparable texts found elsewhere in Iran will be discussed later). In order to properly assess these texts and to better evaluate the conflicting positions described earlier with regard to the nature of the Susa III period, we must consider their relationship to the earlier pictographic tablets of Late Uruk or Susa II date, as well as their relationship to later Elamite texts. Let us examine each of these problems in turn.

The distinctiveness of the Susa III tablets vis-à-vis their counterparts of Jamdat Nasr/Uruk III date from sites in southern Mesopotamia has long been apparent, not least in their physical shape (Dahl 2012: 3; Dahl, Petrie and Potts 2013: 365–6). In addition, ‘most of the proto-elamite ideograms . . . are of a substantially more abstracted form than proto-cuneiform ideograms’ (Damerow and Englund 1989: 22). Damerow and Englund noted, ‘That there was little clear evidence for the borrowing of ideograms from the Mesopotamian into Persian writing systems or vice versa was already obvious to the first editors of the archaic texts’, and as for the graphic parallelisms which do exist, these are of the type which have been observed in widely separated cultures on more than one occasion and therefore should not be accorded much, if any, significance (Damerow and Englund 1989: 6 and 7, n. 23).

Because of our inability to read and understand the texts in question, the graphic divergence between the two writing systems has tended to overshadow any other bases for comparison (note however the progress made on the signary; see e.g. Dahl 2002, 2005b). Now, however, thanks to the ground-breaking work of J. Friberg, R.K. Englund, P. Damerow and J.L. Dahl, a large number of structural similarities between the Susa III and Uruk III texts has become apparent (Table 3.2). As early as 1978, Friberg suggested that the similarities observed clearly support ‘the tentative conclusion that the proto-Elamite ŠE system is a slightly improved copy of a somewhat older proto-Sumerian ŠE system. This result fits in well with the observation that the proto-Sumerian ŠE system is used not only in several Jemdet-Nasr texts but also in some texts from the older Uruk IV stratum’ (Friberg 1978: 42). Subsequent work by Damerow, Englund and Dahl has clarified the situation enormously, and it now seems certain that, with the exception of the decimal and bisexagesimal B# systems, the rest of the numerical systems in use at Susa during the Susa III period were either identical to or derived from the systems found in the proto-cuneiform texts from Uruk. Moreover, as we have seen, the ŠE system was already in use at Susa during the Susa II period, suggesting that some of the numerical techniques of the Susa III period were derived from systems already in use at the site in the preceding two or three centuries. This does not exclude the possibility, however, that other numerical systems were

TABLE 3.2. *Comparison of the formal and structural characteristics of Mesopotamian proto-cuneiform (Jamdat Nasr/Uruk III period) and Susa III texts*

Text characteristic similar/dissimilar	Proto-cuneiform	Susa III texts	
1. general shape	convex obverse; length:width ratio <i>c.</i> 3:2	as in proto-cuneiform	similar
2. use of sides	both sides used; numerical entries on obverse, summation on reverse	as in proto-cuneiform	similar
3. 'text wrapping'	when data intended for obverse overflowed onto reverse, scribe began at right edge and worked towards the left, leaving left side available for totals, summary information on tablet contents, and date	when data intended for obverse overflowed onto reverse, scribe began in upper left corner	dissimilar
4. storage procedure	stacking on shelves or in baskets with left side easily accessible for quick inspection	unknown, but pattern of reverse inscription implies different conventions for accessing tablets	dissimilar
5. semantic structure	a. subscripts qualify transactions recorded in the text	headings function like subscripts	similar
	b. cases are individual units of information	entries correspond to cases	similar
	c. graphical arrangement of cases and sub-cases reflects a syntactical hierarchy	graphical arrangement of entries is not reflected in syntactical structure of entry sequence	dissimilar
6. numerical system	a. numerals written by combination of vertical and oblique impressions of a round stylus	as in proto-cuneiform	similar
	b. numerical value of a sign varies according to the specific context of its appearance	as in proto-cuneiform	similar
	c. sexagesimal system Š used for counting vessels, wood and stone objects, tools, humans, animals	as in proto-cuneiform	similar
	d. bisexagesimal system B used for counting rations in barley, fish, cheese?	as in proto-cuneiform	similar

TABLE 3.2. (continued)

Text characteristic similar/dissimilar	Proto-cuneiform	Susa III texts	
	e. bisexagesimal system B# used for totalling amounts of grain recorded in the derived ŠE# system	unknown	dissimilar
	f. no decimal system	decimal system used for counting animals and humans	dissimilar
	g. sexagesimal ŠE systems, Š# and Š” used for counting measures of grain	ŠE systems show some sign variation compared to the proto-cuneiform	dissimilar
	h. GAN ₂ system used for surface mensuration	as in proto-cuneiform	similar
7. ideograms	less abstract than in Susa III texts	more abstract than proto-cuneiform	dissimilar

Note: All information from Damerow and Englund 1989.

first introduced at Susa during Susa III times. The originators of the Susa III writing system were thus fully competent in a wide range of Mesopotamian numerical systems, but the divergence of their sign list from that found on the Mesopotamian texts is so marked as to suggest that it must be considered a separate system. The question is, whose system? The answer has great bearing on the problem of how we interpret the Susa III remains.

When Scheil baptized the texts from Susa ‘Proto-Elamite’, he consciously chose the term in order to underscore the linkage which he believed to exist between the newly found texts, datable to *c.* 3100–2900 BC, and the much later ‘Old Elamite’ inscriptions of late third and early second millennium BC date (see [Chapters 4](#) and [5](#)). This was a purely intuitive assumption. Susa, later an important city in the Elamite world, was incorrectly perceived to be the very epicentre of Elam itself. For this reason, Scheil and many after him reasoned that the Susa III texts (and their language) ought to have been ancestral to later Old Elamite ones. Even the fact that neither Old Elamite nor ‘Proto-Elamite’ could be read in 1905 proved a hindrance to the assumption that Old Elamite must have been derived from Proto-Elamite. It was an assumption of an evolutionary sort, an unsystematic if not altogether untoward presumption of a genetic relationship between the languages represented by the two different writing systems.

And yet how dangerous is such an assumption. No one would ever argue that the prehistoric vestiges of the Susa I settlement were in any sense ancestral to the palace built there by the Achaemenid Persian king Darius or that the latter was ancestral to the chateau constructed by the late nineteenth-century French excavators, simply because one lies beneath the other. Why, then, should we assume that the Susa III texts have anything to do with the later Elamite language or people? In fact, nothing suggests that either the writing system or the language of the Old Elamite texts was lineally descended from those of Susa III. Unlike the ideograms on the proto-cuneiform texts of Mesopotamia, the understanding of which is based on graphic comparison with later cuneiform, the Susa III texts have not been brought closer to a full decipherment through comparison with later Old Elamite texts, and indeed, ‘syllabic sign readings adduced from these studies have . . . led to no successful decipherings of the archaic script’ (Damerow and Englund [1989](#): 4). Perhaps the foremost objection to accepting the notion of a link between the Susa III and Old Elamite texts can be stated as follows: ‘Given the span of *ca.* 700 years unaccounted for between proto- and Old Elamite, and given the high probability of the use in proto-elamite personal names of logographic signs, some of which by means of phonetic transfer will likely have developed into syllabic signs by the Old Akkadian period [*c.* 2350–2150 BC], a determination of any genetic relationship between Old Elamite and the language possibly represented by the proto-elamite texts seems to us at present impossible’ (Damerow and Englund [1989](#): 5, n. 14). Nothing compels us to see any

relationship between the Susa III texts of *c.* 3000 BC and the earliest Old Elamite inscriptions of *c.* 2300 BC.

Nor would it seem that comparable claims for a genetic link between the so-called Linear Elamite writing system, an innovation which began and ended with a king of Awan called Puzur-Inshushinak (see [Chapter 4](#)) around 2100 BC, can be supported (cf. the trenchant critique of this position in e.g. Dahl [2009](#), [2013](#); cf. Desset [2012](#): 98). On more than one occasion, scholars searching for a link between Linear Elamite and the Susa III texts have noted the fact that some thirty-five ideograms are common to the two systems (Steve [1991](#): 3, [1992](#): 4), but Damerow and Englund, citing I.J. Gelb's stern warning against overstating the significance of graphic parallels between scripts, stressed that such parallels may be completely meaningless 'since many pictographic representations are likely to be similar even in disparate cultures' (Damerow and Englund [1989](#): 6 and 7, n. 23). Moreover, even if one follows Steve and Vallat in believing that the syllabary of Linear Elamite was 'derived from proto-Elamite signs' (Vallat [1986a](#): 347), the fact remains that this proves nothing about the linguistic relationship between the *languages* of the Susa III and Linear Elamite texts, any more than the use of the Latin alphabet to write Turkish tells us anything about the linguistic affinities of Turkish and Latin. In sum, Damerow and Englund have dismissed the 'fruitless attempts to establish semantic and even phonetic links between the proto-elamite and the Linear Elamite script' as having no significance whatsoever (Damerow and Englund [1989](#): 22, n. 66).

FARS DURING THE MIDDLE AND LATE BANESH PHASE

The relative and absolute chronology of the Middle Banesh phase in Fars is problematic. It has been considered generally contemporary with 'the early part' of Susa III: 16–14a (Sumner [1988b](#): 315); with the end of Susa II and the bulk of Susa III, *c.* 3250–2950 BC (Alden [2013](#): 218); or with the Proto-Elamite I period (levels 16–15b) in Dyson's terminology (Dyson [1987](#): 650). However, the fact is that the entirety of the Middle Banesh phase seems to be coeval with a plateau in the radiocarbon curve spanning the period *c.* 3400–2900, and this makes any refinement of the absolute chronology of the period virtually out of the question (Dahl, Petrie and Potts [2013](#): 361–5, Fig. 18.8). The major settlement in the region at this time was undoubtedly Tal-i Malyan, located some 50 km north-northwest of Shiraz in a valley drained by the Kur River at an elevation of *c.* 1,611 m (Sumner [1988b](#): 307). Briefly sounded around 1961 by the Archaeological Department of Fars Province, Tal-i Malyan was systematically investigated in the course of five seasons between 1971 and 1978 by an expedition from the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of W.M. Sumner. Several seasons of joint Iranian–American excavations followed

(Alden et al. 2005; Alden 2013). The origins of the site may be as early as 5500–4800 BC, for ‘a few sherds’ of Neolithic ‘Jari ware’ (Weeks 2013b: 99) have been found on the surface, as have small numbers of Shamsabad (4800–4500 BC), Bakun (4500–3900 BC) and Lapui (3900–3400 BC) sherds (Sumner 1988b: 315). Although no actual building levels of architecture or unmixed stratigraphic contexts predating the Middle Banesh phase were recovered in excavation, this may be mere chance, particularly as most of the Banesh and later exposures at the site were shallow and extensive, often limited to architectural complexes almost immediately beneath the surface, rather than deep soundings.

During the Middle Banesh phase, Tal-i Malyan appears to have comprised no less than 45 ha. of settled area (Sumner 1986a: 202; 2003). Occupation is well-represented in areas ABC and TUV by an ‘elaborate building (ABC 3), a large warehouse (ABC 2), and buildings with evidence of both craft production and domestic activities (ABC 4, TUV 2 and 3)’ (Sumner 1986a: 206; Zeder 1988: Tab. 2 characterized TUV as a ‘kitchen/serving installation’ and ABC as an ‘elite residence/public building’; cf. Zeder and Blackman 2003). These remains led Sumner to characterize Middle Banesh Tal-i Malyan as ‘a small city inhabited by administrative officials and part-time craftsmen, many of whom were also farmers or herdsman’ (Sumner 1986a: 206). Unworked and semi-worked natural resources, finished products, and production detritus attest to copper metallurgical activity, shell-working, bead manufacture and flint-knapping at the site (Nicholas 1990). It is also presumed that an industry in lime production and lime plaster manufacture must have existed at Tal-i Malyan, for the ABC 3 building and other structures were faced with lime plaster, some of which was painted in geometric patterns (Nickerson 1977; Blackman 1982; Sumner 1986a: 205; Wasilewska 1991: 145–6). Food production resulted in a yield of almost 40,000 animal bones from areas ABC (8,313) and TUV (31,480) combined (Zeder 1991: 134; cf. 1988: 20ff.), the overwhelming majority of which were sheep/goat. Cylinder seals and sealings in the so-called ‘piedmont Jamdat Nasr’ and ‘Proto-Elamite’ styles were also present in both the ABC and TUV areas (Rova 1994; Pittman 1994; see also von der Osten-Sakken 1996).

Evidence of a Late Banesh phase at Tal-i Malyan, contemporary with Susa III: 14a–b (Dyson 1987: 650), is attested in the form of a monumental mudbrick city wall (Plate 3.2), investigated in Operation By8, enclosing an area of c. 200 ha (Sumner 1985: 153). The wall, which has a length of c. 5 km, consisted of an outer construction built on a stone foundation, and at least two parallel inner walls, the innermost of which was supported by ‘solid brick packing’ no less than 5 m thick (Sumner 1986a: 206). That this represents a major construction is indisputable. But it clearly post-dates the major phase of contact with period III Susa. Sumner interpreted it as having had ‘an actual defensive function, probably against dissident sections



Plate 3.2. Visitors standing on top of the monumental city wall at Tal-i Malyan (photo: author).

of local pastoralists, rather than hostile forces from outside Fars' (Sumner 1986a: 209). The notion that the circumvallation of Tal-i Malyan, which clearly involved millions of mudbricks and the mobilization of a substantial labour force, was intended to create 'a place where animals were penned' (Alden 2013: 422) strains credulity. Sumner's ideas on the alleged dominance of nomadic pastoralists at this time in the Malyan region, whom he likened to nineteenth and twentieth century AD tribal 'khans', and the suggestion that nomads built the Malyan city wall (!) (Sumner 1985: 160) are purely speculative and, although supported by some writers (e.g. Alizadeh 2009, 2010; Alden 2013), lacking in any vestige of supporting evidence (Potts 2011a: 5, 2014a: 27–30).

THE SUSA III WRITING SYSTEM ON THE IRANIAN PLATEAU

The major Middle Banesh buildings at Tal-i Malyan yielded a total of thirty-two texts of Susa III type. Apart from these and the texts from Susa, tablets of comparable type have also been found at half a dozen other sites in Iran: one at Tal-i Ghazir in eastern Khuzistan, seven (?) at Tepe Sialk on the plateau, one at Tepe Ozbaki near Tehran, more than twelve at Tepe Sofalin near Rayy, twenty-six at Tepe Yahya in Kerman province, and one at Shahr-i Sokhta in Seistan (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1978; Damerow and Englund 1989: 2; Dahl, Petrie and Potts 2013: 354–60; Hessari and Yousefi Zoshk 2013: 38). As ‘the published and unpublished tablets from Malyan . . . are in exact uniformity with texts from Susa’ (Damerow and Englund 1989: 22; cf. Stolper 1985), we can be certain we are dealing with precisely the same types of texts. Similarly, the texts from sites like Tepe Yahya, when carefully analyzed, have revealed numerous similarities with their western counterparts. Thus, ‘all entries and column ordering of the Yahya texts . . . follow the same linear sequence noted for the Susa texts’ (Damerow and Englund 1989: 13), and ‘not only the structure, but also the relative complexity of the Tepe Yahya texts . . . are in full accord with the complexity and structure of the proto-elamite texts from Susa’ (Damerow and Englund 1989: 15). Thus we have clear evidence for strong structural uniformity across Iran in the technical apparatus of bookkeeping procedures, and with the exception of some ‘smallish attacks on graphic conventions’ (Damerow and Englund 1989: 30) observed in the writing of the smallest numbers used in the ŠE systems at Tepe Yahya, complete graphic uniformity as well.

J. Alden once called the Proto-Elamite/Susa III writing system a ‘highland script’ (Alden 1982a: 624), implying that it was first invented on the Iranian Plateau, perhaps at Tal-i Malyan, whence it spread westwards to Khuzistan and eastwards to Seistan and Kerman during Middle Banesh or Susa III times. In this context, it is interesting to recall the stratigraphic and ceramic evidence of a disjuncture at Susa between periods II and III noted earlier. As Dyson put it, ‘either the discontinuity was extremely brief, or the hiatus represents a significant passage of time. If the former is the case, it would mean that the replacement of the assemblage of level 17 by that of 16 was abrupt, with no time for local development; the origin of the 16 assemblage would consequently have to be sought elsewhere. In the second situation, sufficient time would need to be involved to allow for a shift in ceramics and glyptic, and for the Proto-Elamite sign system to appear. This change would have occurred either at Susa, in the neighboring highlands, or in both places concurrently’ (Dyson 1987: 649). Dyson himself opted for the second possibility, without, however, specifying where the changes occurred and how they came to manifest themselves at Susa. In Amiet’s view, Susa and Susiana were ‘annexed’ by the

highland polity centred on the site of Tal-i Malyan, ancient Anshan. A drop in the size of Susa's settled population was inferred from the reduced size of the occupied area at the site, as was, more speculatively, the adoption of a nomadic way of life by the site's former inhabitants (Amiet 1992a: 81). Similarly, according to Alden, Susa in period III was 'no longer a major political, military, or economic force' but a 'port-of-trade, a weak but independent location where highland resources were exchanged for the products of Sumerian society' (Alden 1982a: 624). Steve suggested that, although the steps leading up to this alteration in affairs are unclear, the fact remains that it appears as if the 'indigenous' population had finally succeeded in recapturing that control which, according to Amiet, was lost to the Mesopotamian elements in Susiana society during the Susa II period. In this way both 'plain and plateau became confused, and one finds oneself for the first time in the presence of an Elamite country' (my translation after Steve 1991: 3). T.C. Young Jr. was even more explicit. In his opinion, 'the prehistory for Susa 16 lies in the Marv Dasht plain. If your task is to find the origin of Susa 16, historically you can't find it in Susa 17, I think you . . . find . . . [it] in your Early Banesh' Malyan (Young 1986: 226).

Thus we have a number of scholars holding the view that Susa was in decline in period III, when it was annexed by people from Tal-i Malyan, forcing out the Mesopotamian element which had been dominant in the Susa II period and simultaneously introducing the writing system of the Susa III texts. Unfortunately for the proponents of this view, everything that has just been said about the Susa III texts emphatically contradicts it. On the one hand, it has been shown convincingly by Friberg, Damerow, Englund and Dahl that, with few exceptions, the numerical systems used in the Susa III type texts were either identical to those of the Uruk IV and III tradition or derived from the systems used in Mesopotamia. On the other hand, the evidence of the numerical texts found in Susa II contexts proves definitely that some of the numerical systems used in the Susa III period had already been introduced at Susa during the Susa II era and were most likely the forerunners of the Susa III systems. Moreover, given the fact that 'no all-numerical tablets comparable to those from Susa Acropole 18 and 17 were found in excavations at Malyan' (Stolper 1985: 5), it is simply indefensible to claim that Malyan was the site at which the Susa III writing system originated. In conclusion, it is the fact that the Susa III texts represent a *derived* system, a method of writing which, for all its graphic peculiarities, was founded on the account-technical procedures of the proto-cuneiform system of Susa II/Uruk IV times, which privileges Susa in the search for the homeland of the originators of the Susa III writing system.

Furthermore, study of the Susa III texts has a direct bearing on the notion that Susa was in decline and was at best a minor outpost of a highland

power *c.* 3000 BC. As Damerow and Englund argued, ‘the texts from Susa record very large numbers of animals as well as notations of grain measures as large as the largest such notations from proto-cuneiform texts’, including references to 17,100 units of grain (MDP 26: 48), 23,600 animals (MDP 31:31), and 1,502 small cattle (MDP 17: 275; for an analysis of herds in the Susa III texts, see Dahl 2005a), and they go on to stress that ‘tablets from Malyan/Anshan are indicative of economic activities greater than those of Tepe Yahya, yet by no means in the order of the larger Susa accounts’ (Damerow and Englund 1989: 63, n. 171). Alden’s suggestion that the major centre of the Susa III period was Tal-i Malyan rather than Susa is thus not substantiated by the epigraphic evidence, any more than the notion of Susa’s decline is. The likelihood that Tal-i Malyan was capable of projecting its power from central Fars into Khuzistan at the end of the fourth millennium BC, thereby reducing Susa to a ‘minor outpost’, thus seems remote. All of the evidence points to the opposite conclusion. Susa was the centre at which the Susa III writing system developed, and it was the centre of greatest economic activity in literate Iran (i.e. amongst those sites with Susa III–type texts) at the time. Moreover, Dahl has shown that the Malyan texts ‘exhibit a structure, content, and signary which are virtually indistinguishable from that of the later Susa texts (those of Acropole 1.15b–14b)’ and are ‘palaeographically ... contemporary’ (Dahl, Petrie and Potts 2013: 374–5). Finally, as Alden himself has admitted, Susa III:16 ‘ceramics are like (but not identical to) Late Middle Banesh pottery’ (Alden 1982a: 624). In view of this evidence, the notion of Tal-i Malyan literally annexing Susa must be rejected out of hand.

CONCLUSION

According to my own definition of Elamite, the material discussed in this chapter is pre-Elamite and thus strictly speaking outside the scope of the present work. It has been necessary to treat it, however, given the fact that the term ‘Proto-Elamite’ is so much a part of Elamite and Iranian archaeology. Having clarified some of the misconceptions prevalent in the literature, we turn now to a consideration of developments in the early third millennium and the appearance of the first ‘true’ Elamites in the historical and archaeological record.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
<i>c.</i> 4300 BC	foundation of Susa, Susa I period	Tal-i Bakun A, levels III–IV late Bakun	Ubaid period, incipient complexity	does it exist?

(continued)

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	'Elam'
c. 3800–3100 BC	Susa II period; arrival of Mesopotamian settlers, limited use of proto-cuneiform, no full-scale colonization	Tal-i Bakun A, Lapui phase Tal-i Malyan, early Banesh phase	Uruk period, origins of writing and accountancy	strong Mesopotamian contacts with Susiana
3100–2900 BC	Susa III period; use of so-called 'Proto-Elamite' writing system	Tal-i Malyan, later Banesh phase; texts of Susa III type appear at various highland sites; city wall constructed at Malyan late in the Banesh phase	Jamdat Nasr period; ambiguous refs. to Elam (use of NIM and NIM.KI in Archaic texts)	distinctive writing not necessarily related to later Old Elamite; exact relationship between highlands and lowlands unclear; Susa the main centre in 'Elam'

CHAPTER 4

ELAM AND AWAN

Although Elam may be mentioned as early as 3000 BC in the so-called Archaic texts from Uruk in southern Mesopotamia, it is not attested unambiguously in the historical record until the middle of the third millennium BC when it appears, in the Sumerian King List, as an adversary of the Sumerian city-state of Kish. A second Iranian region, known as Awan, also makes its appearance in a similar context at this time. Thereafter, both Awan and Elam are mentioned in a variety of Mesopotamian sources dating to the mid and late third millennium BC. After reviewing the literary evidence, we examine those contemporary archaeological remains from Khuzistan and the central western Zagros which have the greatest likelihood of representing the material equivalent of third millennium Elam and Awan. The use of the terms ‘Trans-Elam’ and ‘Trans-Elamite’ to describe a much more easterly portion of the Iranian Plateau and its material culture is also examined.

During the period from *c.* 2350 to 2150 BC we continue to see Elam largely through Mesopotamian eyes (see in general Álvarez-Mon [2013a](#)). This was the time of the Old Akkadian dynasty in southern Mesopotamia which was founded by Sargon of Agade and ruled from an as yet unidentified capital in central Iraq. Elam figures in Old Akkadian royal inscriptions and literary works, though some of these are known only from much later copies. Repeated acts of aggression against Elam and Susiana are recorded, and the subjugation of Susa by the Akkadians is confirmed by a number of sources. It is interesting to examine the material culture of a site like Susa in light of its political history at this time. Slightly later, around 2100 BC, we are able to chart the rise and progress of an indigenous leader, Puzur-Inshushinak, the first Elamite (or Awanite) since the mid-third millennium BC to attack Mesopotamia itself. The question of whether Puzur-Inshushinak’s short-lived consolidation of power in this period should be seen as a response to Mesopotamian aggression – in other words as a case of ‘secondary state formation’ – is considered, as is the

significance of the so-called Linear Elamite inscriptions associated with Puzur-Inshushinak.

INTRODUCTION

In the middle of the third millennium BC, two eastern regions, Elam and Awan, appear in Mesopotamian cuneiform sources. In this chapter we shall first examine the earlier written sources from *c.* 3000 to 2400 BC and then turn to the material culture of southwestern Iran in order to see whether Elam and the Elamites, as constructed by Mesopotamian scribes, can be identified in the archaeological record. In the period from *c.* 2350 to 2200 BC we see a continued pattern of Mesopotamian aggression towards Susa in particular, but by 2100 BC we have evidence of a territorially expansive king of Awan named Puzur-Inshushinak whose rise and fall may be said to conclude this early period of Elamite history.

EARLIEST CUNEIFORM SOURCES

As noted in [Chapter 1](#), Sumerian scribes used the Sumerogram NIM to denote Elam. When do we find this first clearly used in the cuneiform tradition? It has long been known that proto-cuneiform texts of Uruk III type from the sites of Uruk and Jamdat Nasr contain the term NIM.KI. At Jamdat Nasr, the term NIM_{b2}KI_a is appended to personal names in a list of female slaves (OECT 7, 88 = MSVO 1: 217; see Selz [1991](#): 31), while at Uruk the sign NIM_{b2} without the geographical determinative KI occurs in an archaic lexical list of titles of officials (Englund and Nissen [1993](#): 269). Unfortunately, we cannot be certain that the sign already refers to Elam at this early date (Zadok [1994](#): 37; Selz [2014](#): 274–5; contra Cripps [2013](#): 15). Leaving these references aside, we next find a forerunner of the sign NIM used to identify individuals in an economic account or list of names on one of the so-called Archaic texts from Ur of Early Dynastic I date (*c.* 2900–2700 BC). Regrettably, no actual names occur which can be analyzed linguistically as Elamite and, as in the case of the proto-cuneiform texts from Uruk and Jamdat Nasr, it would be unwise to assume the same reading of the NIM sign here as in later texts (Zadok [1994](#): 37). Similarly, although the Early Dynastic II (*c.* 2700–2600 BC) texts from Fara in southern Mesopotamia qualify certain individuals with the sign NIM, none of these has a linguistically Elamite name and it is unclear whether these were messengers, as has been suggested (Pomponio and Visicato [1994](#): 206; Cripps [2013](#): 6; note the scepticism of Selz [2014](#): 265). The roughly contemporary lexical list of divine names from Abu Salabikh, also in southern Mesopotamia, mentions a god called ^d*lugal*-NIM (Alberti [1985](#): 8; Mander [1986](#): 25). If NIM as used here stands for Elam, then the god's name can be understood as 'king of Elam'. Unlike the earlier attestations of NIM, circumstantial evidence suggests that this is a reference to Elam, for

the deity named immediately before ^dlugal-NIM is ^dlugal-aratta, a deity apparently associated with a mythical eastern land attested only in literary sources, Aratta. Eight lines after ^dlugal-NIM we find a deity called ^dnin-šušinak, almost certainly Inshushinak (Malbran-Labat 1995: 190), later well-known as the chief god of Susa (Jensen 1892: 54; Hinz 1976–80; Selz 1991: 31; Krebern timer 2006: 68–9).

The Sumerian King List (hereafter SKL; Jacobsen 1939; Marchesi 2010) records three encounters with eastern regions which are of interest, listed here in chronological order:

Col. ii 35–7: Enmebaragesi of Kish attacked Elam.

Col. iv 5–6: Ur was attacked and its kingship carried to Awan.

Col. iv 17–19: Awan was attacked and its kingship carried to Kish.

According to SKL, Enmep/baragesi (Michalowski 2003; Marchesi 2010: 236, n. 33) was the first ruler of the First Dynasty of Kish. Although D.O. Edzard suggested that he should be dated to c. 2675 BC (Edzard 1967a: 54), SKL gives him the fabulously long reign of 900 years, and study of this intriguing source over the years has shown that it is a relatively late (Old Babylonian with Ur III and Old Akkadian forerunners; Steinkeller 2003) literary-mythic composition of little historical value (Marchesi 2010: 238). As Michalowski noted, ‘the SKL is a history-creating text that simplifies political and chronological relationships, mixing fact and fiction, to create a very specific discourse of rotating hegemony in the land’ (Michalowski 2013: 183). Nevertheless, Enmebaragesi seems to have been an historical figure, for two fragments of alabaster vessels found at Khafajah in the Diyala region of eastern Iraq, one of which calls him **lugal [k]iš**, ‘king of Kish’, bear his name (Steible 1982/II: 213). The reference to Enmebaragesi’s attack on Elam, albeit in a source written long after the putative event, is the first mention of Elam in the cuneiform record, bearing in mind that its historicity is open to question. Given that Kish is located in northern Babylonia, and that Enmebaragesi’s inscriptions have been found at Khafajah (ancient Tutub), up the Diyala from modern Baghdad, one might think that his campaign(s), if historical, led him down what was later to be known to Herodotus as the ‘Royal Road’, through the Jabal Hamrin district and into the northwestern portion of Khuzistan, via Der and Kismar, towards Susa. That such a route was in use during the Early Dynastic period has been shown by D.R. Frayne, for the ‘List of Geographical Names’ found at Abu Salabikh and Ebla contains a list of toponyms which defines such a trajectory (Frayne 1992: 58–9). The same list, moreover, mentions three places known to have lain in the western marches of Elam, including one known as URUxA/ar-ù/a-ra-wa, called in some sources *sag-kul-NIM^{ki}*, ‘the bolt of Elam’ (Frayne 1992: 71; Wright and Neely 2010: 107–8). In an Ur III text this town is associated with bitumen, and a location somewhere near Deh Luran in northern Khuzistan has been postulated. One further piece of evidence linking Kish with Elam in Early Dynastic III times has come down to

us in the form of an Ur III copy of an Early Dynastic votive inscription of Enna'il, son of A'anzu, who calls himself *elam* GIN₂.ŠE₃, '(he) who conquered Elam' (Steible 1982/II: 218; Selz 1991: 32).

The references to Awan are just as important, for Awan was almost certainly the indigenous name of one of the subregions east of Mesopotamia subsumed more broadly under the rubric 'Elam' by Sumerian scribes. According to SKL, the First Dynasty of Ur, founded around 2500 BC by Mesanepada, was undone by a dynasty from Awan which reigned for 356 years (see Stolper 1989: 112). Unfortunately, the names of the first two rulers of Awan who reigned over parts of southern Mesopotamia following this event are lost, and of the third, only the fragmentary 'Ku-ul-[...] ' is preserved (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 317). As none of the names in the much later Susa king list (Fig. 5.1) of Old Babylonian date (c. 1800–1600 BC), which records the names of twelve kings of Awan, begins with Ku-ul- (see Scheil 1931; Glassner 1996), Gelb and Kienast have even suggested the list recounts the members of a 'second' Dynasty of Awan, as opposed to the 'first' dynasty which conquered Ur. Nevertheless, from a linguistic point of view two of the names on the Susa list, Lu-uh-ish-shan and Hi-she-ip ra-te-ip, eighth and ninth rulers of Awan respectively in the list, are particularly important. Lu-uh-ish-shan is an Elamite name (Zadok 1991: 226). In all probability Hi-she-ip ra-te-ip is the same as Hi-shi-ip-ra-shi-ni, identified as 'king of Elam' and father of Lu-uh-ish-shan in two Old Babylonian copies of Old Akkadian texts from the reign of Sargon of Agade (Sargon C7 and 13; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 180, 188), that is, c. 2334–2279 BC. Not surprisingly, therefore, Hi-shi-ip-ra-shi-ni is also an Elamite name (Zadok 1991: 226). Whether the names became reversed in the Susa king list or these are simply homonyms unrelated to the father and son contemporary with Sargon of Agade, we cannot say.

As for the location of Awan, the fact that at least some of the names of the rulers of Awan were Elamite led Vallat to suggest a location somewhere on the Iranian Plateau north of Susiana, rather than in the Khuzistan lowlands where he suggested Akkadian names would be expected (Vallat 1993a: 26). Specific geographical information is contained in three Old Babylonian copies of inscriptions of the Old Akkadian king Rimush (Rimush C6, C8 and C10) describing his capture of Sidga'u, general of Barahshum (see Table 4.6) (Rimush C6 also mentions Sar-GA-PI, governor of Zahara) 'between Awan and Susa, by the river Qablutum' (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 207ff.; see also Westenholz 1970: 27). Scheil supposed that a phrase of this sort implied that Awan and Susa were located close to each other (Scheil 1931: 1), and even if this is a logical deduction we have no way of estimating the distances between the Qablutum river, Awan and Susa.

Apart from Kish and Ur, Lagash also had regular contact with Elam during the Early Dynastic III period. Eannatum (c. 2460 BC), one of the most powerful rulers of the First Dynasty of Lagash, left us a number of inscriptions in which he

TABLE 4.1. *Summary of the conflict between Eannatum and regions to the east*

Eannatum text	Action
22 2: 4–8	the ‘mountain/mountain land’ Elam, Arawa, Umma and Ur were all smitten with weapons
I Rev. 6 10–12; 2 Obv. 3 12–16	Elam, ‘the high mountain’, was smitten with weapons; mounds of corpses were piled up; Arawa, whose ensí had raised its standard, was smitten with weapons; mounds of corpses were piled up; Umma was smitten with weapons; twenty mounds of corpses were piled up
II 5: 3–8	Uruk was smitten with weapons; Uru’aza was destroyed; Mishime was destroyed
I Rv. 6: 10–10: 22	Elam and Subartu, the mountain land rich in (?) wood . . . was smitten with weapons; Susa was smitten with weapons; Arawa, whose ensí had raised its standard, was smitten with weapons; A-DU ₃ -a was destroyed . . . Ur was smitten with weapons
3 3: 11/4 3: 10	Uruk, Ur and Ki’utu were smitten with weapons; Uru’aza was destroyed, its governor killed; Mishime was destroyed; A-DU ₃ -a was destroyed
2 3: 12–16	Elam, ‘the high mountain’, was smitten with weapons; mounds of corpses were piled up; Arawa, whose ensí had raised its standard, was smitten with weapons; mounds of corpses were piled up; Umma was smitten with weapons; twenty mounds of corpses were piled up
2 4: 6ff.	Uruk, Ur and Ki’utu were smitten with weapons; Uru’aza was destroyed, its governor killed; Mishime was destroyed; A-DU ₃ -a was destroyed
2 6: 15–7: 2	Elam, Subartu Arawa, Kish, Akshak and Mari were smitten with weapons

speaks of his conquests over Elam (Table 4.1), presented in their presumed chronological order (following Selz 1991: 33ff.). Selz suggested that Eannatum undertook at least two eastern campaigns, an initial one in which Arawa was destroyed, perhaps in an effort to open up a land route to Susiana, and a second one in which the southern cities closer to the head of the Persian Gulf (Steinkeller 1982a: 242), such as Mishime (= P/Bashime) and Uru’aza (and probably also A-DU₃-a) were attacked (Selz 1991: 36). Perhaps as a result of these campaigns we find that, during the reigns of Lugalanda and Urukagina, two later rulers of Lagash, considerable traffic is recorded between Elam and Lagash (Table 4.2; cf. Selz 2014: Tab. 2), and at least sixteen individuals with Elamite names appear in the late pre-Sargonic texts from the latter site (Zadok 1994: 38).

Several other Early Dynastic texts concerning Lagash should also be noted briefly. One text from the reign of Urukagina, which names two smiths, says that Lu’ena, the administrator of the E-Nin-MAR.KI temple at Gu’abba (the

TABLE 4.2. *Elam and Elamites in pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash*

Text	Date	Contents
STH 1, 15; STH 1, 16; Nik 9 RTC 21	Urukagina ensí 1/5, 1/6 (?) and 1/8 'Fifth year' (of Urukagina?)	list of barley rations distributed, <i>inter alia</i> , to Abba (or the eldest?) from Elam account of commodities, including spices, mentioning a container (ceramic?) of the 'mountain-country type' as the trading expedition commission for the boats from Elam
RTC 20	Ukg. lugal?	list of commodities, mainly spices, purchased, mentioning a commission for the trading expedition of the Elamites
Nik 85 Nik 292	Lugalanda 1 Lugalanda 4	barley being traded for wool from Elam delivery of silver from Elam for the purchase of trade goods
Nik 214 DP 486	Lugalanda 4 Lugalanda 7	reports purchase of livestock in Elam mentions wooden objects, including waggon parts, ladders, vessels, brought from Elam
DP 230	Lugalanda (?)	list of cereal rations given to, <i>inter alia</i> , five women from Elam, probably either slaves or prisoners of war, with the otherwise unattested names of DU-il-il, <i>ha-ba-ra</i> -DU.NE, KA.A and <i>usùr</i> -DU ₁₀ . DU ₁₀ ; reference to two Elamite women with typically Sumerian names, PAP.PAP- <i>am-da-ri</i> and ^d <i>nin-gir-su-ur-mu</i> , working for a brewer named Ilibeli at Lagash
DP 134	undated	list of emmer and barley disbursements for the festival of Baba, mentioning the 'wife of Nigduba, the Elamite' who received barley, wheat, dates and cheese
Nik 11	undated	list of names of five Elamites, including HA.NE, MI.DU and <i>ra-bi</i>
Nik 310	undated	list of commodities (grain, flour, lard and salve) being sent to Elam; mention of Siku, governor of Arawa (?)
DP 370, 371	undated	reports the harvest of 'Susian flax' in the territory of Lagash
Nik 313	undated	return of a lù-sa₆-ga from Elam to Gu'abba, Lagash's main harbour
DP 423	'First year' (of whom?)	mentions wooden objects brought by boat from Elam

Notes: Data drawn from Selz 1991. Cf. Cripps 2013.

harbour of Lagash), defeated a force of 600 Elamites trying to transport 'booty' from Lagash to Elam (Selz 1991: 36–7; Schrakamp 2010: 183–4). The text DP 164 mentions A'agrigzi, also an administrator of the E-Nin-MAR.KI, who received various ingredients for beer-making while he was in Mishime (Selz

1991: 41), one of the cities/regions conquered by Eannatum. Uru'aza, another city conquered by Eannatum, supplied a band of gardeners to work in the gardens of Urukagina (DP 339, dated Urukagina L 4), while provisions for a shipowner from Uru'aza are treated in a group of four texts (Nik 140–142; BIN 8 367) dating to the years Lugaland 2 and 6 (Selz 1991: 42; 2014: 269).

In conclusion, SKL and the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash broadly suggest the following pattern: first, a brief period of rule in southern Mesopotamia by a 'dynasty' based in Awan; second, a fairly vigorous series of conquests during the reign of Eannatum when campaigns were recorded against Elam, Mishime, Arawa and Uru'aza; and third, a period during the reigns of Lugaland and Urukagina when some of those districts, whether subservient politically or simply no longer bellicose, had commercial relations with Lagash via its port Gu'abba. Let us see how the archaeological record of southwestern Iran in this period relates to the skeletal political history just outlined.

ELAM AND AWAN IN THE EARLY DYNASTIC ERA

The developments of the Susa III and Banesh periods at Susa and Tal-i Malyan discussed in [Chapter 3](#) seem to have come to a conclusion in the first half of the third millennium BC. The absolute chronology of the Susa III period, which overlaps with both the Jamdat Nasr and Early Dynastic I periods in southern Mesopotamia, suggests that a major break in the sequence occurred around 2900 or 2800 BC when, with the exception of a few locally manufactured bitumen and bitumen-compound objects (Connan and Deschesne 1996: 148), Early Dynastic Mesopotamian styles became dominant in glyptic and statuary (Amiet 1992a: 82). The abandonment of Tal-i Malyan at the end of the Banesh period, which Miller and Sumner dated to *c.* 2500–2400 BC (Miller and Sumner 2004: 87), was almost certainly not brought about by Mesopotamian aggression, but to correlate Mesopotamian historical chronology with the archaeological and radiocarbon chronology of the Iranian Plateau is a hazardous undertaking. P. Amiet went so far as to state that it was not until the reign of Sargon of Agade that the situation at Susa becomes clear again. Most authorities agree that the graves at Susa excavated in the early part of the twentieth century, which contain painted pottery (formerly known as Susa D), show links not with Mesopotamia but with graves in the Pusht-i Kuh of Luristan and the Deh Luran plain of northern Khuzistan (Carter 1987; Haerinck 1986; Haerinck and Overlaet 2006, 2008, 2010; Renette 2013: 45), and the question is: do some of the archaeological complexes of Luristan of early to mid third millennium date (Potts 2013b) represent the archaeological manifestation of the historical entity known as Awan? Does the shadowy figure of historic Awan lie behind the 'effervescence' of the western Zagros around 2650 BC as suggested by M.-J. Steve (Steve 1991: 3; cf. Pittman 2002)? Let us examine these possibilities now in greater detail.

THE CENTRAL WESTERN ZAGROS

Because the archaeology of this region will be referred to in discussing areas further south, it is best to begin by examining developments in the Kangavar valley and the Pusht-i Kuh region.

If we begin with the Kangavar and nearby valleys, a major change in the ceramic repertoire of the region *c.* 2600 BC signals the start of what has been called Godin Tepe period III. For the moment, we are interested only in the earliest phase, period III:6, which is considered contemporary with Early Dynastic II and III in the Mesopotamian sequence (Levine and Young 1987: 42, 50). Apart from the plain wares present, the most striking ceramic feature of this period is the appearance of black-on-buff and occasionally cream-slipped carinated pots and jars which employ combinations of geometric motifs (chevrons, horizontal bands, spirals) and vegetal motifs. Related pottery has been found as far west as the Islamabad plain, to the west of the Mahidasht valley, and may even extend into the Hamrin basin of northeastern Iraq (K. Abdi, pers. comm.; cf. Del Bravo 2013). Architecturally, the period III architecture at Godin Tepe is characterized by portions of several multiroomed, obviously domestic, mudbrick dwellings.

Levine and Young noted three points worth considering in any attempt to view the third millennium archaeological assemblages of Luristan as a reflection of the historical entity known as Awan. These may be enumerated as follows. First, the material which characterizes period III:6 at Godin Tepe is found 'in most of the southern and eastern valleys of Luristan along the main routes linking these regions with the lowlands of Khuzistan'; second, 'close connections with the monochrome painted pottery of Susa Dc-d/Susa IVA are clear'; and finally, 'sherds of a certain Godin III:6 type have also been found at al-Hiba [ancient Lagash] associated with tablets and sealings of Enannatum, Eannatum, and Lumatur' (Levine and Young 1987: 50; cf. the review in Potts 2013b). In an effort to imbue this material with historicity, R.C. Henrickson suggested that the Godin III assemblage of Luristan represents the material correlate of ancient Shimashki, a region about which we shall have more to say in the [following chapter](#). Yet at the time of which we are speaking, Shimashki was not even a name, let alone a force. Awan was the region responsible for the overthrow of the house of Kish, and it is with Awan that I propose identifying the assemblage just described. Awan's position as part of Elam, from a Mesopotamian perspective, and the references to Elamites at Lagash in late pre-Sargonic times reviewed earlier, provide the context in which Godin III:6 pottery could easily have reached a lowland city like Lagash. Equally, Awan's role at this date must have brought it into constant contact with Susa, which would again explain why we find clear ceramic parallels between Godin III:6 and that site.

Moving south into the Pusht-i Kuh, we have a series of cemeteries excavated by the late L. Vanden Berghe. For convenience, all of the third millennium assemblages from the Pusht-i Kuh have been summarized in [Table 4.3](#). Of

TABLE 4.3. *Overview of the archaeological assemblages of the Pusht-i Kuh*

Pusht-i Kuh phase	Major cemeteries	Finds with external parallels	Comparanda	Suggested date
I	Kalleh Nisar A1, Mir Khair	polychrome (red, black) pottery	Kheit Qasim (Hamrin) Khafajah (Diyala) Jamdat Nasr Ur Tepe Farukhabad Susa	Jamdat Nasr-ED I
II	Kalleh Nisar C, Bani Surmah A and B, War Kabud Mihr 1	polychrome (red, black) pottery	‘scarlet ware’ from sites in the Diyala (Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab, Khafajah) and Hamrin (Tell Razuk)	ED I
III – Zone 1	Kalleh Nisar A1 16, C3 loc. VII, Bani Surmah A13, B6, 11–12, War Kabud Mihr 2	polychrome (red, black) pottery	Tell Razuk (Hamrin)	ED II–IIIa
III – Zone 2	Pusht-i Qal’e-i Abdanan, Qabr Nahi, Takht-i Khan, Tawarsa	‘fruitstands’ finger-impressed jars monochrome pottery	Diyala sites (Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab, Khafajah) Susa Godin III:6 Godin III:6 Susa	ED II
III – Zone 3	Dar Tanha 1	polychrome pottery convex ring base shaft-hole axes monochrome pottery	Tell Razuk Khafajah Susa Tepe Musiyan Tepe Aliabad Kish Godin Tepe III:6 Susa	ED II ED II/III

greatest interest are those assemblages which Haerinck has assigned to Pusht-i Kuh Phase III. The material from this period has been divided into three groups corresponding to a northwestern (1), southeastern (2) and central (3) zone (Haerinck 1986: 68; cf. 2008). As Table 4.3 shows, many of the ceramic and metal weapon types known in the Pusht-i Kuh can be paralleled at sites in the Kangavar valley (Godin Tepe), the Diyala region (Khafajah, Tell Asmar, Tell Agrab), the Hamrin basin (Tell Razuk), northern Khuzistan (Tepe Farukhabad, Tepe Aliabad, Tepe Musiyan) and Susiana (Susa). The same applies to the cylinder seals found in the necropolis at Bani Surmah (Tourovets 1996; Haerinck and Overlaet 2006: 51–5). The demonstration of such links is consistent with the inclusion of this region in that of ancient Awan.

DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHERN KHUZISTAN

Tepe Musiyan (Table 4.4), the largest site on the Deh Luran plain in northern Khuzistan of early to mid third millennium date, is poorly known. Limited French soundings there in 1902–3 by Joseph-Étienne Gautier and Georges Lampre revealed some very rich graves containing painted pottery (Pézard and Pottier 1926: 17), but otherwise what we know about the site in this period is limited largely to surface ceramics (Wright and Neely 2010: 25–46; cf. Neely and Wright 1994: 57–67 for earlier material). At Tepe Farukhabad, a much smaller site, levels of fill and mudbrick architecture dating to the Early Dynastic II period (following Carter 1987: Tab. 1) were revealed by H.T. Wright in Excavations A (levels 1–5) and B (19–20) (Wright 1981: 72–5). As Wright noted, however, ‘massive river erosion and intrusive pits limit our knowledge

TABLE 4.4. *Principal sites of the Deh Luran plain in northern Khuzistan during the early third millennium BC*

Site	Survey ID	Approximate size (ha)	Periods of use
Tepe Sabz East	DL 18	4	ED II
Tepe Musiyan	DL 20	15.5	ED I–III
Tepe Baulah	DL 24	4.18	?
Tenel Ramon	DL 27	2.49	?
Tepe Khazineh	DL 28	?	Jamdat Nasr – ED II
Tepe Farukhabad	DL 32	3.5	Jamdat Nasr – ED
Tepe Garan	DL 34	1.5?	ED I–III
Tepe Patak	DL 35	1	ED I–III
?	DL 41	22	ED I–III
Unnamed	DL 43	?	Jamdat Nasr – ED I
Tepe Sohz	DL 54	1–3.2	ED I–III
Tepe Mohr	DL 104	2	ED III

Notes: Data drawn from Wright and Neely 2010.

of the Early Dynastic occupation' at Farukhabad (Wright 1981: 192). Nevertheless, the polychrome pottery from Farukhabad shows numerous parallels to material from Tell Razuk in the Hamrin basin (Carter 1987: 75; Del Bravo 2013: 6).

At Tepe Aliabad a series of vaulted mudbrick cist tombs were excavated by Gautier and Lampre. These yielded both painted and plain ceramics comparable to finds from Kheit Qasim I and Tell Ahmad al-Hattu in the Hamrin basin, and the Early Dynastic I assemblages from the Diyala region (Delougaz 1952: 139). They also show clear links to the material from Farukhabad, Susa and Pusht-i Qal'e-i Abdanan in Pusht-i Kuh Zone 2 (see Table 4.3) (Carter 1987: 80; Del Bravo 2013: 6).

In spite of the limited size of the Early Dynastic exposures at Farukhabad and the poor quality of the excavated assemblages from Tepe Aliabad, the ceramic parallels just cited leave no doubt that contacts occurred between the Diyala, Hamrin, Pusht-i Kuh and Deh Luran plain at this time.

SUSA IN THE PRE-AKKADIAN THIRD MILLENNIUM BC

Following period II, either the Apadana at Susa was abandoned during the entirety of period III, or else remains of that time were completely obliterated by later activities, such as the excavation of a large ditch during the Islamic era. The only remains of the subsequent period, IVA, are those of an unspecified number of graves and pottery kilns beneath the floors of the Achaemenid palace of Darius (Steve and Gasche 1990: 28).

The situation elsewhere on the site is only slightly better. It is believed that a temple once stood on the Acropole (Ghirshman 1968a: 10), but all that remains of it are 'a few stone plaques and statues, possibly local copies of Sumerian types' attributed to levels 4 and 3 (Carter 1985: 43, 1980: Tab. 1), from which an interesting mother-of-pearl inlay may have come (see Dolce 1978: S2). More material was recovered in the Donjon at the southern end of the site. A cache of cylinder sealings of Early Dynastic I–III types, showing clear Mesopotamian parallels, represents the principal evidence of sealing practices at the site in period IVA, to which we should add a cylinder seal-impressed storage jar fragment which had been sealed with the type of seal attested at sites in Syria including Hama and Ebla (Amiet 1985a: 9–10). Hundreds of tombs were excavated in the Donjon and Ville Royale by Roland de Mecquenem, but of these only four can be reconstructed with any degree of certainty. These consisted of single inhumations accompanied by a range of ceramic and metal vessels, as well as a selection of other objects, including copper/bronze arrowheads, belt buckles, and daggers or knives in leather sheaths. Of particular interest is the presence of at least one burial in the Donjon which included a four-wheeled chariot. This, as well as other tombs containing copper/bronze 'wands', comparable to examples found in Luristan, may have been those of

high-status individuals (Carter 1985: 45). The existence of such tombs in the mid-third millennium immediately invites comparisons with chariot burials at Ur and Kish, but there is not enough little detail available to enable such comparison. Most importantly, ‘ceramic and metal objects find their closest parallels in Luristan. . . . Trade with the west is evidenced by the appearance at al-Hiba in area C and Ur of a few examples of early Susa IV type ceramics’ (Carter 1985: 45), where an Early Dynastic III date is most likely (Carter 1987: 80). As noted earlier, Susa IVA ceramics show parallels with material from Pusht-i Qal’eh-i Abdanan in Pusht-i Kuh Zone 2, as well as with Tepe Musiyan, Tepe Aliabad and Tepe Farukhabad (Carter 1987: 78, 80; Ascalone 2006: 21–2). Interestingly, although the ceramics and metal weaponry reflect ties to the north, an important link with the Oman peninsula (ancient Magan) is indicated by the composition of a hoard of metal objects found in a large painted vessel, the so-called Vase à la cachette, which suggests that the copper used for their manufacture came from the Oman ophiolite (Berthoud et al. 1980: Fig. 3; see also Amiet 1986c: 126).

Undoubtedly the best stratified early to mid-third millennium material from Susa comes from levels 12–9A in the Ville Royale I excavations conducted by E. Carter. Although the architectural remains were limited to fragments of a few mudbrick walls corresponding to portions of several rooms, the ceramics recovered show clear links to the Godin Tepe III, Baba Jan IV and Dar Tanha assemblages, thus confirming once more the existence of indisputable links to Luristan in the mid-third millennium. The same applies to the material from graves 555 and 569, both of which were dug down from period IVA levels into older strata. These contained *inter alia* objects such as a shaft-hole axe comparable to those from Dar Tanha 1 and Bani Surmah (see Table 4.3; Vanden Berghe 1968: 58; Haerinck and Overlaet 2006: Fig. 16).

AWAN IN LURISTAN?

In discussing the various locations put forward in the past for the region of Awan, F. Vallat came to the conclusion that the name could have applied to a vast area encompassing the modern provinces of Luristan, Kermanshah, Kurdistan and Hamadan, extending as far east as Tepe Sialk near Kashan and north to an unspecified point (Vallat 1993a: CXXV). Certainly the ceramic and metallurgical evidence adduced previously confirms the existence of a relatively coherent material culture complex in Luristan and the Pusht-i Kuh in the mid-third millennium, but beyond that one runs, archaeologically speaking, into different cultural provinces. I prefer a minimalist definition of Awan for the moment which focuses on those highland areas referred to here as partaking of the culture of Godin III:6 and the Pusht-i Kuh assemblages datable to the mid-third millennium (ED II–III in Mesopotamian terms). Furthermore, it must be remembered that the period IVA material from Susa shows little if any

connection to that of period III (see Amiet 1992a: 82) or to the Banesh assemblage of Fars. If one is looking for the source of at least some of it, then the parallels cited before point in the direction of Luristan, and that, combined with the historical evidence of the emergence of Awan in this period, is highly suggestive.

TRANS-ELAM AND TRANS-ELAMITE MATERIAL CULTURE

One further aspect of Elamite identity on the Iranian Plateau in the mid-third millennium remains to be considered. In 1986, P. Amiet introduced the term ‘Trans-Elamite’ into the vocabulary of Iranian archaeology (Amiet 1986c: 138; see also 1986b, 1987a, 1988a, 1994a, 2007, 2010). Amiet originally focused on the so-called *série ancienne* or ‘Intercultural Style’ – now known as the ‘Jiroft’ (Perrot and Madjidzadeh 2005: 135) or ‘Halilrud’ style (Azarnoush and Helwing 2005: 211) – carved soft-stone vessels (de Miroschedji 1973; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1988) of the late Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian periods as the most visible testimony of the earlier phase of this culture (cylinder seals and metal types were also included), the centre of which he saw in Kerman province at sites such as Tepe Yahya and Shahdad (see Amiet 1974a) where (at least in the first case) material of this type was actually manufactured. According to several scholars, these settlements, ‘beyond the pale’ of direct Elamite control in the post-Proto-Elamite era, might have formed part of either ancient Marhashi (Steinkeller 1982a, 2012; Potts 2004a) or Shimashki (Vallat 1980a, 1985b, 1993a), but in view of the uncertainty of these attributions, Amiet preferred a vaguer term, yet one which nonetheless acknowledged a certain tie to a heritage dating back to the Susa III or Proto-Elamite period (e.g. Amiet 1986b: 12). The term Trans-Elamite was also extended to incorporate a still later manifestation of artistic originality in the region, as expressed by the painted pottery of Bampur in Baluchistan, and Trans-Elam was formally acknowledged as encompassing Kerman province and the western portions (minimally) of Baluchistan.

This construct is certainly correct in focusing on a community of culture in southeastern Iran, even though the links between Tepe Yahya and Shahdad and between Tepe Yahya and Bampur are just that and nothing more, sets of parallels and far from an identity of material culture. But there is little justification for terming this ‘Trans-Elam’. In fact, it is difficult to see how the material expressions of the mid- and late third millennium can have anything to do with an alleged ‘Proto-Elamite heritage’, for 500 years at least separate the Trans-Elamite from the Proto-Elamite.

SARGON OF AGADE

Earlier we reviewed the evidence of hostilities against portions of western Iran (Elam, Awan, URUxA or Arawa, Mishime, Uru’aza and probably A-DU₃-a)

by Enmebaragesi, Enna'il and Eannatum in the mid third millennium BC. Although economic texts from Lagash may reflect the submission of some of those areas, their provision of labourers, and generally increased traffic between southwestern Iran and southern Mesopotamia *c.* 2600–2400 BC, nothing suggests that sustained political influence was ever exercised by a Mesopotamian city over one of its eastern neighbours at this date. In the mid-twenty-fourth century BC, however, this situation changed dramatically, and for the first time in their history the regions of southwestern Iran came within the direct political orbit of a Mesopotamian power.

The history of what has often been called the 'first world empire' is generally well known, and the qualitative and quantitative differences between the short-lived hegemony of successive city-states during the Early Dynastic period and the new political, bureaucratic and religious structures created by Sargon of Agade have been examined in detail in recent years (Westenholz 1979; Glassner 1986; Liverani 1993; Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999). After subduing both the north and the south of Mesopotamia and setting himself on the path towards the creation of an empire, Sargon turned his attention to the east. No fewer than three of Sargon's four extant year names commemorate his eastern conquests (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 49–50; or 'raids', see Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 38):

Sargon 2a: 'in the year after Sargon destroyed URUxA'

Sargon 2b: 'in the year after URUxA was destroyed'

Sargon 3: 'in the year after Sargon destroyed Elam'

The Old Babylonian copies of Old Akkadian royal inscriptions include fifteen attributable to the reign of Sargon. In recounting the major victories of the Akkadian monarch, these texts provide us with a series of statements relating to Sargon's eastern conquests (Table 4.5) and include a number of important personal names as well as toponyms. As noted previously, both Hishibrashini and Luhishan, designated as king (LUGAL) and son (DUMU) of the king of Elam, respectively, bore Elamite names, and the same applies to Sanam-shimut (Zadok transliterates *Sa-pir₆-si-mu-ut*; see Zadok 1991: 225), which contains the name of the Elamite deity Simut or Shimut, comparable to Nergal or Mars (Zadok 1984b: 40). Zina is considered 'atypical' while Hidarida- appears not to be Elamite (Zadok 1991: 226) and Kumdupum 'cannot be compared with any names' (Zadok 1993: 223). To sum up, the copies of Sargon's inscriptions give us the names of thirteen eastern cities or regions against which he campaigned: Elam, Barahshum, URUxA, Shali'amu, Kardede, Heni, Bunban, Huzi-x, Gunilaha, Sapum, Awan, Susa and Sherihum. It is impossible to specify the precise location of each of these places, but apart from Elam, URUxA, Awan and Susa, which have been discussed already, the remainder can be classified as follows.

TABLE 4.5. *Eastern regions named in the Old Babylonian copies of Sargon of Agade's royal inscriptions*

Old Babylonian copies of Sargon's royal inscriptions	Eastern regions mentioned
C1: 87–94, C4: 94–9	Elam stands ‘in the service of Sargon, king of the land’
C7: 1–7; C7 caption b; C13: 2–7	‘Sargon, king of the totality, slayer of Elam and Barahshum’
C7 caption c	‘booty from URUxA’
C7 caption d; C13 caption f	‘Sanamshimut, governor (ensí) of Elam’
C7 caption e; C13 caption g	‘Luhishan, son of Hishibrashini, king (lugal) of Elam’
C7 caption f	‘booty of Shali’amu’
C7 caption g	‘booty of Kardede’
C7 caption h	‘Ulul, GÌR.NÍTA of Barahshum’
C7 caption i	‘Dagu, brother of the king (lugal) of Barahshum’
C7 caption k	‘booty of Heni’
C7 caption l	‘booty of Bunban’
C7 caption m	‘Zina, governor (ensí) of Huzi-...’
C7 caption n	‘Hidarida-... , governor (ensí) of Gunilaha’
C7 caption o	‘booty of Sapum’
C7 caption p	‘booty of Awan’
C7 caption q; C13 caption e	‘Sidga’u, GÌR.NÍTA of Barahshum’
C7 caption r; C13 caption h	‘Kumdupum, judge (DI.KUD) of Barahshum’
C7 caption s	‘booty of Susa’
C13 caption d	‘... governor (ensí) of Sherihum’
C13 caption j	‘Hishibrashini, king (lugal) of Elam’
C13 caption k	‘Elamites ...’

Notes: Data drawn from Gelb and Kienast 1990.

The location of Barahshum, or Marhashi as the name was sometimes written (but see Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 91, who consider them distinct regions), is disputed. Steinkeller originally placed it in eastern Fars and Kerman province (Steinkeller 1982a, 1989), F. Vallat argued that it was further east, in the area of modern Iranian Baluchistan (southeasternmost Iran, southwestern Pakistan) (Vallat 1985b: 52, 1991: 14, 1993a: CXIII–CXVIII). A fragment of carved soft-stone with a snake and feline combat scene, of the sort manufactured at Tepe Yahya and found in abundance in the Jiroft, bears an inscription of Rimush which reads, ‘Rimush, king of Kish, the slayer of Elam and Marhashi’ (Steinkeller 1982a: 254, n. 65), reflecting a campaign conducted in the third year of his reign (Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 42). This strongly suggests that eastern Kerman, including Tepe Yahya and Jiroft, was the centre

of Marhashi (Potts 2004a; Steinkeller 2012). However, Sidga'u (*Si-it-ga-ù*), described as GÌR.NÍTA of Barahshum, has a Hurrian name (Zadok 1993: 223), which would seem to imply a more northerly (or northwesterly) location for Barahshum, closer to northern Iraq and northwestern Iran. H. Francfort and X. Tremblay, on the other hand, identified the Bactria-Margiana or Oxus civilization of Turkmenistan with Marhashi (Francfort and Tremblay 2010). Huzi-x is probably 'in Elam' (Zadok 1991: 225). Gunilaha is thought to lie 'somewhere in the Iranian Plateau' (Zadok 1991: 226). Sapum is listed as one of the regions of Shimashki (Zadok 1991: 226). Stolper suggested that those parts of 'Shimashkian territory exposed to contact with Mesopotamian states [in the Ur III period; see Chapter 5] lay among the valley systems to the north of Khuzistan and/or Fars. More precise location, and determination of the greater extent of lands which Mesopotamian or Susian scribes considered Shimashkian, is not available' (Stolper 1982: 46). In contrast, Vallat located Shimashki in the northern part of Kerman province far to the east, more precisely in the area of the site of Shahdad (Vallat 1985b: 51, 1991: 21, 1993a: CXIII–CXVIII). For Zadok, 'Shimashki extended from Fars to the Caspian Sea' (Zadok 1991: 227; cf. Steinkeller 2007: 217, 2014: 291–295). The possibility that Shimashki lay further to the east, and was coterminous with the Oxus civilization, is suggested by the chronological precedence of certain iconographic features found there which later appear in 'Anshanite' glyptic at Susa and Tal-i Malyan after Shimashkian rulers began to be attested there (Potts 2008; supported by the fact that Bactrian camels were delivered at Puzrish-Dagan late in Shulgi's reign, whether as booty or gifts, from Ebarat I; see Steinkeller 2009). Finally, Sherihum is thought to have been the coastal region of Fars (Steinkeller 1982a: 256; Henkelman 2010b).

As uncertain as the historical geography of Iran in the third millennium may be, the provisional locations just enumerated bespeak wide-ranging conquests on the part of Sargon. However, it is also important to remember that some of these conquests may have been by proxy. In other words, some of the regions named may have been allied with groups further west (e.g. Susa or Awan), which supplied troops to defend against Sargon's incursion and ended up contributing booty to the Akkadian war chest. Their inclusion in the dedicatory inscriptions (Table 4.5) does not necessarily mean that Sargon physically visited each of them with his army.

RIMUSH

After a long and vigorous reign of thirty-seven years, Sargon was succeeded by his younger son, Rimush. Judging by his own, original inscriptions as well as the Old Babylonian copies of others now lost, Rimush retraced some of his father's steps in western Iran (Table 4.6). Once again Elam and Barahshum appear as the chief adversaries, with the addition of Zahara, while Gupin and

TABLE 4.6. *Eastern regions named in original and Old Babylonian copies of Rimush's royal inscriptions*

Rimush Inscription	Eastern regions mentioned
1 – repeated on booty of 14 stone vessels or vessel fragments	‘after he had conquered Elam and Barahshum, from the booty of Elam’ he dedicated the vessel to Enlil
2 – repeated on eight stone vessels or vessel fragments and one macehead	text as on no. 1, vessels dedicated to Sin
3 – on one stone vessel	‘after he had conquered Elam and Barahshum’ he dedicated the vessel
5, C7 – repeated on one macehead and three stone vessels or vessel fragments	‘conqueror of Elam and Barahshum’
C6: 3–72	‘defeated Abalgamash, king of Barahshum, in battle; Zahara and Elam arrayed themselves for battle in the midst of Barahshum, but Rimush was victorious; 16,212 men were killed and another 4,216 taken prisoner; Emahsini, king of Elam, was captured . . . from Elam was captured, Sidga’u the general from Barahshum was captured, and Shar-GA-PI from Zahara was captured between Awan and Susa by the river Qablutum; mounds of corpses were heaped up in the city and he conquered the cities of Elam and razed their walls and he tore the roots of Barahshum out of the land of Elam, for Rimush, king of the totality, rules now Elam’
C6 Colophon 1: 138–51	‘after conquering Elam and Barahshum he removed 30 minas of gold, 3600 minas of copper and 360 male and female slaves and dedicated them to Enlil’
C8: 3–34	‘defeated Abalgamash, king of Barahshum, in battle and captured Sidga’u its general between Awan and Susa by the river Qablutum; he piled up mounds of corpses in the city and tore the roots of Barahshum out of the land of Elam for Rimush, king of the totality, rules now Elam’
C10: 10–11	mentions Gupin and Meluhha after Zahara and Elam, otherwise as C6
C10 Colophon: 41–5	‘diorite, <i>dushû</i> -stone and (other) stones which I have received, pieces from the booty of Barahshum’

Meluhha also figure in one of the variants. Although Steinkeller (1982a: 257) saw no reason to believe that the hostilities were ever carried as far east as Barahshum itself, Rimush C6 would seem to suggest that Rimush encountered the combined forces of Zahara, Elam and Barahshum in Barahshum itself. As

for Zahara, this toponym appears only in Rimush's inscriptions and its location is unknown. Vallat suggested Baluchistan (Vallat 1993a: 305) but stressed that it was politically independent of, even if allied with, Elam. We have already discussed the geographical implications of the reference to the river Qablītum between Awan and Susa, suggesting that the Saimarreh, a northern tributary of the Karun, may have been meant and a location in the Pusht-i Kuh thereby implied. As for the *dramatis personae*, Sidga'u, the general from Barahshum, was already active in the reign of Sargon (Table 4.5). Both his name and that of the king of Barahshum mentioned here, Abalgamash (*A-pà-al-ga-maš*), are Hurrian (Zadok 1993: 223).

Death and captivity were inflicted by Rimush on the forces of Zahara, Elam and most probably Barahshum. We can never be certain that the figures cited in Table 4.6 are accurate, but the fact that the numbers of killed and captured are not round numbers or multiples of 60 suggests verisimilitude rather than otherwise. Foster suggested that the Iranian campaigns followed the suppression of a revolt by Ur, Umma, Uruk, Kazallu and Lagash and were not triggered by the general rebellion (Foster 1985: 27–8). By way of comparison, one may set the total of 20,428 killed and captured forces of Elam and Zahara mentioned in Rimush C6 against the 8,040 dead, 5,460 captured and 5,985 impressed as corvée labourers (total = 19,485) from the combined forces of Ur and Lagash that rose up against Rimush (Westenholz 1979: 121, n. 18). Interestingly, the mu-iti archive from Umma documents rations given to an escort of '5 Elamites in neck-stocks' that arrived from Susa (Schrakamp 2010: 29).

MANISHTUSHU

Sargon's elder son was the first Old Akkadian ruler to penetrate to the heart of Fars province. According to Manishtushu CI, an Old Babylonian copy of one of his original texts, he conquered Anshan and Sherihum before crossing the Lower Sea (Persian Gulf) and continuing on his way. To have reached Anshan, modern Tal-i Malyan, and not to have mentioned Susa suggests that Susiana and the western portions of Fars offered no resistance (and/or were already subject to Akkadian authority?) on Manishtushu's way east. If, as Steinkeller suggested, Sherihum should be located along the coast of Fars, then we might envisage a route of march approximating that which links modern Shiraz with Bushire on the Gulf.

During Manishtushu's reign a governor (**ensi**) of the Iranian coastal region of Pashime named Ilshu-rabi was installed, as well as a governor of Elam named Eshpum (Table 4.7).

NARAM-SIN

The situation in the east during the reign of Manishtushu's son Naram-Sin is complicated. In Naram-Sin's inscription B7:8–13 he is called 'conqueror of

TABLE 4.7. *Akkadian regents in Elam during the Old Akkadian period*

Regents in Elam during the Old Akkadian period	Title	Approximate date
Eshpum	governor (ensí) of Elam	Manishtushu
Ilshu-rabi	governor (ensí) of Bashime	Manishtushu
Epirmupi	vassal? (GÌR.NÍTA) of the land of Elam	early Naram-Sin
	governor (ensí) of Susa	
Ili'ishmani	vassal? (GÌR.NÍTA) of the land of Elam	late Naram-Sin, early Sharkalisharri

Notes: Data derived from Gelb and Kienast 1990: 318–19; see also M. Lambert 1979:17.

Armanum, Ebla and Elam’, while the Old Babylonian copy C3:7–10 mentions Elam and Barahshum in an unclear context. In spite of the considerable amount of literature devoted to the ‘great revolt’ which began upon Naram-Sin’s coming to power (Tinney 1995; Haul 2009: 62ff.), the precise chronology of his wide-ranging campaigns is by no means clear. We know that he fought from Anatolia and Cilicia in the north to Oman in the south, and that he engaged the Lullubi (inhabitants of ‘the high plateau between the Qara Dagħ and the Binzird and Beranan ranges, stretching along the southwestern perimeter of the Shahrizor from the Lower Zab to the Diyala’, according to Altaweel et al. 2012: 10; ‘the region of modern Sulaymaniyah’, according to Steinkeller 2013: 294) in the western Zagros as well (see Glassner 1986: 20), but exactly how the campaigns against Elam and Barahshum fit into this we cannot say. It is probable, however, that changes in Naram-Sin’s titulature – starting with his use of the title ‘king of Agade’, his adoption of the unprecedented epithet ‘king of the four quarters’, his deification (marked by the use of the divine determinative, **dingir**, before his name), and finally his use of the term ‘smiter of Armanum and Ebla’ – can help us to chart his *cursus honorum* (Frayne 1991: 381–2; Kutscher 1989: 17–19). If this is correct, then the conquest of Elam and Barahshum must have occurred late in his reign, for the event is named in a text (B7) in which Naram-Sin’s name is already written with the divine determinative and in which he used the title ‘king of the four quarters’ (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 110). If Kutscher was correct in suggesting that Naram-Sin’s apotheosis occurred soon after crushing the great revolt (see also Frayne 1991: 392, n. 71; cf. Westenholz 2000: 553), then we can conclude that Elam and Barahshum, which were not attacked until afterwards, played no part in that rebellion.

Naram-Sin is the only Akkadian king whose own inscriptions attest to his having been a royal builder in the east. Two brick fragments found at Susa bear the legend ‘Naram-Sin, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters ...’ and may relate to his construction there of a temple such

as those which he is known to have built or rebuilt at Nippur (Enlil), Girsu (Enlil), Adab (Enlil and Inanna) and Lagash (Sin) (Malbran-Labat 1995: 21 and n. 38). Unfortunately, the state of the inscription is such that it is impossible to tell whether Naram-Sin's name was preceded by the **dingir** sign, and hence it is impossible to suggest whether the building at Susa was erected before or after his apotheosis.

A fragment of a human torso with arms folded across the chest found at Susa (Moortgat 1969: Pls. 150–1) bears a dedication from Suash-takal which tells us that he dedicated his statue to the god ^dNIN.KIŠ.UNU for the life of Naram-Sin, the mighty, his (i.e. the god's) friend, king of the four quarters (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 107). The text (Naram-Sin B2) calls Suash-takal 'scribe' and 'major-domo' (**šabra-é**), and indeed we know from other sources that Suash-takal was a 'powerful official', involved in the rebuilding of the temple of Enlil at Nippur and influential enough to have had a town named after him near Gasur/Nuzi (Westenholz 1987: 55). The text gives no indication as to whether the statue stood originally in a temple at Susa, certainly a possibility given Suash-takal's mobility and high rank, or was brought there as booty, just as the 'victory stela' of Naram-Sin, several statues of Manishtushu and the code of Hammurabi were in the twelfth century BC by Shutruk-Nahhunte I (see Chapter 7).

Finally, an alabaster sherd inscribed with the name and title of Naram-Sin ('Naram-Sin, king of the four quarters'), and which bears traces of the sign BUR, meaning 'vessel', was found at Susa at the beginning of the twentieth century (Scheil 1902; see also Potts 1986: 279; T.F. Potts 1989: 152; Braun-Holzinger 1991: 161; Koch 1997: 109). This is thought to be one of a number of inscribed alabaster vessels seized as booty by Naram-Sin during his campaign against Magan (Oman peninsula), the full inscription on which read BUR.NAM.RA.AK MÁ.GÁN.KI, 'vessel from the booty of Magan' (Potts 1986: 278). How such a vessel ended up at Susa remains a mystery. Most probably it was not the alabaster vessel itself which was considered precious but its contents. In later antiquity alabaster jars were renowned as the 'best means of keeping unguents fresh' (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36.12.60–1).

SHARKALISHARRI

With the reign of Sharkalisharri, Agade was no longer the aggressor but the recipient of attacks from all sides (Glassner 1986: 40). Victories in battle over Elam and Zahara are recorded in two variants of one of Sharkalisharri's year formulae (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 54). Interestingly, one of these says that the battle took place 'opposite Akshak', a city located along the Tigris above Baghdad, possibly modern Tell Sinker (Frayne 1991: 395, n. 93; 1992: 47). Thus, the rebellion against Akkadian rule was carried into the heart of central Mesopotamia. At the same time, however, either Sharkalisharri or his son

travelled from Nippur to the east in order to marry a princess of Marhashi. Three texts from Nippur concern (1) onions given to a delegation of Marhashians; (2) onions given to the prince ‘when he went to Marhashi’; and (3) onions given for the prince’s wedding, which is thought to have taken place in Marhashi (Westenholz 1987: nos. 129, 133 and 154; Potts 2002b: 345).

DUDU

Sharkalisharri was the last descendant of Sargon’s to occupy the Akkadian throne. The period after his reign is notoriously poor in documentation, but of those names listed in SKL which follow Sharkalisharri’s, the fourth of the remaining ‘kings of Agade’, Dudu, may have campaigned against Elam. This, however, depends on the restoration of the name E[lam] in one of his year formulae and remains uncertain (Glassner 1986: 42; this is not listed, for example, in Gelb and Kienast 1990).

AKKADIAN POLITICS AND SUSIANA

The incessant determination to dominate southwestern Iran, minimally from Susa and Awan in the west to Anshan in the east (for the moment we must leave aside the other regions of uncertain location) resulted in both the spread of Mesopotamian material culture over parts of the dominated areas and the incorporation of some of those areas, particularly Susiana, within the Akkadian political universe. Whereas the inscriptions of Sargon and Rimush mention the names of two kings (**lugal**) of Elam, viz. Hishibrashini and Emahsini, respectively (Tables 4.5 and 4.6), we find three **ensí**’s and a GÌR. NÍTA installed, in one case specifically at Susa, from the reign of Manishtushu to the beginning of Sharkalisharri’s reign (following the chronology proposed by M. Lambert 1979: 17; for these and other titles used in the Elamite area, see Shayegan 2011: Tab. 14). The interpretation of these titles is, however, far from straightforward. Let us first consider the title **ensí**.

Hallo showed that in the pre-Sargonic and early Sargonic periods the title **ensí** was used by independent rulers of city-states (e.g. Eannatum I and II and Entemena of Lagash) who could not claim the more substantial title **lugal**, meaning king. On the other hand, the formerly independent **ensí**’s defeated by Sargon were replaced by Akkadian **ensí**’s who functioned as city governors (or even mayors) for the king (Hallo 1957: 45), and by the late Akkadian period ‘ensi was the title of the ruler or governor of many of the cities of Sumer and Akkad. It did not matter whether the city was formally dependent at any given time, or whether it had succeeded in cutting even the last ties with the often ephemeral sovereigns at Akkad, Gutium, Uruk or Ur. . . . But where, as at Uruk, the city had not – at least since the earliest times – been under an ensi, there the Sargonic and Ur III rulers likewise forebore to install one, relying

instead in this case on en's and GÌR.NÍTA's, both members of the royal family' (Hallo 1957: 45–6).

What did the title GÌR.NÍTA signify? In the Sargonic era, 'as a political title, i.e., compounded with a geographical name, GÌR.NÍTA was applied . . . only to vassals of foreign kings or of the Sargonic kings themselves' (Hallo 1957: 100). Most scholars interpret GÌR.NÍTA as 'military governor' (e.g. Glassner 1986: 11; Koch 1996: 146; Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 50). In Sargon's inscriptions, Ulul and Sidga'u are both called GÌR.NÍTA (Akk. *shakkanakku*) of the king of Barahshum (i.e. his vassals). Similarly, Epirmupi and Ili'ishmani are described as GÌR.NÍTA, which would suggest that they were dependents of the Akkadian king, rather than independent rulers of Elam (cf. Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 50; Schrakamp 2010: 204). In the case of Epirmupi, who is attested both as GÌR.NÍTA and **ensí**, Hallo posited that he may have risen 'from a courtier's rank to that of governor of Susa and Elam, still as such subordinate to the kings of Awan, Akkad, or some other higher power' (Hallo 1957: 102). Yet Westenholz suggested that Epirmupi may have been a 'traitor' who 'defected from Sharkalisharri' since he is called *dannum*, 'mighty' and, on an inscribed cylinder seal, GÌR.NÍTA *ma-ti* NIM.KI, 'viceroys of the Elam region', without acknowledging the authority of a higher-ranking king (Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 56, n. 215, 93).

The status of Ili'ishmani does not preclude the existence of an **ensí** with ultimate responsibility over Susa (or Elam), and indeed some of the Old Akkadian texts from Susa which, judging by the personal names they contain (Legrain 1913: 127–30), originated in either Umma or Zabalam, indicate that during the reign of Sharkalisharri Susa and Susiana were considered part of the province of Girsu-Umma and were under the control of its **ensí** Mesag (M. Lambert 1979: 19–20). But Ili'ishmani, whose name is purely Akkadian, and the slightly more than eighty Old Akkadian texts from Susa which probably belonged 'to Sumerian (Ummaite?) families residing at Susa' and included 'official records of the imperial administration there' (Foster 1982: 7), would seem to reflect the activities of high Akkadian functionaries and their subordinates in a city which was well and truly integrated into the empire at this time (M. Lambert 1979: 22).

Into this picture, however, we must now interweave yet another document, written in Old Elamite, namely the 'treaty' of Naram-Sin with an unnamed ruler or high-ranking official. G.G. Cameron supposed him to have been Hita (Cameron 1936: 34; cf. Mallowan 1970: 258), eleventh king of Awan in the Old Babylonian list of kings of Awan and Shimashki alluded to earlier (Hinz 1967: 66; Sallaberger and Westenholz 1999: 92). This suggestion is considered groundless by other scholars, however (Yusifov 1975: 439 identified him as Puzur-Inshushinak, an option that is chronologically impossible; see Chapter 5). Whether or not the king in question was Hita – neither Awan nor Susa is actually mentioned in the text – the fact remains that the treaty is unlikely to concern one

of the princes installed by the Akkadian government at Susa (it is unclear how one should interpret the fragmentary and difficult Old Elamite Susa texts Sb 11249 and 11250; see Lambert 1974). The document begins with the invocation of a long list of deities, some twenty-six of whom are ‘Elamite’ in the broadest sense of the term (e.g. Pinigir, Humban, Inshushinak, Shimut or Hutran); two of which are Sumero-Akkadian (Ninurta and Ninkarrak); and three of which are specifically Akkadian (Ishara, Ilaba and Mazziat) (Lambert 1991: 54). The crux of the treaty (§3) contains the unnamed king’s promise not to countenance opposition to Agade, and the lines ‘Naram-Sin’s enemy is also my enemy, Naram-Sin’s friend is also my friend’. Gifts having been received from the Akkadian monarch, the foreign party to the treaty promised to uphold it and not to tolerate any anti-Akkadian activities in his realm (§7).

Following on from the previous discussion of the chronology of Naram-Sin’s campaigns as revealed by his changing titulature, it could be suggested that the treaty was concluded early in Naram-Sin’s career, for his name is written without the **dingir** determinative signifying his deification (Hinz 1967: 96). M. Lambert believed that the treaty signified the unnamed ruler’s acceptance of Naram-Sin’s rule over Susiana and his simultaneous desire to maintain his relative autonomy in the highlands even if it meant swearing allegiance to the Akkadian king (M. Lambert 1979: 29).

The installation of Akkadian officials, bureaucrats and undoubtedly their families certainly brought about an influx of Mesopotamians onto the Susiana plain unparalleled since the Susa II period. It also effected the introduction of Old Akkadian methods of accountancy (see Foster 1982), and consequently Akkadian became the language of bureaucracy at Susa (De Graef 2013). This in turn contributed to the ‘Akkadianization’ of the native population, with the result that Akkadian names became common, even amongst ethnically non-Akkadian Susians. This is not to say that Elamite names are absent in the Old Akkadian texts from Susa, but it does explain why they are in the minority (Table 4.8) and why, in Mesopotamia itself (Zadok 1994: 39–40), ‘all the Susians mentioned in Sargonic texts bore Semitic names’ (Zadok 1991: 225). There are, however, other people not specifically designated as Susians who appear in Mesopotamian sources and who have linguistically Elamite names (Table 4.9), as well as Marhashians who are mentioned in at least two Old Akkadian texts from Susa (Figures 4.1 and 4.2).

SUSA DURING THE OLD AKKADIAN PERIOD

What are the physical manifestations of Akkadian sovereignty at Susa? To what extent does the material culture of the site reflect the historical trends outlined previously? While nothing suggests that the Apadana was unoccupied during the Old Akkadian period (Table 4.10), the soundings made by R. de Mecquenem through the floor of the Achaemenid palace there revealed

TABLE 4.8. *Elamite names attested at Susa during the Old Akkadian period*

Name	Text reference
E-ni-ish-sha-an	<i>MDP</i> 28: 524, 9
E-pi-ir-i-lum	<i>MDP</i> 2: A, 3, 7
E-pir _x -mu-pi	<i>MDP</i> 43: 1547, 1
Hal-te-en ₆ -hu-ut-ta-ash	<i>AfO</i> 19 (1959/60): 10, vi, 32
Ha-si-ri-ir-za-na	<i>MDP</i> 14: 75, 9'
Ha-si-ha-li-ish	<i>MDP</i> 14: 75, 7'
Hi-si-ip-ra-si-ni	Gelb and Kienast 1990: 317
In-da-su/sú	<i>AfO</i> 19 (1959/60): 10, vi, 32
Kur-da-shu	<i>MDP</i> 43: 1579, 1
Mi-ish-da-ti	<i>MDP</i> 14: 79
Muk-dù-dù	<i>MDP</i> 14: 1, ii, 3
^d Na-ru-ti	<i>MDP</i> 14: 74, 8
Nu-ti-ish	<i>MDP</i> 14: 72 rev. ii, 6'
Ra-bi-pi-li-ir	<i>MDP</i> 14: 82, 4
Sa-pi-ru-ri	<i>MDP</i> 24: 384, 4
Si-da-ak-su-kir	<i>MDP</i> 14: 27, i, 2
Si-im-pi-ru-uk	<i>MDP</i> 24: 384, 25
Si-ir-ú-lul-uk	<i>MDP</i> 24: 384, 27
Su-kir-a-bí	<i>MDP</i> 14: 6, rev. ii, 14'
Ú-lu-tu-ni	<i>MDP</i> 28: 424, 3.4

Notes: Data derived from Zadok 1984b; Gelb and Kienast 1990.

relatively little material, apart from pottery and some bronze objects recovered in graves (Steve and Gasche 1990: 28). The situation was different on the Acropole, where levels 1 and 2 were dated by the excavators to the Late Old Akkadian period and included the foundations of a building with small, vaulted rooms interpreted as a possible granary (Steve and Gasche 1971: 77; see also Amiet 1986c: 143), while in Ville Royale I a small area of domestic remains, including an oven complex and fireplace associated with an ashy surface, as well as a grave (grave 527) were exposed in levels 8 and 7 (Carter 1980: Fig. 20) and attributed to the Old Akkadian and post-Akkadian periods, respectively (Carter and Stolper 1984: Fig. 15). Continuing the use of Roman numerals to denominate Susa I, II and III, the late Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian periods at Susa are termed Susa IVA (c. 2600–2400 BC) and IVB (c. 2400–2100 BC), respectively (Carter 1985: 43–5). It is estimated that the site covered approximately 46 ha. by the end of the Akkadian period (Carter and Stolper 1984: 135).

Ceramically speaking, Susa was converted to both Mesopotamian forms and modes of decoration with common Akkadian types replacing local ones in period IVB (Carter and Stolper 1984: 134). Moreover, the same trend can be seen in most of the metalwork recovered from the graves excavated by

TABLE 4.9. *Elamite names attested in southern Mesopotamia during the Old Akkadian period*

Location	Name	Situation	Text reference
Eshnunna	Ku-ru-za		MAD 1, 85: TA 1931, 9
Gasur	Pu-ul-ma	listed in a ration or wage list	HSS 10: 185, iv, 15
	Si-a-ni	named amongst people delivering lard	HSS 10: 169, 9; 199, 2
	Ti-ru-sha-ki	received grain ration	HSS 10: 129, 13; 156, 7; 197, 10
Girsu	Za-na	named in ration list of agricultural labourers	HSS 10: 188, ii, 18; iv, 21
	A-bi	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Am-ba/ma-ar	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Ba-ak-za-na	named in list of personnel	MVN 6: 381 rev. 7
	Ba-ar	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Ba-ar-si-ni	named in list of personnel	MVN 6: 381 rev. 7
	Da-an	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Da-an-ú-ri	mentioned in connection with a delivery of baskets	STTI 37: L. 1277, 2
	Gi-NIM		ITT 5839
	Gu-ri	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Ha-al-ka	mentioned in list of garments and recipients thereof	MVN 6: 377, rev. 15
	Ha-ap-hi-is ^v	mentioned in list of quantities of metals and recipients thereof	MVN 6: 100, 2
	Ha-ne	mentioned in Mesag archive	Bridges 1981: 32
	Hu-ba	received rations	DP 45
	Hu-ba	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Hu-hu-me	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Hu-um-ba	a shepherd	MVN 6: 351 rev. 15
	Hu-un	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Hu-un-zu-lu	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	In-tar-ra	list of personal names	ITT 3107
	Ka-ka	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Ma-ad-ga		RTC 253, 8 rev. 5
	(or the region of the same name minus the geographical determinative?)		
	Mu-mu-shi	list of personal names	ITT 3107
	Na-pi ₅ -ir	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Pu-ul-ma	listed amongst Susians	MVN 6: 90, 5 rev. 9
	Si-im-ta[n]	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Ú-e-li	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Ur- ^d shushinak	mentioned in list of offerings	ITT 2855
	Uru-az ^{ki}	geographical name used as personal name	ITT 1195 rev. 3

TABLE 4.9. (continued)

Location	Name	Situation	Text reference
	U.URUxA-mes	scribe named after geographical place-name	Nik. 2, 14, ii, 14
	Za-na	listed in a contract	MVN 6: 500
	Zu-zu-i-lum	mentioned in account of beer	ITT 4518
	unnamed	ensí of Susa	ITT 4560
	unnamed	ensí 's of Susa and Elam holding land at Girsu	RTC 143
	unnamed	Susians	ITT 4700
	unnamed	Elamites	ITT 2905
	unnamed	Kimashians	RTC 248, 7; 251, 3'; 252, 5
	unnamed	Elamite women receiving rations	MVN 6: 105.335.492
	unnamed	Elamite with a slave who had a Sumerian name	ITT 5798
	unnamed	Elamite priest occurs in list of metal objects and military equipment	STTI 7: L. 1125, 6
	unnamed	purchasing trip to Elam	STTI 63: L. 1469
	unnamed	Anshanite	RTC 247 rev. 17
	unnamed	Susian mentioned in ration text	CT 50: 148
	unnamed	people from Bashime	Nik. 2, 35, ii, 12
	unnamed	people from Uru'aza	RTC 113, 3'
Nippur	Elam-mu	uncertain	OSP 1: 129, v, 2 f
	unnamed	mentioned in beer account	OSP 1: 57, i, 7
	unnamed	craftsmen	OSP 1: 57, i, 2.4.6; ii, 4.5
	unnamed	received beer and clothing	TuM 5: 38, i, 6; 1081, iv, 7
Umma	unnamed	beer text	CT 50: 56, 21
	unnamed		MCS 9: 241 rev. 11; 242 rev. 7
	unnamed	Elamite who functioned as a scribe	DV 5: 61, 3

Notes: Data drawn from Zadok 1994: 39.

R. de Mecquenem and incorrectly dated to the 'XXVth' century (Tallon 1987: 61; see also Amiet 1986c: 143). Typologically, this material includes a variety of tools, weapons, toilet articles and vessels. Reliable information on the provenience of most of the metal finds from the early excavations at Susa (i.e. pre-1968), which are now in the Louvre, is, however, lacking, and typological comparison with material from other sites (Table 4.11) rarely suffices to distinguish between a late Early Dynastic, Old Akkadian or Ur III date. On

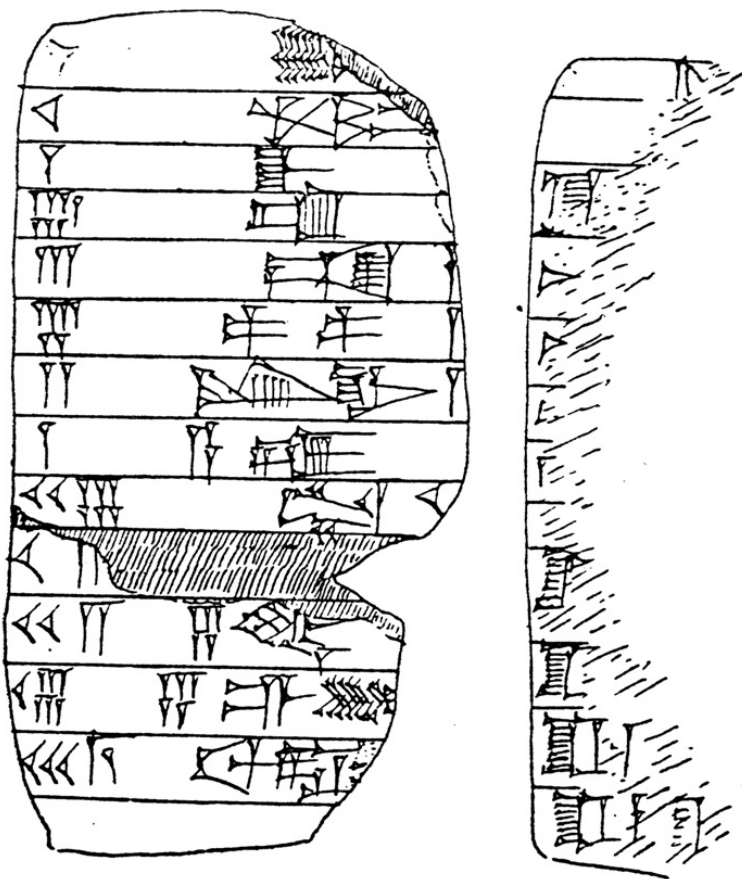


Figure 4.1. Old Akkadian list of personnel from Susa (MDP 14 no. 18), including twenty-one Amorites and twenty-nine Marhashians (after Scheil 1913).

the other hand, there are a few exceptional pieces with inscriptions, such as the blade of a broken socketed axe bearing the legend 'Ili'ishmani/scribe [DUB. SAR]/GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam' (Frayne 1993: 308; Tallon 1987/II: 139, no. 20) which can be securely assigned to the Old Akkadian period.

For the most part, the roughly 170 cylinder seals from Susa which are attributable to the Old Akkadian and post-Akkadian periods display Akkadian iconography and style (Amiet 2005). Like Mesopotamian seals from the time of Sargon, the earliest of these continue to reflect the norms of the late Early Dynastic tradition, while the bulk can be compared with mature Akkadian, and some with post-Akkadian seals of Mesopotamian provenience. Some seals are, without any doubt, imports from Mesopotamia. This applies, for example, to the seal of Lugalidda, known to have been a high-ranking functionary at Adab, while the seal used by Libur-beli, a functionary of Epirmupi, who was in charge of Susa early in Naram-Sin's reign, was most probably also a Mesopotamian product (Amiet 1972a: 190). Known from its

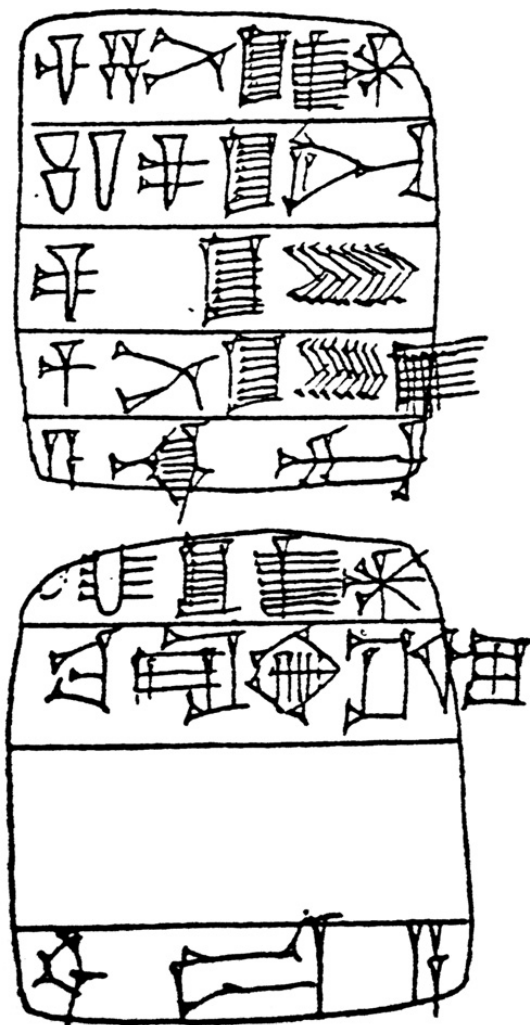


Figure 4.2. Ration text listing quantities of grain for Anamu and ‘the Marhashian’ (MDP 14 no. 23), possibly dating to the reign of Naram-Sin (after Scheil 1913; cf. Steinkeller 1982a: 259, n. 90).

impression on a tablet found at Susa, the Libur-beli seal shows a classic Old Akkadian scene of two nude heroes confronting, in one instance, a water buffalo and in the other, a lion. Amiet suggested that the large number of second-rate cylinder seals, often of an archaizing rather than genuinely ancient style, suggests the presence of seal-cutting workshops at Susa itself (Amiet 1972a: 189). One particular group of seals from Susa made of frit or faience shows horned monsters and animals. Although attributed to the ‘Guti’ (mountain dwellers in the northern Zagros; see later discussion) by Henri Frankfort (Frankfort 1955: 33; see also Amiet 1972a: 192; Porada 1965: 41–2), this is pure speculation.

TABLE 4.10. *Susa and Tepe Farukhabad during the late third millennium BC*

Susa				Tepe Farukhabad	
Apadana	Acropole	Ville Royale	Proposed date	Site	Proposed date
Chantier 24: graves,			late Early Dynastic/Old Akkadian		
pottery kilns	levels 2–1 (Steve/Gasche)	A 8–7, grave 527 (Carter)	late Akkadian		
Achaemenid palace:		A XV (de Mecquenem)	Period IV? late Akkadian		
graves beneath; tomb		B VII–VI (Ghirshman/ Gasche)	Ur III	Exc. B, layers	Shimashki
329 (locus 32)		A 6B–3, graves 513, 507 (Carter)	Elamite ancien II (2100– 1900 BC)	18–15	(2200–1900 BC)
	pits 8, 10, 22, 25, 27, 28 (Steve/Gasche)		Period V? Shimashki (2200–1900 BC)		
			Ur III		

TABLE 4.11. *Diagnostic metal artifact types at Susa during the late third millennium BC*

Object	Type	Susa contexts	Comparanda	Date range
shaft-hole axe	A1	tombs A112, 125 Donjon	U.12484, PG 1422, RCU unpubl., PG 1395, RCU Takht-i Khan (Luristan) 'Luristan' (Ashmolean) victory stela from Tello Gudea stela in Berlin Ur-Namma stela from Ur	Ur III early Old Akkadian late Early Dynastic III Old Akkadian? Old Akkadian, post-Sargon early Ur III early Ur III
	A3a	unstratified	'Luristan' (Ashmolean, Louvre) War Kabud Mihr (Luristan) Takht-i Khan (Luristan) Tepe Giyan (Luristan) Tepe Khazineh (Khuzistan)	? Early Dynastic II? <i>c.</i> 2500 BC? late Early Dynastic III Giyān IVB, late third millennium late Early Dynastic, Old Akkadian?
tubular cudgel	A1	tomb A125, Donjon	U.9137, PG 580, RCU 'Luristan' (Ashmolean, Louvre)	Early Dynastic IIIA ?
	A2	Donjon tomb 555, V.R. I	Tello Shahdad (Kerman) 'Nihevand' 'Luristan'	? ? ? ?
tanged point	A3a	unstratified	RCU type 6	Early Dynastic IIIA
square-sectioned point	A4a	unstratified, V.R. I	RCU type 1/1b Assur, Ishtar temple Tell Billa Kara Hasan (Syria) Tell Mumbaqa (Syria) 'Luristan'	Early Dynastic III Old Akkadian (Manistusu), Ur III ? late third millennium late third millennium Ur III

socketed point blade axe	B1a B3, C3	Donjon unstratified	Tepe Aliabad (Khuzistan) Mari Tell al-'Ubaid sites in Palestine, N. Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Syria, Indus Valley	? late Early Dynastic, early Old Akkadian Early Dynastic IIIb Early Dynastic III various
burins/graver	B4, C4, F3	unstratified	Cemetery A, Kish RCU Troy II, IV Kultepe Ib Byblos	Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian
adze	C1	Donjon	RCU Cemetery A, Kish Tello Tepe Gawra VI Assur Sardant (Luristan)	nineteenth century BC Early Dynastic III Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian Early Dynastic III Akkadian/post-Akkadian Old Akkadian – Ur III Old Akkadian – Ur III
sickle pan	A2	unstratified A5a	Mari tomb A196, Donjon Mohenjo-Daro (Pakistan), lower and upper levels Altyn-depe (Turkmenistan) 'Bactria' (Louvre)	Naram-Sin Chanhu-Daro (Pakistan)
	A5b	unstratified	RCU Cemetery A, Kish Tello Tepe Gawra VI	Early Dynastic – Old Akkadian
cylindrical vase	B2b G1a/a'	Donjon tombs Donjon tombs	RCU RCU	Akkadian/post-Akkadian Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian

TABLE 4.11. (*continued*)

Object	Type	Susa contexts	Comparanda	Date range
square-headed pin	A2b/b'	unstratified	Tell al-'Ubaid tomb 76 Cemetery A, Kish Shahdad Geoy Tepe D Sardant, Gululal-i Galbi	? early second millennium late Early Dynastic – Old Akkadian
cylindrical-headed pin	G	Acropole, unstratified	Tell al-'Ubaid Tello Tell al-Wilayah Cemetery A, Kish RCU Darwand (Luristan) Kalleh Nisar (Luristan) Bani Surmah (Luristan) Deh Luran (Khuzistan)	Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian ? late third millennium Early Dynastic III – Ur III Old Akkadian Early Dynastic III – Old Akkadian Early Dynastic III ?

Notes: Data drawn from Tallon 1987. Types (A1, B4, etc.) are as defined by Tallon. RCU = Royal Cemetery of Ur, P6 = private grave (at Ur). U-numbers (e.g. U.12484) are Ur excavation registration numbers.

Nearly sixty predominantly female clay figurines from Susa have been attributed to the Old Akkadian period, and while some of these, like other categories of material culture discussed previously, reflect Mesopotamian styles, the majority do not, indicating rather that in this domain an indigenous tradition persisted in spite of foreign political domination (Spycket 1992: 25). Interestingly, one of the Susa figurines is decorated with paint in the style of the painted figurines known from contemporary Tal-i Malyan. The significance of these figurines is unclear. The promotion of fertility, a function as toys, substitutions for sacrifice, role-play in rituals, dedications to deities, representations of worshippers and other roles can all have applied to particular types of figurines in antiquity (Black and Green 1992: 81, 144).

Gaining an understanding of Susa and the Susians under Akkadian occupation is a difficult task. The existence of some thirty-two small farmsteads or hamlets, ranging in size from *c.* .2 to .7 ha, around Susa itself (Carter 1985: 45) and all unexcavated gives us only a hint of the city's agricultural hinterland at this time. Similarly, the overwhelmingly Akkadian style of the ceramics, metals and cylinder seals from Susa, and the cuneiform sources documenting the site's troubled relationship with the Akkadian empire, can all too easily lead one to overlook the non-Akkadian dimensions of Susa's existence. In fact, there is a varied corpus of material from Susa, most of it unstratified but generally attributable to the Old Akkadian and/or Ur III period(s), which reflects relations with the Indus Valley, Oman peninsula and Persian Gulf region generally. No fewer than 71 of the 170 cylinder seals of Old Akkadian type from Susa are made of shell (Amiet 1972a: 192–207), and both incised shell bangles and perforated discs of Mature Harappan type, all made of *Turbinella pyrum*, have been found at Susa as well (Gensheimer 1984: 71). Amiet drew attention to the presence of a cylinder seal and a stamp seal with Harappan characters from Susa (Figure 4.3), as well as a single Harappan weight and a number of etched carnelian beads, all of which derive from the Indus Valley (Amiet 1986c: 143–4) and most probably date to somewhere within the final three or four centuries of the third millennium BC. Similarly, a large number of *série récente* soft-stone bowls with double-dotted circle decoration

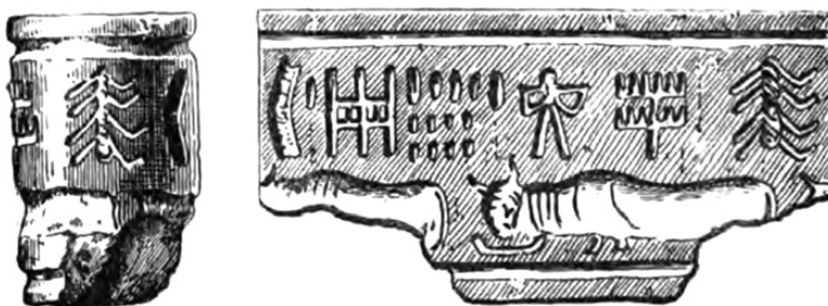


Figure 4.3. Bone (?) cylinder seal from Susa with Harappan signs (after Babelon 1906: Fig. 242).

found at Susa (de Miroschedji 1973) can unhesitatingly be attributed to the Oman peninsula, while a number of square-based, circular-mouthed flasks are just as clearly Central Asian (Amiet 1980a). Objects such as these reached Susa through various channels involving both overland and maritime travel. Their very presence in Khuzistan is an indication that, whatever else the Akkadian and Ur III administrations did at the site, they did not hinder the flow of goods and, presumably, ideas from points south, east and north into an area which had long been connected with a wide array of distant lands.

THE FALL OF AGADE

In SKL the Old Akkadian kings are followed by twenty-one kings of Gutium, six of whom are attested in other sources as well (year formulae, royal inscriptions, building inscriptions of officials at Uruk and Umma; Gelb and Kienast 1990: 293–4). SKL grants the twenty-one Gutian rulers a reign of only ninety-one years. A synchronism between the last Gutian king, Tirigan (who ruled for only forty days according to SKL; cf. Steinkeller 2003: 281), and Utuhegal of Uruk (2117–2111 BC) would thereby set the beginnings of the dynasty under Imtaa in the reign of Sharkalisharri, a date which is entirely plausible given that the third Gutian king, Sarlagab, is mentioned (as having been captured) in a year formula of Sharkalisharri's (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 54).

Although Glassner expressed considerable scepticism about the alleged role played by the Guti in bringing about the downfall of the house of Agade (Glassner 1986: 48–50), as Frayne observed, the fact that 'a list of 21 kings of their dynasty was included in the king list was undoubtedly a recognition by Nippur of the reality of their control, for at least part of the post Akkad period, over the city' (Frayne 1991; 404, n. 141). Furthermore, Gutians are certainly attested in cuneiform sources (e.g. at Adab, Umma and probably in the vicinity of Lagash) during the Old Akkadian period (Zadok 1994: 49). Generally identified with a portion of the northern Zagros mountains in western Iran ('some or all of the highlands northeast of the lower Tigris', Hallo 1971: 708; in the Diyala region, Frayne 2008: 37), Gutium was probably a near, northern neighbour of areas considered to compose Elam, for one Gutian royal name, Si-ù-um, is homonymous with a district attested in the Ur III period as part of 'greater Elam' (Zadok 1991: 226, 1994: 49). Zadok suggested that Gutium was located in the same region as the area of Mannea, an area attested in the Neo-Assyrian period which today makes up part of Iranian Azerbaijan near Lake Urmia (Zadok 1993: 237; see also 1986a: 245).

PUZUR-INSHUSHINAK AND HIS TIMES

The political situation at Susa following the reign of Sharkalisharri is largely unknown to us. An Old Babylonian copy of an inscription of the founder of the

TABLE 4.12. *Inscriptions of Puzur-Inshushinak*

Puzur-Inshushinak text	Summary
1	P, governor (ensí) of Susa, GÌR.NÍ[TA] of the land of Elam, son of Simpi'ishhuk, captured the enemies of Kimash and Hurtum, destroyed Hupsana and crushed under his feet in one day 81 towns and regions; when the king of Shimashki came to him, he (the king) grabbed his (Puzur-Inshushinak's) feet; Inshushinak heard his prayers and . . .
2	after opening the canal to/from Sidari, he erected a statue in front of the gate of the temple of Inshushinak and decorated the gate with a copper-covered cedar bar/bolt; a sheep at dawn and a sheep in the evening were chosen daily for sacrifice and singers sang day and night at the temple gate; he dedicated pure oil for the care of the gate, four silver objects, the 'desired' emblem of gold and silver, a dagger, and an axe with four 'leaves'; whoever seeks to remove these votive objects should have his roots torn out and his seeds removed by Inshushinak, Shamash, Enlil, Enki, Ishtar, Sin, Ninhursag, Narunte and the totality of the gods
3	Akkadian text: dedication of a foundation text/object for Inshushinak by P.; Linear Elamite text: dedication of a 'wooden stake' for the temple of Inshushinak
4	dedication of a statue to the deity AL.UR.KA
5	dedication of a statue to the deity Belatteraban
6	commemoration of a staircase for Inshushinak erected by P., the mighty, king of Awan, son of Shimpi'shuk
7	as no. 6
8	commemoration of the building of the temple of the deity SU.GU by P.
9	Akkadian text: dedication of a statue to the goddess Narunte by P.; Elamite text: victory effected by Narunte, whose help is sought by P.
10	door-socket naming P., governor (ensí) of Elam
11	Akkadian text: curse on a statue fragment calling on the gods to tear out the roots and take the seeds of anyone (i.e. who removes the statue); Elamite text: names P. as dedicant of the statue
12	bas-relief of a lion with a curse upon anyone who removes the inscription

Third Dynasty of Ur, Ur-Namma, found at Isin, names Puzur-Inshushinak, the last king of Awan according to the Susa king list, as one of his adversaries (Wilcke 1987: 108). Thus, we can confidently date Puzur-Inshushinak to c. 2100 BC.

Puzur-Inshushinak is known to us from no fewer than twelve inscriptions (Table 4.12). His ethnicity was queried by Glassner, who asked whether he was a Susian of royal blood, as his name would suggest, who made his career by rising in the ranks of the Old Akkadian political administration (presumably of Susa), or an Elamite king who was able to seize control of Susa (Glassner 1988: 51). In fact, there are at least two further possibilities. Both the Susian king list (André-Salvini 1992: 261) and an inscribed stone staircase fragment (André and Salvini 1989: 65) call Puzur-Inshushinak 'king of Awan', which, as argued

previously, may denote the area of the Pusht-i Kuh, not necessarily coterminous with or adjacent to Elam. On the other hand, the Isin inscription (Wilcke 1987: 108–11), while calling Puzur-Inshushinak king of Elam, suggests that the cities ‘enslaved by Anshan’ at the time of Ur-Namma (Steinkeller 1987: 19, n. 1) were the very ones said in the Isin text to have been conquered by Puzur-Inshushinak. Could he have hailed from Anshan (Steinkeller 2013: 294), or are we simply witnessing a relaxed attitude to different designations like Elam, Awan and Anshan on the part of the scribes who wrote the texts in question?

Puzur-Inshushinak’s titulature varies considerably throughout his texts. Unfortunately, these cannot be ordered chronologically with any degree of certitude. In those texts with the titles still preserved, Puzur-Inshushinak appears alternately as:

- governor (**ensí**) of Susa (texts 10 and 12)
- governor (**ensí**) of Susa, GÌR.NÍTA of the land of Elam, and son of Shimpi’ishhuk (texts 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 and with altered positions 3)
- the mighty (**dannum**), king (**lugal**) of Awan, and son of Shimpi’ishhuk (texts 7 and 8)

It is tempting to see the proposed sequence of titles as a reflection of a progression from governor of Susa to ruler (however one wishes to translate GÌR.NÍTA; see the previous discussion) of Elam and finally to king of Awan (André and Salvini 1989: 69–70; see also André-Salvini 1992: 262). Gelb and Kienast questioned whether the latter title and indeed the Susa list of Awanite kings in fact reflect any sort of political reality (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 318), and one may share their scepticism on many grounds, but the fact that Puzur-Inshushinak’s father is not listed amongst the kings of Awan can hardly be one of them. This may simply reflect the fact that Puzur-Inshushinak was not of Awanite blood, or of royal Awanite blood, or of the main line of kings, assuming that the names indeed reflect a single dynasty. On the other hand, Puzur-Inshushinak may have been a Susian, as his name suggests, and not a highlander at all, and he may have simply taken on the title ‘king of Awan’, much like his Mesopotamian counterparts used the ancient title ‘king of Kish’, to legitimate his claim to sovereignty. Alternatively, the Awan king list may indeed be fictitious, nothing more than a summation of the names of various Elamite kings who had preceded Puzur-Inshushinak (Gelb and Kienast 1990: 318). Unfortunately, at the moment it is impossible to know where the truth lies. The fact that a number of the objects attributable to Puzur-Inshushinak were inscribed in Elamite as well as Akkadian suggests that, if he didn’t come from the highlands, then Puzur-Inshushinak was at pains to integrate both the highland and lowland regions to which he laid claim.

As to the realm which he could rightfully claim, Puzur-Inshushinak claims in one of his texts (Table 4.12.1; Figure 4.4) to have conquered eighty-one regions or towns, apparently in the Iranian (i.e. non-Mesopotamian) sphere

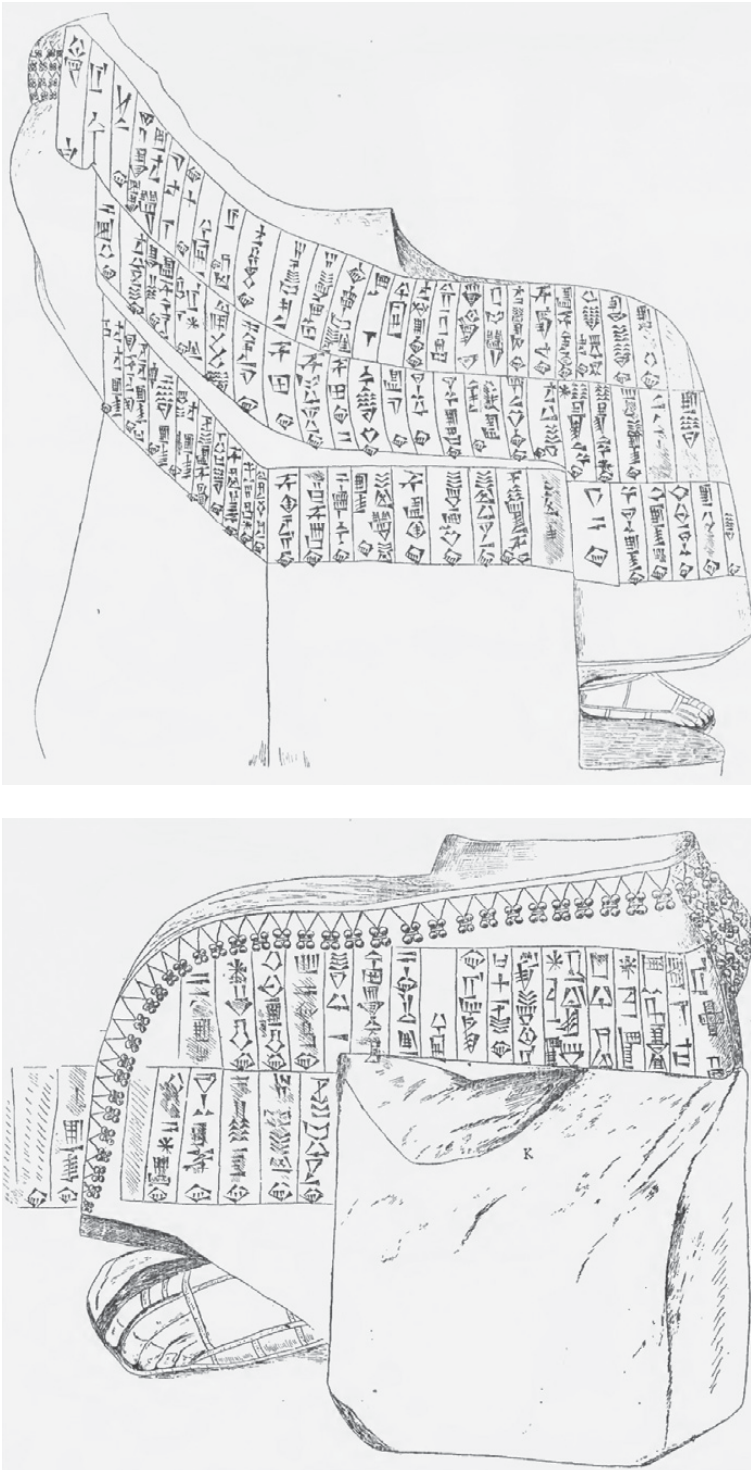


Figure 4.4. Inscription (Sb 55; Table 4.12.1) on the lower portion of a statue of Puzur-Inshushinak (after Scheil 1913: Pl. 1).

(Gelb and Kienast 1990: 312–24). Unfortunately these are, for the most part, unattested in any other sources, although Huhnur, which occurs roughly half-way through the list, is attested on an inscription of Amar-Sin's found somewhere in or near Ram Hormuz and should consequently be located in its vicinity (contra Hinz 1966: 46, who located it at Qal'eh-ye Toll, or Duchene 1986, who suggested a location near modern Arjan; statements to the effect that it came from Tol-e Bormi, e.g. in Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2005; Steinkeller 2013: 294, n. 9; are incorrect but, contra Alizadeh 2013, it definitely came from somewhere near Ram Hormuz, A. Moghaddam and W. Henkelman, pers. comm.).

In his own inscriptions, Puzur-Inshushinak never refers to any hostilities against the cities of Mesopotamia, but the Ur-Namma Isin text lists Awal, Kismar and Mashkan-sharrim, as well as the lands (**ma-da**) of Eshnunna, Tutub, Zimudar and Agade amongst the areas governed by Puzur-Inshushinak (Wilcke 1987: 110). This shows that Puzur-Inshushinak was particularly active in the Jabal Hamrin–Diyala–central Tigris district. Epigraphic discoveries at Tell as-Suleimeh in the Jabal Hamrin basin have identified that site as ancient Awal (Steinkeller 1981: 164); Mashkan-sharrim was situated along the Tigris, near the boundary between northern Babylonia and southernmost Assyria (Steinkeller 1982b: 289); and Kismar was located in its immediate vicinity (Steinkeller 1981: 165). Eshnunna is the site of Tell Asmar in the Diyala valley; Tutub is the nearby site of Khafajah; Zimudar is thought to have lain 'on or near the Diyala river' (Frayne 1992: 56); and the land of Agade perhaps refers to the area between the Tigris and Euphrates approximately between the latitude of Fallujah-Baghdad and Seleucia-Sippar (Wilcke 1987: 110).

The acquisition of these territories is significant, but their enumeration clearly differs from what we find in the prologue of the so-called Ur-Namma Code from Sippar where we read: 'Umma, Marad, GIRkal, Kazallu, Ušarum – those (cities) which had been subjugated by An[š]an, by the might of the god Nanna, my lord, I established their freedom' (Frayne 1997: 48; cf. Steinkeller 1987: 19, n. 1; 2013: 295). It seems highly probable that Ur-Namma's attempt to wrest control of northern Babylonia from the Anshanites is reflected in the Isin account of his conflict with Puzur-Inshushinak (Steinkeller 1987: 20, n. 1; see also 1988b: 52, n. 20; Glassner 1988: 51). The references to Umma, Marad and Kazallu imply a major projection of power by Puzur-Inshushinak from the Diyala–east Tigridian region into the heart of Babylonia, fully justifying a title like 'king of Awan'.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that Puzur-Inshushinak's pretensions to the hegemony of Mesopotamia were crushed by his defeat at the hands of Ur-Namma. What relationship, if any, exists between Ur-Namma's campaign against Puzur-Inshushinak and the campaign attested on Statue B vi 64–69 of Gudea, ruler of Lagash, who says that 'he smote the city of Anshan in/of Elam' (Steinkeller 1988b: 52)? In the past it was generally thought that Gudea flourished some decades prior to Ur-Namma's rise to power (e.g. Edzard 1967b: 122), but Steinkeller suggested that the reigns of Ur-Namma and Gudea overlapped

(Steinkeller 1988b), a point that seemed to be confirmed by an Old Babylonian text in the Schøyen Collection (MS 2814; see Wilcke 2011: 34). Steinkeller suggested that Gudea acted in concert with Ur-Namma when he fought against Anshan, rather than launching his own raid deep into the heart of southwestern Iran, and felt that that two texts from Lagash (RTC 249 and MVN 10: 92) ‘which record barley-allotments to the same group of foreigners’, some of whom are called ‘sons of Shimbishu’, allude to captive members or dependents of Puzur-Inshushinak’s family, for Shimbishu is thought to be the same as Shimpi’ishhuk, the name of Puzur-Inshushinak’s father (Steinkeller 1988b: 53, n. 21). Certainly Gudea boasted (Cylinder A XV 6ff.) that, in connection with the construction of the Eninnu, the major temple to Ningirsu at Girsu, ‘Elamites came to him from Elam, Susians came to him from Susa’ (see also the discussion in Neumann 1992: 273–4). More recently, however, Michalowski has reviewed the entire chronology of the Second Dynasty of Lagash, concluding that ‘there are good reasons to side with those who are of the opinion that Gudea must have reigned some time before Ur-Namma, prior to the formative years of the Ur III state’ (Michalowski 2013: 181).

A further point of interest in relation to the extent of Puzur-Inshushinak’s ‘empire’ was raised by Amiet. A seal impression found at Susa during the early excavations there shows two standing females, possibly wearing horned crowns and therefore divine. This was compared by Amiet with a fragmentary cylinder seal from Tepe Yahya and a seal from the Tod treasure in Egypt. Amiet suggested that all three seals are examples of late ‘Trans-Elamite’ art (Amiet 1994a: 1–4). While the affinities between the seals are clear enough, the recognition of a cultural phenomenon which can be called Trans-Elamite is more problematic, as discussed earlier, and any relationship to the short-lived ‘empire’ of Puzur-Inshushinak is pure speculation.

PUZUR-INSHUSHINAK AND LINEAR ELAMITE

In Chapter 3 we discussed the almost certainly fallacious link sometimes alleged between the Susa III or ‘Proto-Elamite’ writing system and so-called Linear Elamite. To date, about thirty examples of Linear Elamite have been recovered (André and Salvini 1989: 58; Vallat 2011b: 187; Moqaddam 2009: 55 ff.; Dahl 2009, 2013; Desset 2012: 92–127). Although the vast majority of these fragmentary, often lapidary inscriptions comes from Susa, examples are known from Shahdad, on the fringes of the Dasht-i Lut in northeastern Kerman province, and possibly from Konar Sandal in the Jiroft region of southeastern Iran (Moqaddam 2009; Desset 2012). A silver beaker with Linear Elamite inscription, originally said to have been found in the vicinity of Persepolis (Hinz 1969, 1971a; Schippmann 1971: 229; Vallat 1986a: 342; Calmeyer 1989), shares many formal and stylistic traits with a silver beaker excavated at Gonur Depe in Turkmenistan and is almost certainly of Central Asian origin (Potts

2008). The linguistic details of the attempts at decipherment by F. Bork in 1905, C. Frank in 1912, W. Hinz in 1969, P. Meriggi in 1971 and F. Vallat in 1986 need not concern us. Suffice it to say that, as indicated in Table 4.12, the presence of short Linear Elamite texts on objects with Akkadian inscriptions has led to the not unreasonable hypothesis that the former may be truncated translations of the latter, and this has been the basis for most attempts at decipherment. However, as Vallat stressed, ‘of the 103 signs recorded, more than 40 are hapax legomena, i.e. the signs are attested only once, or they are always attested in the same context’, making decipherment especially difficult (Vallat 1986a: 343; cf. Dahl 2009: 258). While all of the Linear Elamite inscriptions from Susa relate to Puzur-Inshushinak, a much earlier, mid-third millennium BC date has been proposed for the Konar Sandal material, though the authenticity and context of these finds remains problematic (Dahl 2009: 30, n. 31; 2013: 259). In view of the now certain synchronism between Ur-Namma and Puzur-Inshushinak, the time gap between the Susa III and Linear Elamite writing systems, once thought to be on the order of 700 years (when Puzur-Inshushinak was considered a contemporary of Naram-Sin’s) is actually more like 900 years. Thus, the notion of continuity between them is impossible to sustain. Whether or not the Linear Elamite system was invented by a scribe serving under Puzur-Inshushinak, and had antecedents in the highlands, the paucity of texts and their absence following Puzur-Inshushinak’s reign suggests that at Susa, which had been heavily Akkadianized in the preceding two centuries, the cuneiform writing system and Akkadian language were found to be much more practicable than the nascent Linear Elamite one, which seems to have died out with the demise of the Awanite king’s realm.

THE SECONDARY STATE OF AWAN UNDER PUZUR-INSHUSHINAK?

It has been suggested that a later response to Ur III hegemony in western Iran (see Chapter 5) was the creation of a ‘secondary state’ by the Dynasty of Shimashki, but if the logic of that argument is accepted, and if we adopt the perspective of those texts in which Puzur-Inshushinak is regarded as ‘mighty king of Awan’, then one might be tempted to draw a similar conclusion with respect to the Awan of Puzur-Inshushinak, describing it as a secondary state as well. Unlike ‘primary’ states, which are thought to ‘have been formed, by means of internal or regional development, without the stimulus of other pre-existing state forms’, secondary or ‘derived’ states ‘result from a “response” imposed by the presence of a neighbouring state, a power centre that eventually modifies the equilibrium established over a wide area’ (Balandier 1972: 154).

Whether or not one chooses to term Awan a secondary state – and I am not persuaded that this alone advances the cause of its analysis very far – the coalescence of Awan as an entity in opposition to Early Dynastic

Mesopotamia (itself far less monolithic than the term might imply to the casual reader) and later the Old Akkadian empire is likely to have involved some reaction to foreign aggression. As Roosens observed, ‘the intensity with which a group profiles itself as an ethnic group, and with which individuals stress their ethnicity, generally increases when there is intense spatial-geographical and social contact between groups. The most isolated “traditional” group of people is probably the least ethnically self-defined’ (Roosens 1989: 13).

This is not to say that there were no trends towards greater social differentiation, stratification or organizational complexity already present in the region which became identified as Awan before we see Awan in the guise in which it appears in SKL or the Isin Ur-Namma inscription. But of any such trends we are ignorant, and recourse to the archaeological assemblages of the Pusht-i Kuh, adduced as a likely location for Awan, can provide little evidence of complexity or otherwise. The image we have of Puzur-Inshushinak from the Isin account of his conquests is one of an expansive leader in the tradition of Sargon himself, and this may prompt some readers to entertain the possibility that Puzur-Inshushinak’s Awan was indeed a secondary state. But if Puzur-Inshushinak had any role models, these may have been very different from the Akkadian kings and purely local, such as the king of Awan who attacked Ur and carried off its kingship according to SKL. An ambitious leader like Puzur-Inshushinak scarcely needs ‘explaining’ through recourse to a simplistic model of secondary state development. His annexation of Susa and his conquests in Mesopotamia bespeak a ruler of considerable talent who was able to organize support and a military contingent capable of seizing territory in both the periphery and the core area of his western neighbour. To dismiss his social formation, whether state or not, as ephemeral would be unjust, for the Old Akkadian state went through periods at least as traumatic and fraught with disintegration as Awan seems to have done once Puzur-Inshushinak had been dealt with by Ur-Namma.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
2900–2350 BC	predominance of Early Dynastic Mesopotamian styles (seals, statuary) at Susa; graves there have clear ceramic links to Luristan and northern Khuzistan	Godin Tepe III and cemeteries in Pusht-i Kuh show ceramic links with Diyala, Hamrin, northern Khuzistan, Susa, Lagash; identification of Pusht-i Kuh with Awan? abandonment of Tal-i Malyan <i>c.</i> 2600 BC	Early Dynastic (ED) period; Sumerian King List refers to attacks on Elam, attacks by Awan in ED II or early ED III; Eannatum of Lagash claims conquest of Elam in late ED III times	Elam and Awan appear as adversaries of Kish and Lagash; Awan a highland entity in Luristan which spread its influence to Susiana; did Mesopotamian scribes use ‘Awan’ and ‘Elam’ interchangeably? Is greater independence in ‘Elam’ compatible with ED influence at Susa? Was the rise of Awan a reaction to an ED Mesopotamian presence at Susa?
<i>c.</i> 2330 BC	conquest of Susa by Sargon of Agade	aggression by Sargon against Awan, Barahshum, Elam, parts of Shimashki and Sherihum	consolidation of Akkadian empire	a mosaic of regions allied against Akkad; leaders have linguistically Elamite names as well as non-Elamite ones in Mesopotamian sources; ‘king’ of Elam mentioned

<i>c.</i> 2275 BC	campaigns against Susa by Rimush; introduction of Akkadian bureaucratic officials, accounting procedures; use of Mesopotamian pottery shapes, metal types, cylinder seals; contacts with Indus and Oman	campaigns against Barahshum, Zahara and Gupin	general rebellion in Mesopotamia, crushing of revolt by Rimush	Elam and Barahshum appear as chief adversaries of Akkad; 'king' of Elam mentioned
<i>c.</i> 2260 BC	Akkadian governors in Elam and Pashime	Manishtushu campaigns against Anshan and Sherihum	Akkadian expansion in Assyria	Akkadian governors, rebellions in highlands signal attempted consolidation of power around Anshan?
<i>c.</i> 2250 BC	Akkadian governor at Susa; construction of a temple at Susa by Naram-Sin	campaigns against Elam and Barahshum	general rebellion against Naram-Sin, apotheosis of Akkadian king	continuing rebellion in highlands against Akkadian rule, ongoing Akkadian presence at Susa, treaty between Naram-Sin and unnamed ruler in Old Elamite
<i>c.</i> 2200 BC	Akkadian governor at Susa, administrative texts	forces from Elam and Zahara take fight against Akkad to northern Babylonia; inter-dynastic marriage with princess of Marhashi	rebellions against Sharkalisharri	consolidation of forces to the point where Elam and Zahara were capable of attacking Babylonia

(continued)

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
<i>c.</i> 2100 BC	status of Susa following fall of Akkadian state unclear; Puzur-Inshushinak called ‘governor’ of Susa; use of Linear Elamite writing system	Puzur-Inshushinak, king of Awan, campaigning in east Tigris region; use of Linear Elamite writing system	following fall of Akkad, period of rule by Gutian kings from northwestern Iran (?); attacks by Puzur-Inshushinak; eventual liberation by Ur-Namma, founder of third Dynasty of Ur	use of Awan, Elam and Anshan with reference to Puzur-Inshushinak may reflect political realities, or may be Mesopotamian scribal usage without particular meaning

CHAPTER 5

THE DYNASTY OF SHIMASHKI

Puzur-Inshushinak's reign was followed by a period of renewed Mesopotamian control over Susa, this time by a dynasty established by Ur-Namma at Ur in southern Mesopotamia around 2100 BC which lasted for almost a century (the so-called Third Dynasty of Ur or Ur III empire). Apart from controlling Susa, the Ur III state entered into relations with other Iranian regions such as Anshan and its neighbours on the Iranian Plateau through a pattern of dynastic intermarriage with local elites.

But as texts from the mid to late Ur III period show, a new power identified with Shimashki was on the rise in western Iran, no doubt partly as a reaction against Ur's political imperialism. It is important therefore to investigate the role played by Elam in general and Shimashki in particular in the eventual downfall of the Third Dynasty of Ur around 2000 BC, particularly the contribution made by Kindattu, the sixth king mentioned in a list of the kings of Awan and Shimashki found at Susa. Shimashkian influence in the wake of Ur's collapse, while difficult to gauge accurately, clearly extended beyond the confines of Susiana. The difficulty of defining the boundaries of Shimashkian influence makes it awkward to point to specific archaeological assemblages from Fars and Khuzistan which can be associated with Shimashki, but it is important to keep the political history of the period in mind when assessing the material culture of the late third and early second millennium BC. It is also important to bear in mind what the relative contributions of the Iranian highlands and lowlands may have been in the often shadowy political processes which we seek to follow at this time.

SUSA, ANSHAN AND THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

As we have seen, Puzur-Inshushinak's westward expansion was checked by Ur-Namma, founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur. His defeat signalled a loss of those east Tigridian and central Babylonian areas which he had formerly held

and also marked Susa's loss of independence, opening the way for Mesopotamian attacks deep into Iranian territory and ushering in an era which would witness the vassaldom of Anshan.

Apart from the reconquest early in his reign of northern Babylonia and the trans-Tigridian area discussed previously (Michalowski 2013: 183), it is difficult to ascertain just how much was achieved in the Iranian sphere by Ur-Namma during his eighteen-year reign. Although none of his year names (Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 319–20) mention Susa, Elam or any other points east, Ur-Namma's conquest of Susa is confirmed by two fragments of stone vessels dedicated as booty from a campaign in which 'he smote Susa' (Marchesi 2013). The documentation reflecting his son and successor Shulgi's involvement with Susa is limited but informative. A macehead, dedicated by a maritime trader (**garaš-a-ab-ba**) 'to (the goddess) Ninurumugub, his lady, for the life of Shulgi, the mighty male, the king of Ur' (M. Lambert 1979: 30), and four bricks commemorating Shulgi's restoration of the temple of Inshushinak at Susa (Malbran-Labat 1995: 22) all bear the king's name without the divine determinative. This implies that they should be dated prior to Shulgi's apotheosis which occurred in the twenty-third year of his reign (Sigrist 1992: 8). Activities after this year are, however, indicated by a stone foundation tablet (Lambert 1970: 70–1) and associated bronze foundation figurine from the temple of Ninhursag at Susa (Tallon 1987/I: 63, II: 130–1, 341–3; see also Carter 1990: 95); a carnelian bead with a dedication to Ningal; and a bronze hammer with two birds' heads, perhaps given to a high functionary serving under Shulgi (de Mecquenem 1953: 82; Amiet 1986c: 146; Brentjes 1991: 5), bearing an inscription which reads 'Shulgi, the mighty male, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad' (M. Lambert 1979: 29). On both of these objects Shulgi's name is preceded by the divine determinative **dingir**.

Shulgi is credited with thorough reorganizations and reforms in several areas: the military (reorganization of the army), bureaucracy (reform of the writing system, reform of weights and measures, creation of a powerful and centralized bureaucracy), judiciary (promulgation of a law code, that known as the Ur-Namma code), calendrics (unification of calendars throughout the empire), taxation (unification of the tax system throughout the empire), communication (creation or reform of a system of rapid flow of information throughout the empire) and land tenure practices (reform of land tenure principles relating to the palace and temples) of the Ur III state (Sigrist 1992: 9; Steinkeller 1987: 20–1). In one of his royal hymns, Shulgi even boasted, 'I actually know the tongue of Elam like the tongue of Sumer' (Castellino 1972: 257, c: 122).

Of particular interest is the fact that to the east of the Mesopotamian core area of the empire (roughly between the Diyala River and the city of Ur, as defined by Steinkeller 1987: Fig. 1) lay a series of 'unincorporated territories' in which large numbers of soldiers were settled in (1) small settlements commanded by junior captains; (2) medium-sized settlements under the command of senior captains; and (3) large settlements, including Susa, Sabum and Urua, run by generals or

governors. An individual named to such a high-ranking post might serve in either a civil (governorship) or a military (generalship) capacity. Zarriq(um), who served as governor of Susa (**ensí šušin^{ki}**), is attested there in the years Shulgi 33, Shulgi 40, Shulgi 41 and Amar-Sin 4, or c. 2061–2042 BC (Michalowski 2009: 151; earlier reconstructions of his career [e.g. in Hallo 1956: 221; Goetze 1963:29; Kutscher 1979: 81] conflate several homonymous individuals). One small insight into Zarriq(um)’s movements is afforded by a text dating to the twelfth month of the year Shulgi 40 which records the provision of leather shoes at Puzrish-Dagan (modern Drehem) for Zarriq(um) and a companion (Shamshi-illat) en route from Nippur to Susa (Kutscher 1979: 81; Sigrist 1992: 397).

The military personnel in the Ur III periphery all paid ‘tax of the province’ (**gú/gún** or **gún ma-da**) (Sigrist 1992: 100; Steinkeller 1987). Of the roughly 90 settlements from which this tax was collected, Sabum, Susa, Shu’irhum and Arawa/Urua are of particular interest (Steinkeller 1987: 36–7, n. 56). Beyond noting that Sabum was located in Elam, a more precise location is impossible to suggest (De Graef 2007b: 90–1 with earlier lit.). As discussed in Chapter 4, Arawa/Urua figured alongside Awan in the pre-Sargonic and Sargonic periods as an eastern adversary, as did Sabum and Shu’irhum. Susa’s tax payment of 1,869 animals in the 46th year of Shulgi’s reign (CST 124) is the first such tax recorded, followed two years later by payments from Adamdun/Adamshah (for the reading of the name see Schrakamp 2014; location uncertain; see Frayne 1992: 125, n. 327; Steve 2001; the account of the discovery of a text mentioning Adamdun at Tepe Surkhegan (Plate 5.1) in Khuzistan in Steve 2001, supported



Plate 5.1. Tepe Surkhegan (Adamdun?) (photo: author).

by Gasche *apud* Steinkeller 2013: 299, n. 43, cannot be confirmed by the son of the man in whose possession the inscription was found; see Potts 2010a: 246–7) and Sabum (another payment from Sabum is attested in Amar-Sin 4; see Sigrist 1992: 368), while on another occasion in the reign of Shu-Sin, Arawa/Urua delivered one mina (c. 500 g) of silver (Michalowski 1978: 35; Sigrist 1992: 100). In some cases, livestock was transferred to and from Susa, as for instance when Abbashaga, the official in charge of all deliveries and transfers of livestock at Puzrish-Dagan during the reign of Amar-Sin, sent 3,586 sheep to Beli-ariq, the last attested governor (**ensí**) of Susa (DV 5: 479; see Sigrist 1992: 65, n. 82; Beli-ariq is first attested in Shu-Sin 8; see Michalowski 2009: 151), or when in turn Abbashaga received 150 sheep from Beli-Ariq (Sigrist and Butz 1986: 30). Given the distance involved and the likelihood that travel for upwards of ten days overland could seriously diminish a herd moving between Susa and Puzrish-Dagan, it is thought likely that these were ‘technical transfers’ of credits and debits in the ledgers of Puzrish-Dagan, rather than physical transfers of livestock (Sigrist 1992: 65).

Susa and the other nearby cities in this peripheral zone did not, however, participate in the **bala** institution, whereby taxes were paid by the core cities and animals were drawn from a central fund administered at Puzrish-Dagan (Steinkeller 1987: 29). The fact that Zarriq(um) is recorded (PDT 1: 557; Hallo 1960: 98) as having paid **bala** was interpreted by Hallo as ‘an apparent exception to this rule, for it was a kind of personal obligation due when, in or about Amar-Sin 4/XII, he was transferred from Assur to Susa’ (Hallo 1960: 92). On the other hand, on one occasion the military colonists of Sabum are known to have sent no fewer than 600 sheep as a votive offering to Ninhursag of Al-sharrukin via the livestock depot of Puzrish-Dagan (Sigrist 1992: 134).

Beyond this taxable area lay still more distant lands (Table 5.1), such as Marhashi, Anshan, Huhnur, Kimash, Hu’urti and Shimashki, the most important subregion of which was Zabshali. These regions were not considered part of the Ur III periphery, and their status varied through time. Their rulers were referred to variously as king (**lugal**) (e.g. the ‘king of Marhashi’) or governor (**ensí**) (e.g. the ‘governor of Zabshali’, ‘governor of Anshan’ or ‘governor of Marhashi’) (Tables 5.2 and 5.3). One might be tempted to suggest, therefore, that Marhashi was more independent of Ur’s influence than Anshan because of the fact that at least one of its rulers was designated king, whereas Anshan’s ruler was called governor, but Michalowski noted that the term **ensí** ‘was used in Ur III documents to refer to appointed governors as well as to independent foreign rulers’ (Michalowski 1978: 38–9). At times these areas were drawn into the political and presumably economic orbit of Ur by means of arranged marriages between the sons and daughters of the kings of Ur and local rulers. At other times, however, these areas became the target of Ur’s military aggression, yielding sizeable amounts of booty including objects made of semiprecious stones, such as carnelian and lapis lazuli necklaces, as well as metals, including gold, silver, copper and bronze (Edzard 1959–60: 7; Pettinato 1982).

TABLE 5.1. Groups and countries constituting ‘Elam’ during the Ur III period

‘Nuclear’ Elamite territory	Elamite areas the relative locations of which are unknown
1. Anshan	10. Itnigi/Anigi
2. Pashime (Parparrahupa)	11. Barbarranamba
3. Huhnur	12. Danhili (Gili)
4. Adamdun	13. Girkinam
5. Susa	14. Gisha
6. Iabrat	15. Gizili
7. Shimashki with six core dependencies:	16. Hupum
a. Zabshali	17. Hutum
b. Sig(i)rish	18. NE-duhu(l)ni
c. Iapulmat	19. Siri
d. Alumiddatum	20. Sitinrupum
e. Garta/Karda	21. Sium
f. Shatilu	22. Ulum/Ullium
	23. Urri
and another 11 semi-dependencies:	24. Zurbati
g. Azahar	25. Daba
h. Pulma	26. Garnene
i. Nushushmar	27. Iab/pib/pum
j. [x]-[x]-li	28. Shazibi/Shaziga
k. Arahir	29. Husan
l. [Lu?]-lu-bi-im	
m. Sisirtum	
n. Nishgamelum	
o. [x]-[x-x-a]m	
p. Ti-ir-mi-um	
q. Zitanu	
8. Zaul	
9. Iapru	

Note: Data drawn from Zadok 1991.

As we have already seen, interdynastic marriage between Mesopotamian and eastern royal families is attested during the reign of Sharkalisharri, whose son married a princess of Marhashi. Three of the five kings of Ur – Shulgi, Shu-Sin, and Ibbi-Sin – married their daughters to princes of Marhashi, Anshan, Pashime and Zabshali (Table 5.2). Although the marriage of Shu-Sin’s daughter to the ruler of Anshan is not commemorated in a year formula, an economic text, probably from Lagash or Girsu, records the commodities supplied for the journey of the Ur princess to Anshan. She took with her 10 l of butterfat (**i-nun**), 10 l of hard cheese (**ga-šAR**), 64 l of sesame oil (**i-gis**), 120 l of apples (**hašhur-duru₃**) 180 kg of onions (**sum-sikil**) and 210 kg of garlic (**sum-gaz**)

TABLE 5.2. *Synopsis of relations between the Third Dynasty of Ur and Elam*

Monarch	Date	Event	Reference
Shulgi	Shulgi 18	year 'Liwwir-mittashu, the king's daughter, was elevated to the ladyship (i.e. given in marriage) of Marhashi'	CC: 321
	Shulgi 30	year 'the king's daughter was married to the governor (ensí) of Anshan'	CC: 323
	Shulgi 34	year 'Anshan was destroyed'	CC: 323
	Shulgi 46	year 'Shulgi, the mighty man, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, destroyed Kimash, Hu'urti and their lands in a single day'; ambassadors from Marhashi at Puzrish-Dagan	CC: 325
	Shulgi 47	booty of LÚ.SU, i.e. Shimashki, registered at Puzrish-Dagan (Drehem)	
	Shulgi 48	Shulgi's daughter, Taram-Shulgi, mentioned as wife of Shudda-bani, king of Pashime; year 'Harshi, Kimash and u'urti and their lands were destroyed in a single day'; Kutu of Shigrish received as ambassador at Puzrish-Dagan	
Amar-Sin	AS 1	Rashi, ambassador of Zidanum in Elam, arrives at Puzrish-Dagan, remaining until AS 4; ambassadors from Shimashki also present	
	AS 3	return of the messenger Barashum from Marhashi	TRU 318
	AS 4	ambassadors from Kimash and Marhashi present at Puzrish-Dagan; messengers from Libanugshabash, ensí of Marhashi, present, along with messengers from Kimash	
Shu-Sin	AS 7	year 'the king Amar-Sin destroyed Bitum-rabium, Jabru, their neighbouring territories and Huhnur'	CC: 326
	SS 2	unnamed daughter of Shu-Sin travelled to Anshan, presumably for marriage	Tab. 2751
	SS 7	year 'Shu-sin, the king of Ur, king of the four quarters, destroyed the land of Zabshali'; dedicated a statue of himself for Enlil, made of gold taken as booty in the lands of the Su people; the lands of Zabshali, Shigrish, Iabulmat, Alumiddatum, Karta, Shatilu, Bulma, Nushushmar . . . Shulgi captured	CC: 327; Edzard 1959–60
Ibbi-Sin	IS 1	Banana of Marhashi went to Uruk	Tab. 1535
	IS 5	year 'Tukin-hatta-migrisha, the king's daughter, was married to the governor (ensí) of Zabshali'	CC: 328

TABLE 5.2. (continued)

Monarch	Date	Event	Reference
	IS 9	year ‘Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur, went with massive power to Huhmur, the bolt to the land of Anshan, and . . .’	CC: 328
	IS 14	year ‘Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur, overwhelmed Susa, Adamdun and Awan like a storm, subdued them in a single day and captured the lords of their people’	CC: 329
	IS 22/IE 16	year ‘Ishbi-Erra the king smote the armies of the Su people and of Elam’	BIN 9: 77 etc.
	IS 23	year ‘the “stupid monkey” in the foreign land struck against Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur’	CC: 329
	IS 24	Ur attacked by the Elamites and Shimashkians, Ibbi-Sin taken to Anshan as a prisoner	

(Sigrist and Butz 1986: 28). One would think that the marriage of Shulgi’s daughter to the governor of Anshan was especially significant, for the event served not just for the year name of the king’s thirtieth year, but the following year was designated, in some sources, the ‘year after the year the king’s daughter was married to the governor of Anshan’ (Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 323). And yet, judging by the dates of these marriages and the dates of the Ur III campaigns against some of the very same areas, the success of this strategy of interdynastic marriage is questionable (see Hallo 1976: 31; Pettinato 1982: 53). Moreover, the destruction of Anshan in year 34 was still invoked as the event by which the subsequent two years (35 and 36) were named (i.e. year after the year Anshan was destroyed and second year after the year Anshan was destroyed), just as the subsequent destruction of Kimash in year 47 was still recalled in year 48 of Shulgi and year 1 of Amar-Sin, and the destruction of Zabshali in Shu-Sin’s seventh year was remembered in year 8 (Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 323, 325, 327). Shulgi’s campaigns against Shimashki (year 47) may explain why a number of Shimashkians (**lú Šimaški**) are recorded as having sworn an oath of allegiance in the first year of Shu-Sin’s reign (Sigrist 1992: 194–5; on Kimash see Steinkeller 2008a; Potts 2010a).

Nor were these ‘conquests’ simply propagandistic boasting which never occurred in reality. As proof that such conquests most certainly did occur, we have not only references to booty, such as that accumulated in the year Shulgi 48 as a result of the campaign against Kimash, Harshi and Susa (Sigrist 1992: 108), but also texts documenting the loss of lances with copper blades on the day that Elam was attacked (Schrakamp 2010: 217). A ration text from the fifth month of the year Amar-Sin 6 records 17 **gur** of coarse flour (c. 2.57 tons) and 15 **gur** of bran-bread (c. 2.27 tons) that were disbursed by the governor (**ensi**)

of Umma for an unspecified number of prisoners ‘from the land of Susa and from the land of Elam’ (Sigrist and Butz 1986: 31). The Elamites who were present at the court of Amar-Sin in his first and second years – in both instances on the first day of the fifth month – were attending the king’s enthronement and/or cementing an alliance (Liu 2014). In this case, however, the generic term ‘Elamite’ may have in fact been applied to any one of a number of ‘easterners’. It was probably through these ongoing contacts that the ‘Elamite’ and ‘Anshanite’ bow became known, and presumably used, by Ur III archers. These seem to have been sent as gifts by Ur III military governors and generals, stationed in the east, to Drehem (Schrakamp 2010: 163). In another example, two Elamites named Sherkhar and Egirda were employed in canal maintenance in the province of Lagash during the Ur III period according to BM 21335 (Rost 2011: 243–4).

Communications between the peripheral regions, the still more distant vassal states, and the centre at Ur were maintained by a system of roads with rest houses, inaugurated by Shulgi, which broadly resembled later medieval *caravanserais* (Sigrist 1986: 51). These were frequented by couriers (**sukkal** or **kaš**) and high officials (e.g. **ensí**’s) alike. Disbursements to travellers were registered in thousands of Ur III ‘messenger texts’ (see Table 5.3). Those texts concerning messengers travelling between Elam and Lagash, a major transit point on the route from Susa to the capital Ur, have been treated in detail by a number of scholars over the years (e.g. Jean 1922; Jones and Snyder 1961: 297–300; Grégoire 1970: 202–14; Sigrist 1986). They show us Urkum, **ensí** of Susa, returning to Susa via Lagash; Aburanum, **ensí** of Sabum, passing through Lagash on his way to Nippur; and Dada, son-in-law of the king (possibly Amar-Sin), heading to Susa (Sigrist 1986: 55; none of these texts is dated).

Ambassadors from the Iranian east came frequently to the cities of the empire, and are particularly well represented in the Puzrish-Dagan archives, where they appear receiving disbursements (Table 5.3) in the form of food and drink, and equipment for their journeys, such as sandals. Some of the ambassadors remained so long at Puzrish-Dagan that one would be justified in thinking of them as hostages rather than emissaries (Sigrist 1992: 363). During the Ur III period at least 340 people with linguistically Elamite names are attested at Girsu, Umma and Puzrish-Dagan, and smaller numbers were at Nippur and Ur (Zadok 1990: 39, 1994: 40–5), making Elamites the largest group of non-Semitic-speaking foreigners in late third millennium Mesopotamia (Zadok 1993: 231; cf. Michalowski 2008).

M. Lambert divided the history of Susa and Elam during the Ur III period into two major periods, from Shulgi to Amar-Sin 4, and from Amar-Sin 5 to the disappearance of Ibši-Sin (M. Lambert 1979: 29–39). It is beyond the scope of this study to situate every major event connected with the east in the context of Ur III politico-military history, nor is it necessarily certain that to do so would be a profitable exercise. The events summarized in Table 5.2, like the

TABLE 5.3. *Expenditures for travellers to and from Elam at Puzrish-Dagan (Drehem) during the Ur III period*

Officials at Drehem	Years of service	Involvement with the east	Source
Endingirmu	Shulgi 40 – AS 9	expenditures for the messenger of Arbimazbi, governor of Marhashi and the messenger of the son of the governor of Marhashi	MVN 1: 124 (Sigrist 1992: 322)
Enlilla	Shulgi 41 – SS 2	received deliveries for the king from colonists of Kimash; received bala contributions from the governors of Babylon, Push and Urum for the great banquet held the day Kimash was destroyed	TRU 144 (Sigrist 1992: 251) YOS 4: 74 (Sigrist 1992: 256)
Urkununna	Shulgi 42 – IS 2	expenditures for Badatma of Shimashki	MVN 11: 184 (Sigrist 1992: 272)
Lu-dingirra	Shulgi 46 – AS 3	expenditures for Shushalla and Shurushkin, ambassadors of Marhashi	RA 8: tab. 1, MVN 13: 529 (Sigrist 1992: 326)
Igi-Enlilshe	SS 1–2	expenditures for the man of Kimash and Niabru	TEN 480 (Sigrist 1992: 323)
Abbashaga	AS 1–9	receipt of deliveries from Beli-ariq of Susa, mentioned together with his son Idnin-Sîn; transfer of livestock (3,586 sheep, 14 he-goats) to Beli-ariq of Susa (AS 6)	BIN 3: 537 (Sigrist 1992: 278) DV 5: 475; TAD 16
Intaea	AS 3–9	receipt of deliveries from the elders of Garnene in Elam	MVN 8: 195 (Sigrist 1992: 297)
Ahu-Wer	AS 6 – SS 7	expenditure for Babdusha of Shimashki expenditure for Banana of Marhashi expenditure for Dashal-Ibri of Shimashki expenditure for Libanashgubi, messenger of Libanugshabash, ensi of Marhashi expenditure for Shilatini of Anshan	Bab. 8: tab. 30 (Sigrist 1992: 317) CST 436 (Sigrist 1992: 317) AOS 32 rev. 11 (Sigrist 1992: 317) RA 8: tab. 11, MVN 13: 539, 635; TRU 344 (Sigrist 1992: 317) Bab. 8: tab. 30 (Sigrist 1992: 317)
Shu-mama	AS 7–8	expenditure for messengers from Anshan, Iabrad and Digidihum	BIN 3: 477 (Sigrist 1992: 331)
Dugga	AS 8 – IS 1	expenditure for the people of Kimash and Zidahri on the occasion of their swearing an oath of allegiance in the temple of Ninurta	JCS 14: tab. 14 (Sigrist 1992: 304)
Dudu	SS 5–6	expenditure for the messengers of Marhashi and Kimash	CTNMC 7
Aba-Enlilgim	SS 6 – IS 2	expenditure for Niusha, son of Mega of Kimash	<i>Amorites</i> : tab. 21 l.9

Key: SS = Shu-Sin; AS = Amar-Sin; IS = Ibbi-Sin

comings and goings and receipts and disbursements registered at Puzrish-Dagan (Table 5.3), project an illusion of historical progression susceptible to sequential description, but the documentary record is so fragmentary and the events leading up to the major eastern campaigns attested in the year formulae so obscure, that we are unable to write a history of Ur's relations with the east in the form of a continuous narrative. Nevertheless, the fact is that embassies came and went and interdynastic marriages were arranged in times which also witnessed brutal attacks on highland regions. We are far from understanding the interplay of domestic and foreign political and economic pressures which gave rise to the sequence before us. Even Shulgi, whose reign might give the impression of being one of the more consolidated ones vis-à-vis foreign powers, was forced to lead his armies against the recalcitrant east.

POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION AND THE RISE OF SHIMASHKI

From the year Shulgi 47 until the fall of Ur, the Shimashkians played a major part in the rebellions which must have been largely responsible for provoking the campaigns listed in Table 5.2. Precious geographical information on Shimashki appears in a pair of texts copied from the bases of statues or stelae dedicated by Shu-Sin, king of Ur (Kutscher 1989: 90–1). According to one of them, 'the lands of Shimashki' comprised six districts: Zabshali, Sh/Sigrish, Nibulmat/Iapulmat, Alumiddatum, Garta/Karda and Shatilu. A number of other lands are mentioned as well, including Azahar (see also Zahara in Chapter 4), Bulma and Nususmar, at which point the tablet breaks off (at least ten more lines would have followed). These and other toponyms are preserved in a second variant of the first inscription. According to this text, Shu-Sin defeated 'LÚ.SU^{ki}', of [Steinkeller 1990: 10 translates 'which comprises'] the lands of Zabshali, from the border of Anshan to the Upper Sea, their rise, like locusts, Nibulmat, [X], Shigrish, Alumiddatim, Garta, Azahar, Bulma, Nushushmar, Nishgamelum, Sisirtum, Arahir, Shatilu, Tirmium and [X]' (Kutscher 1989: 90; see also Zadok 1991: 227). This catalogue surely refers to the campaign in year 7 of Shu-Sin's reign.

Steinkeller suggested (1988a, 1990) to the satisfaction of most scholars (e.g. Frayne 1991: 406; Zadok 1991: 228; but cf. Vallat 1991: 12, n. 13; 1993a: CXXVIII–CXXIV) that LÚ.SU^{ki} was a rebus writing of Shimashki adopted by Ur III scribes. This was confirmed by a text from Emar in Syria which is a syllabic Sumerian version of an Old Babylonian letter from Sin-iddinam to the sun god in which Shimashki appears in place of the term LÚ.SU^{ki} used in the original (Civil 1996: 41). Of all the lands of Shimashki, Zabshali seems to have been the most important, judging by the fact that Shu-Sin commemorated his Iranian conquests by naming the seventh year of his reign the year in which he 'destroyed the land of Zabshali' (Steinkeller 1988a: 199; Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 327).

Whereas the term ‘Upper Sea’ was conventionally used to denote the Mediterranean by Mesopotamian scribes, the Shu-Sin account of the conquest of Zabshali uses ‘Upper Sea’ to refer to a body of water beyond Anshan. In this context, therefore, ‘Upper Sea’ almost certainly denotes the Caspian Sea (see Frayne 1991: 406; Zadok 1991: 228). In discussing the location of Sapum (Chapter 4), the broad outlines of the debate surrounding Shimashki’s location were sketched out. If the Upper Sea in Shu-Sin’s inscription does indeed refer to the Caspian, then the position of Shimashki, located between Anshan, modern Fars province, and the Caspian (see Steinkeller 1990: 13), extended much further to the north and east than most scholars have posited. One further point which is surely relevant (though problematic) in determining the location of Shimashki is its linguistic make-up. Some fifty-nine individuals identifiable as Shimashkians are known in the cuneiform literature. Leaving aside those with broken, atypical and unparalleled names, roughly one dozen can be classified as Elamite or Elamite-related, while at least one Zabshalian named In-da-su also had an Elamite name (Zadok 1991: 228). This might suggest that the lands of Shimashki were not too far removed from Fars, the centre of Elamite language use. On the other hand, apart from the evidence of excavated texts in Susiana and at Tal-i Malyan, we know virtually nothing about the geographical extent of spoken Elamite in the late third and early second millennium BC. How far north and west it ranged is unclear, but striking similarities in iconography between females shown on silver pins and vessels from the Oxus or Bactria-Margiana region and those depicted on slightly later Anshanite glyptic (see later discussion) confirm a significant Central Asian connection with Elam, justifying the suggestion that Shimashki’s leaders may have originated to the east of the Caspian, whence they moved into southwestern Iran (much like their later Arsacid counterparts) and took control of the region (Potts 2008).

As we saw in the preceding chapter, an Old Babylonian copy of one of Sargon’s royal inscriptions (Table 4.5) mentions ‘booty of Sapum’, a veiled reference to Shimashki in the early Old Akkadian period (even if Shimashki itself is not named in pre-Sargonic or Sargonic texts; see Selz 1989: 94), while a king of Shimashki bowed down before Puzur-Inshushinak (lit. ‘grabbed his feet’) as a result of the latter’s conquests of his other Iranian neighbours (see Table 4.12). Booty from Shimashki was received at Puzrish-Dagan in the year Shulgi 47; messengers with Elamite names from Shimashki and Sapum are attested at Lagash (ITT 2 893, i, 6; iii, 25; Zadok 1994: 41). We have already mentioned Shu-Sin’s destruction of Shimashkian lands in the seventh year of his reign (Table 5.2). Yet even as the monarchs of the Ur III Dynasty were attempting to solidify their alliances with the elites of Marhashi, Anshan, Pashime and Zabshali through dynastic intermarriage (see Steve 1991: 4), Shimashki was emerging as the leader of a hostile and far more potent anti-Ur coalition.

Stolper suggested that Shu-Sin's campaign against the lands of Shimashki was the primary catalyst for the formation of a secondary state there. 'Conflict stiffened local opposition and created communities of interest among Ur's adversaries', he wrote. 'Loose political affiliations perhaps antedated the campaign. Shu-Sin's war stimulated or accelerated political or military liaisons among the several regions' (Stolper 1982: 51). An Elamite-Shimashkian coalition or fusion, whatever the mechanics of its formation, was a formidable combination which was to change the political dynamics of southwest Asia in a significant way, eventually bringing about the downfall of the once-mighty Ur III state.

The distintegration of the Ur III empire began in the early years of Ibbi-Sin's reign (see Gomi 1984) when, as Thorkild Jacobsen stressed long ago, the year formulae of the Ur monarch were ignored, beginning at Eshnunna in the second year of his reign. This rejection of Ibbi-Sin's authority is attested by the third year of his reign at Susa (for the use of Ur III year formulae in nineteen texts at Susa, see De Graef 2008a: 68); by the fifth year at Lagash; by the sixth year at Umma; and by the seventh year at Nippur (Jacobsen 1970: 174; see also Edzard 1967b: 158). In other words, shortly after Ibbi-Sin's accession, the very core of Ur's dominions was in open rebellion.

In a hymn to Ishbi-Erra (2017–1985 BC), governor of Isin under Ibbi-Sin and the founder of one of the Ur III successor states, the First Dynasty of Isin, we learn that it was Kindattu (Quintana 1998) who had dealt the death blow to the Ur III empire and that it was Ishbi-Erra who put to flight 'Kindattu, the man of Elam' (**lú-elam^{ki}**) (van Dijk 1978: 197). Nevertheless, the relationship amongst Ibbi-Sin, Ishbi-Erra and Kindattu is far from transparent and speculation on it has been great. Falkenstein once suggested that, although he was Ibbi-Sin's governor at Isin, Ishbi-Erra worked against his king for years and set himself up as ruler of Isin by the year Ibbi-Sin 10 or 11. Falkenstein believed that Ishbi-Erra's treachery forced Ibbi-Sin into an unlikely alliance with the Elamites, resulting in his eventual flight to Anshan, not as a captive, but as a refugee (Falkenstein 1950: 62ff.). Jacobsen and others, however, rejected this scenario and saw nothing but 'constant enmity with Elam, often flaring into open war' during the reign of Ibbi-Sin (Jacobsen 1970: 182). Indeed, his year formulae would hardly support the notion of a pact with Elam. Apart from the fact that his daughter Tukin-hatti-migrisha 'was married to the governor of Zabshali' in the fifth year of his reign, Ibbi-Sin's attacks on Huhnur and Anshan in year 9, and on Susa, Adamdun and Awan in year 14 (Table 5.2) hardly suggest that an alliance with Elam was maintained during the last ten years of his reign.

Tantalizingly fragmentary, the hymn to Ishbi-Erra mentioned earlier relates that one 'Zinnum, he who had escaped' into the burnt earth of the steppe, was forced to eat *zubud*-fish from the Euphrates, Tigris, the Mirsig and the Kish canal, but, haunted by spectres, died of thirst. Upon learning of this, Kindattu

retreated to Anshan and disappeared forever (van Dijk 1978: 198–9). An important letter from Puzurnumushda, governor of Kazallu, to Ibbi-Sin, identifies Zinnum as **ensí** of Kish. Although van Dijk believed that Zinnum was an ally of Ibbi-Sin's, the Ishbi-Erra hymn, which describes Zinnum's demise at the hands of Ishbi-Erra, may suggest that at some point Zinnum shifted his allegiance from Ibbi-Sin to Kindattu (van Dijk 1978: 200). Otherwise, how is one to explain Kindattu's flight upon hearing the news of Zinnum's death? Béatrice André-Salvini suggested that Kindattu was an ally of Ishbi-Erra's in his rebellion against Ibbi-Sin (André-Salvini 1992: 262) but, if this were the case, how is one to explain Ishbi-Erra's campaigns against the Elamites and Shimashkians in the fifteenth and sixteenth years of his reign (Steinkeller 2008a)?

The bare skeleton of events which ensued during the final three years of Ibbi-Sin's reign is provided by a combination of his own and Ishbi-Erra's year formulae. In the sixteenth year of his reign, equivalent to year 22 of Ibbi-Sin (following the synchronism Ishbi-Erra 18 = Ibbi-Sin 24; Sigrist 1988: 4), 'Ishbi-Erra the king smote the armies of the Su people and of Elam' (Sigrist 1988: 16). In the following year (Ibbi-Sin 23), 'the "stupid monkey" in the foreign land struck against Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur', and although the fragmentary year formula for the following year tells us that 'Ibbi-Sin, the king of Ur ... struck' (Sigrist and Gomi 1991: 329), the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, a Sumerian composition which vividly commemorated the fall of Ur at the hands of Shimashki and Elam, confirms the fate decreed for Ibbi-Sin, namely 'that Ibbi-Sin be taken to the land of Elam in fetters/ That from the mountain Zabû, which is on the edge of the sealand, to the borders of Anshan/ Like a bird that has flown its nest, he not return to his city'. This, too, is confirmed by another Isin dynasty text (Jacobsen 1953: 182). Finally, the expulsion of Kindattu, the Su-people and the Elamites is commemorated in the year formula for the twenty-sixth year of Ishbi-Erra's reign, which was the year 'Ishbi-Erra the king brought down by his mighty weapon the Elamite who was dwelling in the midst of Ur' (Sigrist 1988: 20).

The same tablet from Susa (Plate 5.2) which enumerates the twelve kings of Awan also lists the names of twelve kings of Shimashki, as follows: Girnamme, Tazitta, Ebarti [Ebarat], Tazitta, Lu[?]-[x-x-x]-lu-uh-ha-an, Kindattu, Idattu, Tan-Ruhurater, Ebarti [Ebarat], Idattu, Idattu-napir and Idattu-temti (André-Salvini 1992: 261; Roche and Overlaet 2006: 18–19). There is no reason to doubt that the Kindattu who appears as the sixth king of Shimashki is identical to Kindattu of the Ishbi-Erra hymn. In Stolper's opinion, Ur III and Isin-Larsa period texts suggest that, far from representing a diachronic sequence of successive Shimashkian leaders, the first portion of the Shimashki 'king list' represents a collection of names of contemporary leaders (Table 5.5) who were all alive in the period c. 2044–2032 BC (Stolper

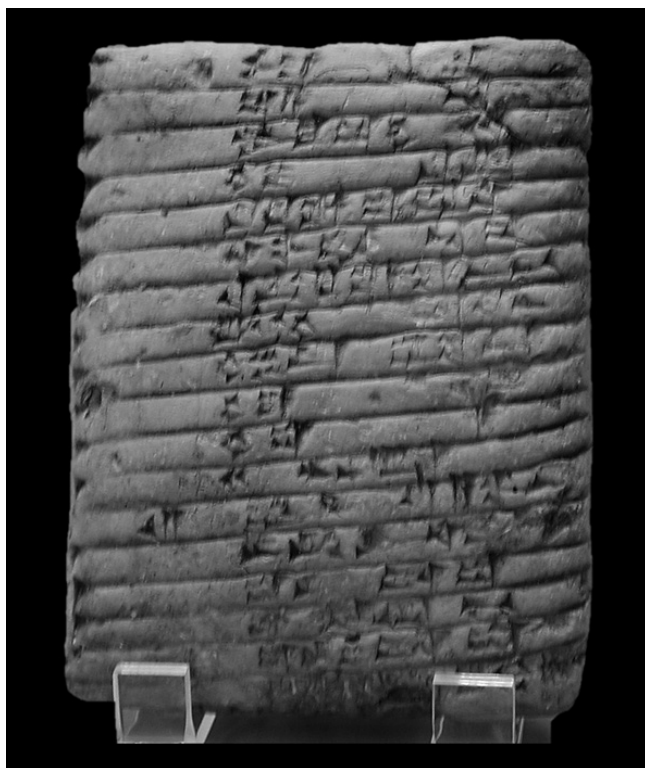


Plate 5.2. The Awan-Shimashki king list from Susa (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

1982: 50). Vallat once suggested that the Shimashki king list must be read in an even more radical fashion, namely as two parallel lists of contemporary rulers, the contents of which have been listed one after the other (Vallat 1996e: 298). Thus, Vallat suggested that some of the rulers on the list (e.g. Ebarat II) ruled in Susiana while others (e.g. Tan-Ruhurater) held sway on the Plateau, and that the last Shimashkians (from Ebarat II onwards) were vassals of the early Susian *sukkalmahs* who gradually gained ascendancy over them (Vallat 1996e: 315–16). In contrast, Steinkeller has argued that the names are in fact sequential and that Kirname, Tazitta I and Ebarat I were not contemporaries (Steinkeller 2007: 221, 2014: 290; De Graef 2009: 8, n. 16; cf. Vallat 2009).

Although we have no precise information on the point, it has sometimes been assumed that the abandonment of Ibbi-Sin's year formulae at Susa signalled the beginning of control over the site and its hinterland by the Shimashkians. Subsequent campaigns by Ibbi-Sin show, however, that the loss of Susiana was not a simple process. The marriage of Ibbi-Sin's daughter to the ruler of Zabshali in his fifth year may have been an attempt to maintain or

strengthen an alliance, but elsewhere in the east Ibbi-Sin undertook campaigns against Huhnur in year 9 and against Susa, Adamdun and Awan in year 14. It seems likely that the expulsion of Ibbi-Sin’s forces from Susiana was effected by Kindattu, who followed this up by delivering the ultimate *coup de grace* to the Third Dynasty of Ur. Indeed Amiet has suggested that it was only with the appearance of Kindattu, halfway through the Shimashki king list, that the ‘Shimashki epoch’ truly began (Amiet 1992a: 85).

According to the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur*, Shimashki and Elam ‘dwelt’ in Ur, and its shepherd, Ibbi-Sin, was ‘taken to the land of Elam in fetters’ (Michalowski 1989: 39). Another composition belonging to the same genre, known as the Eridu lament, tells us that the Su-people and Elamites, ‘the destroyers’, looked at ‘the holy kettle, which no one may look at’ (Green 1978: 137). Their attack is compared to a ‘roaring storm’, distorting the ‘essence’ of the city, tossing the ziggurat ‘into a heap of debris’. In addition to Eridu and Ur, the cities of Kesh, Uruk and Nippur were also destroyed.

A text (BIN IX 382) dating to the nineteenth year of Ishbi-Erra’s reign (i.e. some seven years prior to his expulsion of the Elamites from Ur) refers to messengers from *Ki-in-da-du* and *I-da-[x]*. As Stolper has stressed, it is tempting to see these two individuals as Kindattu and his successor (son?) Idattu (Stolper 1982: 48; Vallat 1996a; Steinkeller 2007: 221–2, 2011, De Graef 2009: 8), the sixth and seventh kings according to the Shimashki king list. A son of Kindattu who is not mentioned in the king list as king of Shimashki may be attested in a cylinder seal inscription (Table 5.4), known only from an impressed tablet from Susa, which reads ‘*I-ma-zu* / DUMU *Ki-in-da-du* / LUGAL *An-ša an-na^{ki}*’, ‘Imazu, son of Kindadu, king of Anshan’. Idattu I, Tan-Ruhurater, Ebarat II and Idattu II (Table 5.5) are also attested in seal legends (Plate 5.3; Ghirshman 1968a: 6) and in a Middle Elamite text; some of these provide positive proof of

TABLE 5.4. *Shimashkian kings attested in texts and cylinder seal legends*

Louvre #	MDP 53	Texts mentioning royalty
Sb 7391 = TS B 10	1675	Tan-Ruhurater / ensí of Susa / X[broken proper name] / son of I-da-d[u?]
Sb 7390	1676	Mekubi / the great queen [nin-gula] / Aabanda ... / Aza, son of Id ... / scribe, his servant
Sb 2033 + 2294 + 2299 + 6972	1677	Idadu / ensí of Susa / beloved hero / of Inshushinak / son of Tan-Ruhurater / to Kuk-Simut the scribe / to his beloved servant / has given [this seal]
Sb 6682	1678	Idadu / ensí of Susa/Kuk-Inshushinak / messenger / [is] his servant
Teheran Museum tablet 2514	1679	Imazu / son of Kindadu / lugal of Anshan

TABLE 5.5. *Shimashkian kings attested during the Ur III and early Isin periods, with those named in the Shimashki king list*

Shimashki king list	Source	Text
1. Girnamme	CTNMC 7:8 [∞]	Ki-ir-na-me (dated Shu-Sin 6)
2. Tazitta	Bab. 8: Pl. 7.30/3	Da-a-zi-te, ‘man of Anshan’ (dated Amar-Sin 8)
3. Ebarat I	BIN 3: 477	Da-a-zi (dated Shu-Sin 2)
	CTNMC 7: 8	Ia-ab-ra-at, ‘man of Su’ (dated Shu-Sin 6)
	MDP 18: no. 199	year Ebarat (became) king
	MDP 23: nos. 291, 295–302, 304, 305	year after Ebarat (became) king
	MDP 23: no. 292	year ^d Ebarat (became) king, the year after (note his divination indicated by the din-gir determinative; De Graef 2004: 107)
4. Tazitta	–	–
5. Lu-[(x)-r]a-ak-lu-uh-ha-an	MDP 24: 385/9	Hu-ut-ra-an-te-im-ti
	EKI §48: 2, 48a: 3	H[ut-rant]epti
	EKI §39: II	Hutran-tepti mentioned as builder of the Inshushinak temple (note the year formula on MDP 24: no. 385, ‘year in which a copper statue of Hutran-tepti was made’ (De Graef 2008a: 78)
6. Ki-in-da-at-tu	BIN 9: 382	Ki-in-da-du, ‘man of Elam’ (dated Ishbi-Erra 19)
	EKI §48: 2	Itaddu, ‘sister’s son’ of H[ut-rant]epti
	MDP 43: 1679	Imazu / son of Kindadu / king of Anshan
7. Idattu I	BIN 9: 382	I-da-[du]
	IRSA IVO1a	Inda[ttu]-Inshushi[nak], ensí of Susa, GÍR.NÍTA of Elam, son of Pepi
	MDP 14: 26/4	I-da-du, ‘king of Shimashki and Elam’
8. Tan-Ruhurater	MDP 43: 1675	Tan-Ruhurater / ensí of Susa / [broken proper name] / son of I-da-d[u?]
	MDP 43: 1674	Nur-Sin / scribe / son of Puzur-Ishtar / servant of Tan-Ruhurater
	IRSA IVO2a	Tan-Ruhurater, ensí of Susa, mentioned as husband of Mekubi, daughter of Bilalama, governor of Eshnunna
	MDP 43: 1676	Mekubi / the great lady [nin-gula] / Aabanda . . . / Aza, son of Id . . . / scribe, his servant
9. Ebarat II	IRSA IVO6a	Ebarat, king of Anshan and Susa and Shilhaha <i>sukkalmah</i> and priest of Anshan and of Susa, Adda-hushu regent and scribe of the people of Susa
	MDP 23: 291–305	E/Ia-ba-ra-at king
	MDP 43: 1685	Ebarat the king / Kuk- ^d Kalla / son of Kuk-sharum / servant of Shilhaha

TABLE 5.5. (continued)

Shimashki king list	Source	Text
10. Idattu II	MDP 43: 1686	Buzua / servant of Ebarat
	MDP 43: 1680	... -Inshushinak / scribe / [son of ...]-- ^d Kalla (?) / servant of Ebarat
	MDP 43: 1677	Idadu / ensí of Susa / beloved hero / of Inshushinak / son of Tan-Ruhurater / to Kuk-Simut the scribe / to his beloved servant / has given [this seal]
	IRSA IVO3a-c	Indattu, ensí of Susa, son of Tan- Ruhurater
	MDP 43: 1678*	Idadu / ensí of Susa / Kuk-Inshushinak / messenger / [is] his servant
11. Idattu-napir 12. Idattu-temti	MDP 43: 2325*	Shurimku the doctor / [son of] Puzur- Ishtar / (servant of) Idadu
	MDP 10: 35, 21.4	I-da-du-na-pi-ir

Notes:

[∞]Numbers here generally refer to specific texts or seals and not to pages.

* Seidl 1990 attributes this seal to Idattu I, not Idattu II.



Plate 5.3. Seal impression of the seal of Kuk-Simut given by Idaddu II (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

filiation (there is disagreement over whether MDP 43: 1678 and 2325 should be attributed to Idattu II; U. Seidl attributes these to Idattu I; see Seidl 1990). Thus one seal inscription, if restored, makes it highly probable that Tan-Ruhurater, eighth king of Shimashki (De Graef 2011d), was the son of Idattu I, the seventh king of the list. Tan-Ruhrater himself had a son whom he called Idattu (II), and this son, who is titled ‘**ensí** of Susa, beloved of Inshushinak, son of Tan-Ruhurater’ on a cylinder seal given by him to Kuk-Simut, his chancellor (Vallat 1996e: 302), may have served in this capacity before becoming the tenth Shimashkian king following the accession of his elder brother (?) Ebarat, ninth king of Shimashki (Stolper 1982: 55).

As far as the absolute chronology of the Shimashkian kings goes, we have seen that the earliest kings can be linked quite confidently with points in the reign of Shu-Sin and Amar-Sin; two of the kings in the middle of the list, Kindattu and Idattu I, can be fixed to the middle of Ishbi-Erra’s reign; and Tan-Ruhurater was a contemporary and son-in-law of Bilalama of Eshnunna, himself a contemporary of Shu-ilishu of Isin (1984–1975 BC). A synchronism between the eleventh king on the list, Idattu-napir, and Sumuabum of Babylon (1894–1881 BC) can be established thanks to a cylinder seal used to seal a tablet from Susa, dated in the reign of Sumuabum (MDP 10: no. 2). This was also used on another Susa text (MDP 10: no. 21) mentioning Idattu-napir (Vallat 1988a: 174, n. 13; 1989a: 34). Based on Idattu-napir’s appearance in the archive of a trader at Susa named Kûyâ who dealt, amongst other things, in sheep from Zabshali, De Graef has tentatively suggested that Idattu-napir had a particular connection with that region (De Graef 2009: 9).

As can be readily seen, the texts mentioning the kings named in the Shimashki king list contain a variety of titles, including:

- king (**lugal**) of Anshan (Imazu)
- governor (**ensí**) of Susa (Idattu I, Tan-Ruhurater, Idattu II)
- GÌR.NÍTA of Elam (Idattu I)
- king (**lugal**) of Shimashki and Elam (Idattu I)
- king (**lugal**) of Anshan and Susa (Ebarat II)
- king (**lugal**) (Ebarat II)

How are we to interpret this multiplicity of high offices? What functions did their office-bearers actually perform? Some scholars interpret the occurrence of these titles as confirmation of the fact that the territory of Shimashki, to which Susiana had now been added, ‘was not easily suited to centralized control’ but rather to ‘a political structure with a high order of regional autonomy: rulers of unequal age and rank, tied to each other by marriage and descent’ in charge of ‘individual regional centers’ (Stolper 1982: 53–4). Following Léon De Meyer, Vallat suggested that, in the slightly later *sukkalmah* period (Chapter 6), the titles ‘king of Susa’ and ‘king of Anshan’ in effect denoted something like ‘mayor of Susa’ and ‘mayor of Anshan’ (Vallat 1996a), respectively. Likewise, ‘**ensí** of

Susa' or 'GÌR.NÍTA of Elam' may have been similarly restricted in scope, while 'king of Shimashki and Elam' and 'king of Anshan and Susa' may be two temporal variants of an essentially identical title of paramount rank.

Mention has already been made of the fact that Tan-Ruhurater, eighth king of Shimashki, was married to the daughter of the governor of Eshnunna, an important city in the Diyala valley. This, along with two other events, would seem to signal a rapprochement between Shimashki and the kings of Isin following Kindattu's expulsion by Ishbi-Erra. Ishbi-Erra's successor at Isin, Shu-ilishu (1984–1975 BC), is said to have restored the cult statue of Nanna to Ur from Anshan (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 172). One does not know whether this came about as the result of a hostile raid or a peaceful arrangement. Given the history of Mesopotamian-Shimashkian relations, one would hardly be inclined to envisage the latter were it not for the fact that two diplomatic marriages occurred about this time. The year formula for the first year of the reign of Iddin-Dagan (1974–1954 BC), Shu-ilishu's son and successor on the throne of Isin, reads 'Year Iddin-Dagan (was) king and (his) daughter Matum-niatum was taken in marriage by the king of Anshan' (Sigrist 1988: 24). Vallat suggested that this marriage may have taken place with Kindattu's son Imazu, identified in a seal inscription as 'king of Anshan' but never acknowledged by the Shimashkian king list as paramount ruler of Shimashki (Vallat 1996a). These bits of information go some way towards supporting the notion that, in the middle of the Shimashki period, Isin and the kings of Shimashki attempted to establish friendly relations based in part on the time-honoured practice of diplomatic marriage. Unfortunately for Shimashki, Isin was soon to be rivalled in southern Mesopotamia by another power based at Larsa under the vigorous leadership of Gungunum. The consequences of this change will be explored in the following chapter.

SOME ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS

Up to this point most of the discussion of Shimashki has centred on its history, and little has been said about its material culture. Shu-Sin brought back 'the image of a he-goat . . . as the gún of Anshan during a campaign against the lú-SU.A [Shimashkians] and Zabshali', whereas Ibbi-Sin returned from a campaign with 'an image of a speckled Meluhhan dog which came as gún from the land of Marhashi' (Michalowski 1978: 43; perhaps a cheetah; see Potts 2002b: 347–52). Describing the plundering of Ur by Kindattu's forces, the *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* says that 'the great tribute that they had collected was hauled off to the mountains' (Michalowski 1989: 63, l. 419).

Although Carter referred to the period between c. 2200/2100 and 1900 BC at Susa (Plate 5.4) as the 'Shimashki phase' (Table 4.10), it is generally impossible to discern any archaeological discontinuity between the late Akkadian and Ur III periods when Susa was under Mesopotamian control, and that point in

TABLE 5.6. *Distribution of dated tablets belonging to the archive of the scribe Igibuni in Ville Royale B, level 7*

Floor	Dated tablets	Date	Calendar year (middle chronology)
Upper	TS.B. 120, 121, 126	Ibbi-Sin 1	2028/2027 BC
	TS.B. 131, 139	Shu-Sin 8	2031/2030 BC
	TS.B. 138	Shu-Sin 7	2032/2031 BC
	TS.B. 108, 133	Shu-Sin 5	2034/2033 BC
Lower	TS.B. 147	Ibbi-Sin 1	2028/2027 BC
	TS.B. 151	Shu-Sin 8	2031/2030 BC
	TS.B. 145	Shu-Sin 7	2032/2031 BC
	TS.B. 148	Shu-Sin 4	2035/2034 BC

Note: After De Meyer 1986: 76.



Plate 5.4. ‘Anshanite’ scene under a grape arbor; seal and modern impression in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, serpentine; 3.3 cm high (ME1987.343, purchase, Howard Phipps Foundation Gift, 1987; www.metmuseum.org).

Ibbi-Sin’s reign when, presumably, Susa was lost to Shimashkian forces under Kindattu or one of his predecessors. In one area of the site, however, a very fine distinction can be drawn. Roman Ghirshman excavated a series of fragmentary buildings in Ville Royale Chantier B, and it is possible to precisely date the so-called Archive Building (‘Bâtiment aux Archives’) in level VII where two distinct floors, some 40–55 cm apart, were isolated in rooms (loci) 29 and 32 (De Meyer 1986). In fact, the term Archive Building is somewhat misleading, for the structure appears to have been the private house of a scribe named Igibuni whose archive has now been published (De Graef 2005, 2008b). The distance between the two floors in his house, while seemingly significant, belies the fact that the texts from the lower and upper floors date to a very narrow span of time (Table 5.6) which coincides with the late Ur III, immediately pre-Shimashkian era.

A distinctive glyptic style (Pl. 5.4), once referred to by Amiet as ‘popular Elamite’ and now identified as ‘Anshanite’, can be linked in one case by inscriptional evidence to Ebarat II (W.G. Lambert 1979, 1992; Amiet 1992b, 1994c). Iconographically, the group is extremely coherent (Ascalone 2010) and shows, *inter alia*, females wearing ‘crinoline’ gowns which closely resemble those shown on metal vessels, composite female statuary and silver pins of Bactrian origin (Amiet 1986c: Figs. 203–4; Steve 1989; Potts 2008). The term ‘Anshanite’ is used because of the fact that original seals of this type have been found in early second millennium contexts at Tal-i Malyan, the site of ancient Anshan. As noted earlier, the dependence of the Anshanite group on Central Asian models implies a link that may be the key to the location of Shimashki and the Shimashkians prior to their usurpation of power in southwestern Iran. This suggestion runs counter to an argument made for locating the core of Shimashki in the highlands of central western Iran, specifically in those inter-montane valleys where one finds pottery of Godin Tepe III: 6 type (2600–2300 BC), 5 type (2300–2100 BC), 4 type (2100–1900 BC) and 2 type (1900–1600 BC) (Godin III: 3 is described as an ‘ephemeral phase’ of ‘little archaeological or historical significance’; Henrickson 1984: 101, n. 5). The dearth of Godin III: 4–2 material at Susa, however, must be seen as a strong counter-argument to the claim that the Mahidasht, Kangavar, Malayer, Hulailan and other inter-montane valleys of central western Iran were the birthplace of the dynasty of Shimashki.

The historical phases at Susa dealt with in Chapters 4 and 5 – Old Akkadian, Ur III and Shimashki period – are not discernible at Anshan itself. Abandoned at the end of the Banesh period c. 2600 BC, Tal-i Malyan was resettled c. 2200 BC, and the entire time span down to 1600 BC is characterized by a fairly uniform material culture referred to as ‘Kaftari’ (Sumner 1989). Within this 600-year-long phase, W.M. Sumner identified three ‘stages’: Early (2200–1900 BC), Middle (1900–1800 BC) and Late Kaftari (1800–1600 BC). From an estimated 39 ha of occupied area in the Early Kaftari stage, Tal-i Malyan expanded to 130 ha of settled area during the Middle Kaftari period, when it was more than ten times larger than all but one other site (Qaleh at 15 ha) in the Kur River basin. By the Late Kaftari stage, the site is thought to have retracted to 98 ha (Table 5.7).

TABLE 5.7. *Kaftari site distribution in comparison to the growth of Malyan*

Kaftari	Number of sites occupied	Hectares of settlement	Size of Malyan
Early	35	83	39
Middle	74	278	130
Late	43	210	98

The ceramic, settlement and radiocarbon discontinuity between the Banesh and Kaftari periods implies a significant hiatus in occupation during the mid third millennium (Sumner 1989: 136). Apart from a coarse, quartz-tempered grey ware used for cooking vessels which spans the Banesh, Kaftari and subsequent Qaleh periods, and rare sherds of grey burnished ware, the dominant wares of the Kaftari assemblage are a red-slipped ware which is most commonly used for open bowls, and a smooth, buff ware, often with simply painted bands and meanders around the shoulder, occasionally showing the use of vegetal and geometric motifs as well as birds (Sumner 1999; Petrie, Asgari Chaverdi and Seyedin 2005). The non-ceramic assemblage, consisting of flaked and ground stone tools, stone vessels, metal objects – tin-bronze became ‘the alloy of choice’ (Pigott, Rogers and Nash 2003: 167) – and casting debris, seals and sealings, figurines and jewellery (Nickerson 1991), hardly projects an image of a cosmopolitan centre linked by marriage to the greatest power in Western Asia. On the other hand, it is possible that elite residences and palatial constructions of late third millennium date exist at Tal-i Malyan which have not yet been identified archaeologically. In spite of the strong glyptic links between Kaftari-period Tal-i Malyan and Susa mentioned previously, Sumner believed that Anshan had an ‘unclear status in the Shimashkian state’ (Sumner 1988b: 317).

Several interesting points can be made about the economy of Kaftari-period Malyan. Cultivars included wheat, barley, lentils and grapes. Wild pistachios and almonds were collected as well. Although barley was ten times more common than wheat in excavated domestic contexts, ‘a mineralized Kaftari latrine deposit yielded twice as much wheat as barley’, suggesting that ‘wheat was more important as human food, and barley was grown primarily as fodder’. The fact that the seeds of weeds commonly associated with irrigated fields, including *Chenopodium*, *Avena*, *Lolium*, *Fumaria* and *Hyoscyamus*, were found in Kaftari contexts suggests that some irrigation agriculture was being practised at this time, using water from the Kur River and nearby springs (Sumner 1988b: 317), perhaps alongside dry farming (Miller 1990b: 80–1). In addition to the expected complement of sheep, goats and cattle, horses made their first appearance at Malyan in the Kaftari period, as did, in all likelihood, mules and hinnies (Zeder 1986: 406; for the possibility that *E. asinus* had been domesticated in the highlands of Fars since the Chalcolithic period, see Potts 2011b).

Outside of the Kur River Basin where Tal-i Malyan is located, extensive Elamite occupation with ceramic diagnostics very comparable to those seen in the Kaftari assemblage have been discovered in western Fars, particularly in the Mamasani region (Potts et al. 2009b; McCall 2013a, 2013b), and along the Persian Gulf coast, particularly at Liyan on the Bushehr peninsula (Potts 2003; Petrie et al. 2005). A variant assemblage with clear parallels to the Kaftari material has also been recovered in the cemetery at Lama, near Yasuj (Jafari 2014; Potts 2013a). Rare examples of Kaftari pottery with typical cross-hatching and meandering bands have also been found at Susa (de Mecquenem 1938: 147, Fig. 15).

CONCLUSION

The Iranologist Walther Hinz once described late third millennium Elam as ‘a federal state’, and wrote, ‘In an attempt to unite the very diverse areas of the federation, the kings, being sovereign, strove to bind the minor princelings to themselves by ties of blood relationship. The result was a body politic constructed on lines that were unusual, complicated, and indeed unparalleled elsewhere. The ruling houses most adept at this task all seem to have sprung from the high land and not from Susiana, although Susa itself early attained the status of capital’ (Hinz 1972: 69). As we have seen, the various groups/peoples mentioned in Mesopotamian cuneiform sources as having come under attack by the Old Akkadian and Ur III kings were spread in a wide arc extending from the central Zagros to the frontiers of Kerman province and possibly even Baluchistan. Steinkeller described the six Shimashkian lands defeated by Shu-Sin as a ‘confederation’ (Steinkeller 1988a: 199), while Stolper called them ‘an extensive interregional union’ (Stolper 1982: 49). The Shu-Sin texts which describe the defeat of the Shimashkian lands make it clear that each had its own ruler, styled ‘great ensí’ (**ensí-gal-gal**) or ‘king’ (**lugal**) in the case of those who ruled a land, and simply **ensí** for those whose domain was a city or town (Kutscher 1989: 99). Kutscher suggested that Ziringu, named as the paramount ruler of Zabshali in one of the Shu-Sin texts, ruled a Shimashkian ‘empire’ comprised of ‘a confederacy of lands whose leading force was the land of Zabshali’ (Kutscher 1989: 100).

To what extent was Elam, as Hinz suggested, an ‘unparalleled’ socio-political formation in the context of ancient Western Asiatic history? In the Greek world, federations are attested as early as the late sixth century BC (Larsen and Rhodes 1996). Nevertheless, in ancient Western Asia federations were rare. The dispersed, crucial nature of the coalitions which faced the Mesopotamian armies of the late third and early second millennium BC, coming together to wage war against a common enemy, is very different from a ‘unitary state . . . in which there is a central monopoly of power, exercised by a specialised administrative staff within defined territorial limits’ (Southall 1956: 260). In this respect Elam resembles much more what political anthropologists define as a ‘segmentary state’, a structure with ‘extended zones of authority’ which is characterized by competition between the centre and its peripheries, a pyramidal power structure with segments enjoying comparable powers, and peripheral segments which shift their allegiance and may belong to more than one power pyramid at any one time. Thus, segmentary states have been called both ‘flexible and fluctuating’ (Southall 1956: 248–9). As Georges Balandier stressed, segmentary states are characterized by a high degree of ‘ethnic and cultural heterogeneity’, so that the system ‘appears more centralized at the ritual level than at the level of political action’ (Balandier 1972: 142, 155).

As we have seen, there is good evidence to suggest ethnic and linguistic diversity at the same time as we find some level of Elamite influence throughout

the arc extending from Kermanshah to eastern Fars. Power, judging by Shu-Sin's inscriptions, was decentralized, concentrated in numerous small pyramids which might, at any particular time, fall under one or another of the major protagonists in the region, whether Zabshali, Shimashki itself, Elam, Anshan or Marhashi. Southall further noted that 'under certain conditions, the interaction of diverse ethnic groups of contrasted social structure may predispose them to coalesce into a composite social structure of dominance and subjection out of which state forms develop. This process cannot adequately be described as conquest' (Southall 1956: 245). While conquest is usually cited as the prime mover in the creation of so-called secondary states, the incorporation of groups within a segmentary state may also come about as a result of the development of trade relationships, the development of client or tributary relations between a dominant centre and an area which it has not actually conquered, and the voluntary submission of one group to another, seeking the benefits of protection or identification with a charismatic leader. Viewed in this light, it would be simplistic to suggest that, throughout its history, Elam and its neighbours were only bound together through outright conquest. Both temporary and longer-lasting alliances seem to have been forged between the constituent members of the greater Elamite segmentary federation which benefited all parties and drew them together in opposition to a common enemy. In this regard the conflict between Elam and Ur in the last century of the third millennium emerges as a clash between two very different political forms: the hyper-centralized, unitary state *par excellence* of Ur, and the segmentary state of Elam.

When Ibbi-Sin went to Anshan (if he in fact lived to see the city), he was probably instantly aware of just how different those two political systems were. Anshan must have seemed like a country town compared to Susa, and Ur must have seemed like Manhattan in comparison to his final home. Yet how difficult it is to be comfortable with such generalizations. One of the great difficulties lies in the fact that we are obviously dealing with sites excavated in such diametrically different fashions that the results are virtually incompatible. We have small exposures and fine-grained recovery of utilitarian debris (pottery, stone, metal, animal bones, plant remains etc.) from Anshan, while at Susa we have inadequately excavated and recorded swathes through an enormous site, an abiding impression of that site's size and importance in just about all periods, and fragments of an historical record which brings the Third Dynasty of Ur into direct contact with its late third millennium Susian or Elamite counterparts. We certainly sense the non-elites in the material record of Tal-i Malyan, but this is quite clearly not the material counterpart of princesses journeying there from Ur and Ibbi-Sin in exile. The drama of the princesses' marriages and the captivity of Ur's last king find no echo in the Kaftari levels of ancient Anshan and, apart from emphasizing the site's sheer size in comparison with other prehistoric settlements in the region, the excavators of Tal-i Malyan are hard-pressed to demonstrate even the provincial importance of the city at that time.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
2094–2047 BC	Susa under Ur’s control by reign of Shulgi; involvement of Shulgi with temples to Inshushinak and Ninhursag; taxes paid to Ur by Susa	polities in Anshan, Zabshali, Marhashi identified in Mesopotamian sources as having governors and/or kings; interdynastic marriage with Ur princesses; Ur campaigns against highlands; resettlement of Malyan, appearance of distinctive ‘popular Elamite’ glyptic	consolidation/ expansion of Ur III state under Shulgi	references late in period to Shimashkians; mosaic of lands of Shimashki attested in cuneiform sources; Shimashkians bear Elamite and non-Elamite names; lack of ceramic ties between Luristan, Susiana and Fars
2046–2038 BC	raids by Amar-Sin; Susa under Ur’s administration	dispatch of couriers, ambassadors between Ur and highlands		
2037–2029 BC	appearance of popular Elamite glyptic; Susa under Ur’s administration	Shu-Sin active in campaigning; absence of ceramic links to Susa or Fars	construction of the ‘Martu wall’ in northern Babylonia against foreign incursions	first kings of Shimashki mentioned; Shu-Sin’s aggression a possible catalyst for coalescence of ‘Shimashkian’ state
2028–2004 BC	raids by Ibbi-Sin; liberation of Susa; Susa comes under control of Shimashkian kings	raids by Ibbi-Sin, as well as interdynastic marriage	disintegration of Ur III empire, fall of Ur, foundation of First Dynasty of Isin by Ishbi-Erra	Elamite-Shimashkian coalition under Kindattu crushes Ur; alternate use of Anshan, Elam, Susa, Shimashki in titulature reflects constituents of new political order
2003–1940 BC	Susa part of Shimashkian ‘kingdom’	polities in alliance with Isin through interdynastic marriage	First Dynasty of Isin	

CHAPTER 6

THE GRAND REGENTS OF ELAM AND SUSA

From the era of Shimashki we move to the period of the *sukkalmahs*, a title of some antiquity in Mesopotamia which has been interpreted variously in its Iranian context. The mechanics of the transformation of the line of Shimashkian kings into the line of Susian *sukkalmahs* is obscure, but one thing is certain: under the *sukkalmahs*, particularly those of the late nineteenth and early eighteenth centuries BC, the prestige and influence of Elam throughout Western Asia was unprecedented (see De Graef 2011c for an overview). The break-up of the Ur III empire witnessed the rise of independent, rival dynasties in the southern Mesopotamian cities of Isin and Larsa. Isin's power was greatest during the first three quarters of the twentieth century BC, and this was a period in which the Elamites suffered a series of political and military setbacks. But, beginning in the late twentieth century BC, the power of Isin waned as that of Larsa waxed, and the Elamites came to have substantial influence in the kingdom of Larsa. Ultimately we see Elam emerge as the major powerbroker in a web of relations which bound Assyria, Babylonia and other neighbouring regions, such as Eshnunna (in the modern Diyala River basin) and Mari (on the Middle Euphrates in Syria), often in uneasy alliances which eventually broke down. Elam provided the much-sought-after tin which Mari dispensed to the kingdoms of western Syria and Palestine. Elamite involvement with regions to the south and east, such as Dilmun (Bahrain) and Magan (Oman) in the Persian Gulf, and the resource-rich region of Bactria (northern Afghanistan/southern Uzbekistan), is also documented during this period. While the archaeological evidence of this era is abundant at Susa and in some of the plains of northern and eastern Khuzistan, it is slim in Fars, although several important rock reliefs exist. Ultimately, Hammurabi of Babylon put an end to this phase of growth and influence which saw Elam change from a regional to a world (still in the limited Western Asiatic sense) power.

INTRODUCTION

The plurality of royal titles which characterized the later Shimashki period at Susa continued, in altered form, throughout the first half of the second millennium BC, that time referred to as the *sukkalmaḥ* period. *Sukkalmaḥ* is a title which first appears in the pre-Sargonic texts from Girsu, where it seems, from its use in an inscription of Urukagina, to denote an office of ‘prime minister’ or ‘grand vizier’, the holder of which was subservient to the **ensí** or paramount ruler in the territory of Lagash (Hallo 1957: 113). The title *sukkalmaḥ* is well-attested in Mesopotamia during the Ur III period, and it seems to have remained linked to the city-state of Lagash. This may help explain why it was used for the paramount leader in post-Shimashki Susa and Elam, as the control of the eastern front of Ur during the Ur III period, and thus Susa and Susiana, seems to have been the responsibility of the *sukkalmaḥ* at Lagash (Hallo 1957: 118; see also Vallat 1990a: 121). At Susa, Kuk-Kirmash was the first to call himself *sukkalmaḥ*, but his predecessor Shilhaha (Henkelman 2010c) was the first ruler to be called *sukkalmaḥ* (Vallat 1990a: 121), and he is generally considered the founding ancestor of the long line of *sukkalmaḥ*s who reigned in the early second millennium BC, overlapping with the last kings of the dynasty of Shimashki (Vallat 2004b). On the other hand, Shilhaha is identified in one text as the ‘chosen son of Ebarat’, and it is generally believed that this refers to Ebarat II, ninth king in the Shimashki king list discussed in Chapter 5 (Stolper 1982: 55).

Ebarat’s own position in all of this, and the historical mechanics of the transition from the rule of Shimashki, the king list of which claims Ebarat II as one of its own, to that of the *sukkalmaḥ*s, the later sources for which identify Ebarat as ‘king of Anshan and Susa’, must remain unclear so long as the absolute chronology of the early *sukkalmaḥ*s is sketchy, but as noted previously Vallat suggested that the Susian *sukkalmaḥ*s gradually usurped power from their Shimashkian ‘vassals’, finally achieving a position of predominance in the political arena of southwestern Iran (Vallat 1996e: 315–16). As described in the previous chapter, Ishbi-Erra’s expulsion of Kindattu from Ur was followed by a period of rapprochement amongst Isin, Eshnunna and Shimashki, marked once more by diplomatic marriages involving the daughters of Bilalama of Eshnunna (for Elamite relations with Eshnunna, see in general Peyronel 2013) and Iddin-Dagan of Isin. However, the maintenance of an east–west alliance was soon undone by the appearance of a more aggressive ruler on the throne of Larsa. Gungunum (1932–1906 BC), the fifth monarch to have ruled over Larsa since the demise of the Ur III state, attacked and destroyed Bashime in his third year and Anshan in his fifth year (Sigrist 1990: 7; Vallat 1996e: 313), and may have been in control of Susa in his sixteenth year, depending on how one interprets a text from Susa (MDP 10: 21/4) dated to this year of his reign (Stolper 1982: 56). The disbursement of sesame oil at Larsa in year 12 of

Sumuel's reign (i.e. 1882 BC) to an anonymous 'king of Anshan', however, suggests cordial relations with a highland ruler, not continuous subjugation of this distant region by Larsa. It is tempting to interpret the demise of the Shimashki line as a result of Gungunum's hostilities, and the rise of the *sukkalmahs* as a resurgence following the region's recovery from Larsa's aggression, but this must remain speculative (Carter and Stolper 1984: 27). An alternative reconstruction of early *sukkalmah* history would situate Gungunum's attack *c.* 1927 BC just prior to the appearance of Atta-hushu (Vallat 1989a; see also Pétrequin 1990), whom Vallat regarded as a usurper of the throne and not a biological descendant of Shilhaha (Vallat 1990a: 124; 1996e: 310).

Although there is still some uncertainty over the precise sequence of rulers in the post-Shimashki period (Vallat 1996e), the variety in their titulature, consisting of no fewer than seventeen different titles including all variants (Vallat 1990a: 120), has long been recognized. Many years ago G.G. Cameron suggested that political power was vested in a triumvirate consisting of the *sukkalmah* in the position of paramount authority, the *sukkal* ('minister') of Elam (and Shimashki), and the *sukkal* of Susa in descending order of authority (Cameron 1936: 71; see also Grillot and Glassner 1991: 85; cf. the discussion in De Meyer 1982; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2009: 30ff.). Upon the death of the reigning *sukkalmah*, the *sukkal* of Elam and Shimashki acceded to his position, the *sukkal* of Susa moved up a rank to replace him, and a new family member was chosen to be *sukkal* of Susa. In fact, as the provisional list of office-bearers and their titles shows (Table 6.1), the notion that simple triumvirates always ruled in the period *c.* 1900–1600 BC – as few as fourteen and as many as twenty-four have been suggested (Carter and Stolper 1984: 77, n. 178) – does not seem to be borne out by the evidence.

Obviously there are titles additional to the three main ones just discussed which are associated with the *sukkalmahs* and their relatives. *Teppir* denoted 'some kind of superior judicial official' (Tavernier 2007a: 60; for the reading *teppir* rather than *ippir* see Glassner 2013: 321, n. 16) or 'juridical scribe' (De Graef 2010: 43; M. Lambert 1971 called him a chancellor; cf. Henkelman 2003b: 125), while **adda kalam** of Anshan and Susa may be understood as 'father of the land of Anshan and Susa' (Glassner 2013: 320 with full discussion; *contra* the conventional reading **adda lugal** as in Vallat 1989b). Kuk-sanit, 'teppir of Susa' was the son of the *sukkalmah* Temti-Agun I (Glassner 2014: 323; on this latter king see also Vallat 2007). The variant 'sukkal of Elam, Shimashki and Susa' may reflect sovereignty over a more extended region than either the *sukkal* of Elam or the *sukkal* of Susa enjoyed. How 'prince of Elam' should be differentiated from *sukkal* of Elam is unclear, just as the difference between 'king of Susa' and *sukkal* of Susa is uncertain. The fact that a single individual, such as Kuk-Kirmash, could be simultaneously *sukkalmah* and *sukkal* of Elam, Shimashki and Susa, while Tan-Uli was both *sukkalmah* and *sukkal* of Elam and

TABLE 6.1. Tentative sequence of the *sukkalmahs* and their relationships to other high-ranking officials

a) <i>Sukkalmah</i>	Other officers	Stated filiation	Titles	Reference
Ebarat II			king (lugal) of Anshan and Susa	MDP 28: 7, #4, 7
Shilhaha		chosen son of Ebarat	king (lugal) <i>sukkalmah</i> , adda-lugal of Anshan and Susa	MDP 28: #455 MDP 28: 7, #4
Pala-ishshan	Lankuku Kuku-sanit			? MDP 28: #399
Kuk-Kirmash		‘sister’s son of Shilhaha, son of Lankuku	<i>sukkal</i> of Elam, Shimashki and Susa <i>sukkalmah</i>	VAB 1: 182, #5 VAB 1: 182, #5 EKI 48 §2; 48a1b §3
	Tem-sanit Kuk-Nahundi			MDP 24: #351 MDP 24: #352
Kuk-Nashur ¹	Atta-hushu	son of Shilhaha ‘sister’s son of Shilhaha	<i>sukkalmah</i> <i>sukkal</i> and <i>teppir</i> of Susa	MDP 28: #8, 430 EKI 48 §2; 48b §3
			shepherd of the people of Susa	MDP 28: 7, #4 MDP 28: 8–9, #5–6, MDP 2: 79 and Pl. 15.5
			shepherd of Inshushinak he who holds the . . . of Susa	MDP 6: 26, Pl. 5.3 Dossin 1962: 157
	Tetep-mada	‘sister’s son of Shilhaha		?
Shiruk-tuh ²		‘sister’s son of Shilhaha		EKI 48 §2; 48a + b §3
	Simut-wartash I	son (?) of Shiruk-tuh		?
Siwe-palar-huppak ³		‘sister’s son of Shiruktuh	<i>sukkal</i> of Susa	MDP 28: #396, 397
	Kudu-zulush I ⁴	‘sister’s son of Shiruktuh	prince of Elam <i>sukkal</i> of Susa	EKI 3 MDP 28: #397
			b) <i>sukkalmah</i>	MDP 23: #179
Kutir-Nahhunte I		son (?) of Kudu-zulush		?
	Atta-merra-halki			MDP 24: #379
	Tata		c) <i>sukkal</i>	MDP 24: #391
	Lila-irtash			VAB 1: 184, #9 MDP 28: #398

TABLE 6. I. (continued)

a) <i>Sukkalmah</i>	Other officers	Stated filiation	Titles	Reference
Temti-Agun		‘sister’s son of Shiruktuh	<i>sukkal</i> of Susa <i>sukkalmah</i> d) <i>sukkal</i>	MDP 28: #398 MDP 53: #1 MDP 23: #212
Kutir- Shilhaha			<i>sukkalmah</i>	MDP 22: #10, 133
Kuk- Nashur II ⁵		‘sister’s son of Temti-Agun	<i>sukkal</i> of Susa <i>sukkal</i> of Elam	MDP 23: #283 MDP 22: #160 MDP 23: #169, 183, 212–14, 216–20, 240, 315 MDP 22: #8, 10, 101, 116–17, 133 MDP 24: #341, 345, 393 MDP 23: #221?, 222, 246 MDP 25: 91, Fig. 15 MDP 28: #420 MDP 22: #160
	Temti-raptash			
	Simut-wartash II			
Kudu- zulush II			king of Susa	
	Sirtuh	‘sister’s son of Kuk-Nashur	king of Susa	MDP 23: #284
Kuk- Nashur III		‘sister’s son of Shilhaha	<i>sukkal</i> of Elam <i>sukkal</i> of Elam, Shimashki and Susa <i>sukkalmah</i>	MDP 23: #282 MDP 23: #282; VAB 1: 184, #7; VS 7: #67 MDP 23: #282; VAB 1: 184, #7; VS 7: #67
Tan-Uli		‘sister’s son of Shilhaha	e) <i>sukkal</i> f) <i>sukkalmah</i>	MDP 23: #177–8, 186, 196, 206 MDP 24: #335–6 MDP 22: #7, 9; MDP 23: #173; MDP 24: #338, 353, 370 VAB 1: 184, #7 VAB 1: 184, #7
Temti-halki		‘sister’s son of Shilhaha	<i>sukkal</i> of Elam, Shimashki and Susa <i>sukkalmah</i>	

TABLE 6.1. (continued)

a) <i>Sukkalmah</i>	Other officers	Stated filiation	Titles	Reference
Kuk-Nashur IV			<i>sukkalmah</i>	EKI 48 §2, 48b §3
		‘sister’s son of Tan-Uli		EKI 48 §2, 48b §3

Notes:

- ¹ The arrangement of rulers by the name of Kuk-Nashur follows that proposed in Quintana 1996b. Synchronisms with Mesopotamian rulers are noted in notes 2–5 and follow the middle chronology, apart from the dates given for Shamshi-Adad I which rely on the Kültepe Eponym List. Cf. Jalilvand Sadafi 2013.
- ² Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria (1808–1776 BC). Shamshi-Adad I’s death occurred in Hammurabi’s eighteenth year and Ibal-pi EL II’s fourth year. See Veenhof and Eidem 2008: 29.
- ³ Hammurabi of Babylon (1792–1750 BC).
- ⁴ Hammurabi of Babylon (1792–1750 BC).
- ⁵ Ammisaduqa of Babylon (?) year 1 (1645 BC). See Cole and De Meyer 1999.

Shimashki (De Graef 2011e), strongly suggests that a tripartite division of power did not always obtain (Vallat 1990a: 120).

Vallat argued persuasively that Atta-hushu’s peculiar titulature demands a special explanation, for he and Tetep-mada are the only ‘rulers’ not associated in economic or legal texts with another *sukkal* or *sukkalmah*, as well as the only ones to bear the title ‘shepherd of the people of Susa’. Furthermore, Atta-hushu was unique in using the titles ‘shepherd of Inshushinak’, ‘*sukkal* and *teppir*’ and ‘he who holds the . . . of Susa’ (Vallat 1996e: 309–10; De Meyer 1982: 95–6). One might well ask whether Atta-hushu ever enjoyed the status of supreme ruler if he never used the title *sukkalmah*. In fact, noting that Atta-hushu was the only leader of the *sukkalmah* period whose texts were dated according to a Babylonian era (in one case to year 16 of Gungunum, in another to year 1 of Sumuabum), Vallat suggested that he came to power with the help of Gungunum and was not a legitimate inheritor of the office of *sukkalmah* (Vallat 1996e: 311). This could also explain why he never used this title, for his status may have been that of a client of Larsa’s rather than an independent *sukkalmah*.

Equally problematic, and much debated over the years, has been the significance of the term *ruhushak*, literally ‘sister’s son’ (Glassner 1994, 2013: 319; Vallat 1997a; Quintana 2010a; Carter 2014: 41). Many years ago P. Koschaker signalled several possible interpretations of the phrase, including that of the biological issue of a true marriage between siblings; the biological issue of an exogamous marriage between a male and a female not of the same social group as a result of which the *ruhushak* was recognized, however, as having the juridical rights of a sister of her husband; the issue of biological parents who were not siblings but who belonged to a society in which descent

through a particular female line needed to be indicated; and a legitimate descendant of a distant ancestor acknowledged as the founder of a dynasty (Koschaker 1933: 54–5). The latter interpretation is the only one possible in those cases where the individual called *ruhushak* is separated in time by more than a century from the female identified as his father's sister, but this explanation is just as obviously impossible in other situations. In such cases, we may be dealing not with the issue of an incestuous brother-sister marriage, but with the adopted younger brother of a ruler (König 1957–71: 227) or perhaps, more plausibly, with the adopted son of a ruler's sister in cases in which a ruler either had no biological issue of his own or in which his own son had predeceased him. Doubtless because of the many unknowns involved in such speculations, Cameron interpreted *ruhushak* simply as 'descendant' (Cameron 1936: 61). M. Lambert, on the other hand, followed by Vallat, preferred to interpret the term as 'son of the sister-wife of X', an incestuous biological reality perhaps in the time of Shilhaha which became, from the time of Atta-hushu onward, an element of the royal titulary signifying legitimacy rather than genealogical affiliation (M. Lambert 1971: 217; Vallat 1989a, 1994, 1995a: 1028–9, 1996c: 300–1). For Y.B. Yusifov, on the other hand, *ruhushak* 'originally meant a son born to one related, or not, married couple', and he further suggested that it was a survival 'of the dominating role of descent on the female side, namely, on [the] sister's line which gave the descendant the right of succession to the throne' (Yusifov 1974: 328). It must be stressed, however, that none of these possibilities justify a belief in 'residual matriarchy' (Vallat 1994: 8) during the earlier periods of Elamite or Shimashkian history.

The early second millennium levels at Susa yielded a large number of legal documents (Cuq 1931a, 1931b, 1932; Koschaker 1935; De Meyer 1961; Klíma 1960, 1963, 1971, 1972; Hirsch 1973; Frymer-Krensky 1981; De Graef 2010), real estate documents (Dossin 1927; Scheil 1930, 1932, 1933, 1939; Oppenheim 1935, 1936; Oers 2013; Jalilvand Sadafi 2014) and administrative documents (De Graef 2006, 2007a, 2009, 2012), written in Akkadian (De Meyer 1962; Salonen 1962, 1967), containing by and large Akkadian personal names (De Graef 2013), although at least one economic text from the early *sukkalmaḥ* period has only Elamite personal names (De Graef 2011a: 137). Importantly, the names of the *sukkalmaḥ*s themselves are exclusively Elamite. W.G. Lambert suggested that one explanation for this bilingual situation may be that, just prior to and following the fall of Ur, 'the area received a sudden insurge of Akkadian speakers', probably from the southern districts of Umma and Lagash (W.G. Lambert 1991: 57). This would account for the fact that 'most names from OB [Old Babylonian] Susa are Semitic' (Zadok 1991: 225).

To a large extent the Old Babylonian texts from Susa reflect practices that can also be found in contemporary Mesopotamian texts, emphasizing the extent to which Susa had been heavily influenced by Mesopotamian legal, administrative and commercial norms (Oppenheim 1935: 153ff.). The texts

concerned with the lease of fields, however, differ in some important respects from their Mesopotamian counterparts. Apart from the legal historical interest of these texts, there are other reasons for examining them carefully, for some of them contain precious information concerning Susa in the early second millennium BC. For example, individual canals, such as the Rakib, are named. Valuable information on agriculture is also cited. Thus the cultivation of sesame, lentils and ‘grain’ – whether wheat or barley we do not know – is mentioned, as are ‘orchards for date cultivation’. The fields in question are often identified as belonging to a certain BAL. Three variants of this term – BAL GAL, BAL URU DAG and BAL IGI URU KI – are attested, suggesting that ‘Susa and its surroundings were divided into three administrative regions’ (Oers 2013: 158, n. 9). Oaths were sworn in the name of Inshushinak, Ishnikarab or one of the *sukkalmahs* (Koschaker 1935: 40, n. 5; Oers 2013: 159).

Finally, a small group of seven texts, written in Akkadian, may be described as ‘funerary documents’ (Mecquenem 1944; Bottéro 1982: 393–402; Steve and Gasche 1996). Dating most probably to the very end of the *sukkalmah* period, these texts were found in 1914 in an area to the east of the Achaemenid palace of Darius, possibly in association with tombs excavated by de Mecquenem. Judging by the longest example, these texts, which are unparalleled in Mesopotamia, concern the taking of the deceased by the hand and accompanying him to the final judgement (Grillot[-Susini] 1983, 2001, 2014; Tavernier 2013a).

ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA AND THE SUKKALMAHS

Gungunum was far from the only aggressive ruler to have attempted to extend his influence eastwards. Sin-iddinam (1849–1843 BC), well-known for his building activities in the Ebabbar shrine at Larsa, conquered the town of Ibrat on the Tigris (Zadok 1987: 6, possibly near modern Kut el-Amara). If Ibrat were under Elamite control, its loss might help explain the establishment of an alliance a few years later between Elam and Zambija of Isin (1836–1834 BC). The defeat of this new coalition was commemorated in the year formula for Sin-iqisham of Larsa’s (1840–1836 BC) fifth year, ‘year Uruk, Kazallu, the army of the land of Elam and Zambija the king of Isin were defeated’ (Sigrist 1990: 29). A text from Uruk found in the palace of Sin-kashid, a contemporary of Warad-Sin of Larsa (1834–1823 BC), records the disbursement of nearly 1.5 *minas* of gold (c. 750 g) for the manufacture of vessels destined for the *sukkalmah* of Elam (Durand 1992). This may reflect a shortlived alliance between Uruk and Elam. Just a few years later, however, perhaps in 1835 BC, Kudur-mabuk, son of Shemti-Shilhak (Henkelman 2010a) and father of Manzi-wartash, Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin I, in turn conquered Larsa. Although Shemti-Shilk, Kudur-mabuk and Manzi-Wartash all have Elamite names,

Kudur-mabuk is called ‘father’ or ‘sheikh’ of Yamutbal/Emutbal (Zadok 1987: 6), a region located just east of the Tigris (Edzard 1957: 105; Stol 1976: 63–72; see also Frayne 1992: 93 and Map 13), and ‘father of the Amorite land (or mountain)’ (Hallo 1980: 194). As these are generally considered ‘Amorite’ designations, it has been suggested that, despite their names, Kudur-mabuk and his family were Amorites (see the discussion in Michalowski 2011, Ch. 5) who had settled at some point in the Trans-Tigridian area, where they came under Elamite influence (e.g. Lambert 1991: 55), perhaps even serving the Elamites militarily (Edzard 1957: 168). In this connection it is interesting to note that, in some of the letters from Susa dating to the *sukkalmaḥ* period, Ishtarān, the city-god of Der, chief city of Yamutbal, is mentioned (Lackenbacher 1994: 54).

It is not clear whether Kudur-mabuk’s conquest of Larsa was the independent act of a *sheikh* of Yamutbal or that of an Elamite proxy (Edzard 1957: 168). Either way, it transformed Larsa’s political history, and for the next seventy years a combined kingdom of Larsa and Yamutbal was ruled over by his two sons, Warad-Sin (1834–1823 BC) and Rim-Sin I (1822–1763 BC). Not surprisingly, therefore, most of the individuals with linguistically Elamite names who are mentioned outside of Susa itself are to be found in the Old Babylonian texts from Larsa (Zadok 1987: 6). Rim-Sin’s Elamite or quasi-Elamite origins seem to be reflected in a ‘Hymn to An’ (UET VI 102), in which those origins ‘in the mountains where the divine powers are dispensed for the principality’ are juxtaposed against the legitimacy of his calling as ‘shepherd of Sumer and Akkad’ (Steible 1975: 7). For many years it was thought that the dating formula for Rim-Sin’s eighth year should be read ‘year Rim-Sin the king had built the temple of Enki in Ur and the temple of Ninlil of Elam in the temple(-complex) of Ninmara’ (Edzard 1957: 177, n. 970; Carter and Stolper 1984: 28), but a revised reading of the divine name in question has resulted in ^dnin.é.NIM.ma instead of ^dnin.líl-elam.ma, such that Ninlil of Elam has vanished and been replaced by a ‘temple of Ninenimma’ (Stol 1976: 19; Sigrist 1990: 41).

One of Rim-Sin’s most important contemporaries was Shamshi-Adad (1808–1776 BC; for the date see Veenhof 2003: 57; Veenhof and Eidem 2008: 28–9), the ambitious ruler from Syria who, after growing up as an exiled prince in Babylonia, marched northward, conquered Ekallatum and Assur, and created the first Assyrian empire (Læssøe 1963: 41–2; Villard 1995). Shamshi-Adad’s eventually successful attempts to expand his empire to the east of the Tigris late in his reign, beginning in his twenty-fifth year (1789 BC), must have threatened the inhabitants of the central and northern Zagros (Gutians, Turukkeans). This seems borne out by a letter from Tell Shemshara (SH 827), which dates to Shamshi-Adad’s twenty-eighth year (1785 BC) or one to two years subsequent to it (Eidem 1992: 16), informing us that ‘Shuruhtuh, the king of Elam’ (i.e. the *sukkalmaḥ* Shiruk-tuh) had raised an army of

12,000 troops as a contribution towards a joint force with Assyria, Eshnunna and perhaps the Turukkeans (a Zagros people), the purpose of which was the destruction of the Gutí (Eidem 1985: 90, 1992: 18; Wu 1994: 186–7). A fragmentary alabaster stele with an Elamite inscription commemorating a long series of conquests by naming a toponym and adding the phrase ‘I took’ is probably attributable to Shiruk-tuh (Farber 1975: 78). If one of the personal names there is restored as Indassu (Wu 1994: 186), then the likelihood that the text indeed recounts Shiruk-tuh’s conquests is increased, for the Tell Shemshara letter mentioned earlier specifically says that Shiruk-tuh’s ‘intention is towards Indassu’, king of the Gutí (Eidem 1985: 90, 1992: 18, 49; cf. Wilcke 2010: 416–7). Interestingly, an **ensí** of Zabshali in the reign of Shu-Sin was also named Indasu (Kutscher 1989: 91).

A tantalizing glimpse of the status of the *sukkalmahs* at about this time is afforded by a letter (A 7537) which was probably sent by Rimsin-Enlilkurgalani, an official in the service of Rim-Sin, or Sin-muballit, Rim-Sin’s brother and viceroy of the northern portion of his kingdom (thus Wu 1994: 169; Rowton 1967: 269; and Charpin and Durand 1991: 62 believe the letter’s author to have been Rim-Sin himself), to their Larsan ambassadors at the court of the king of Eshnunna. Although badly damaged, the letter instructs the envoys to tell the king of Eshnunna that ‘our lord’ (i.e. Rim-Sin) ‘sent (envoys) to the great king of Elam’. The letter is undated but was written when Dadusha (c. 1792–1779 BC; Sasson 1995: 904; Nadali 2008: 130) was king of Eshnunna. Whether this was before or after Dadusha’s invasion of the Middle Euphrates district of Suhu c. 1783–1782 BC (Villard 1995: 881), we do not know. At any rate, Eshnunna was obviously strong at the time, but it was the ‘great king of Elam’ who would seem to have been the most important monarch of the period, and this is one of the first hints of the power of the *sukkalmahs* in the late Isin-Larsa period (Charpin and Durand 1991: 62; cf. Durand 2013).

Shamshi-Adad’s death in 1781 BC created a power vacuum that was instrumental in allowing the expanding power of the *sukkalmah* to reverse the trend of Assyrian expansion. Together, Elam, Babylon and Mari formed a triple alliance, conquering Eshnunna (Charpin and Durand 1991: 64) at the end of Zimri-Lim’s eighth year on the throne (a conquest which may have also caused the destruction of Tell Harmal, ancient Shaduppum, in modern Baghdad; Charpin 1987: 117; for the date see Durand 1994: 18) and possibly even allowed the *sukkalmah* to make Eshnunna his temporary home (van Dijk 1970: 65). That the *sukkalmah* occupied the lead position in the Elam–Babylon–Mari alliance is illustrated by letters and extracts of letters in the Mari archive sent by the *sukkalmah* to Hammurabi of Babylon (1792–1750 BC), telling him to leave the towns of Eshnunna alone or run the risk of an Elamite invasion, and enjoining him to sustain no correspondence with Zimri-Lim (1776–1761 BC), his counterpart at Mari (Durand 1994: 16; for Elamite messengers at Babylon,

see van Koppen and Lacambre 2008/9: 172). A similarly haughty tone was used in correspondence with Zimri-Lim and his ambassadors; with Atamrum, king of Allahad, who was made to journey all the way to Anshan to receive a pardon; and with Ishme-Dagan, grandson of Shamshi-Adad and a refugee at Babylon (Charpin and Durand 1991: 63; cf. Charpin 2013). Even the prince of Qatna in Syria proposed surrendering his principality to the Elamite king if the latter would take up the fight on his behalf against the kingdom of Aleppo (on possible links between Qatna and Susa see Gasche 2011). That cities in Syria should defer to the *sukkalmaḥ* is remarkable to say the least, and a sure sign of the Elamite's high standing. The Elamite king's status is further confirmed by the fact that the Syrian and Babylonian rulers, who addressed each other as 'brother', considered themselves 'sons' of the *sukkalmaḥ* (Charpin and Durand 1991: 64; Durand 2013). The reasons for this great deference – apart from the conquest of Eshnunna and the disappearance of a powerful rival with the death of Shamshi-Adad – might lie in the historical memory of the part played by Shimashki in the downfall of Ur; in the vast resources of the Iranian Plateau, human as well as natural, which helped confer legitimacy on the *sukkalmaḥ*; and in the eventual intrusion of Elam into the lucrative commercial network of Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia (Charpin and Durand 1991: 64–5). Was the latter in fact the objective of that Elamite expansion in the year Zimri-Lim 9 which brought soldiers and a governor from Elam and Eshnunna to Shubat-Enlil, Shamshi-Adad's capital (Charpin 1986)?

Whatever the material and psychological modalities of the esteem in which the *sukkalmaḥ* was held by his peers, it is obvious from the Mari texts that gift exchange between Elam and Mari went hand in hand with the exchange of envoys, and that one of the material benefits accruing to Mari for a period of about two and a half years from the beginning of Zimri-Lim 7 to the middle of year 9 was the acquisition of tin (Table 6.2). As the texts show clearly, a number of leading merchants or commercial agents were entrusted with mounting trading expeditions to Susa. In some cases, the king was personally involved (Durand 1986: 122–5; see also 1990). Zimri-Lim is known to have had at his disposal some 970 *minas* (1 *mina* = c. 500 g) of tin during a voyage which he undertook early in his eighth year and to have distributed as gifts no less than 821 *minas* (410.5 kgs) of tin to the kings of Aleppo, Hazor, Ugarit and Ursum (Joannès 1991: 68). It is possible, given the archaeological evidence for links between Susa and Bactria at this time (see later discussion), that Afghanistan was one source of Elam's tin (Potts 1997a: 269). This suggestion finds corroboration, moreover, in the fact that lapis lazuli, most probably from the Badakhshan region of Afghanistan and much sought after by Zimri-Lim, was acquired from Elam as well (Guichard 1996). On the other hand, the discovery of tin at Deh Hosein in Luristan provides us with yet another possible source much closer to Susa and far more accessible to the Elamites (Nezafati, Pernicka and Momenzadeh 2006, 2009; Helwing 2009: 211ff.).

TABLE 6.2. *Relations between Mari and Elam according to texts from Mari*

Action	Date	Agent	Reference
wine sent to Siwe-palar-huppak of Anshan and Kudu-zulush of Susa	7-i-ZL 7	—	AAM 2
silver and gold vessels sent to same	8/9-ii-ZL 7	Yatar-Addu	ARM XXV 3, 5, 6
96 minas 25 shekels of tin and 2 minas of gold brought to Mari by Iddiyatum, chief of the Mari merchants	3-vi-ZL 7	Haya-Addu	ARM XXV 301
more gifts sent to Elam	27-vi?-ZL 7	Belânunum	ARM XXIV 162
receipt of Elamite silver at Mari	25-viii-ZL 7	Ishhi-Dagan	ARM XXV 201
		Lishtamar	
dispatch of Ishhi-Dagan with 1 mina of gold to buy tin in Elam	11-ix-ZL 7	Ishhi-Dagan	ARM XXI 218
arrival of garments from Elam	2-i-ZL 8	—	AAM 2
dispatch of precious vessels to Siwe-palar-huppak and Zibir-Anshan	11-i-ZL 8	—	ARM XXIV 1
dispatch of wine to Elam	i/iii-ZL 8	Ishhi-Dagan	ARM XXIII 355
dispatch of Ishhi-Dagan with 1 mina of gold to buy tin in Elam	7-vi-ZL 8	Iddiyatum	AAM 2
announcement of arrival of envoys from Elam	ii-vi-ZL 8	Yatar-Addu,	ARM VI 19
		Inneri	
Elamite envoys in transit to Qatna pass Mari	vi?-ZL 8	Inneri,	ARM VI 19
		Kukkumanzu	
dispatch of precious vessels to Siwe-palar-huppak	2-viii-ZL 8	—	ARM XXV 2
arrival of silver from Elam	25-viii-ZL 8	Yatar-Addu	ARM XXI 201
arrival of 107 minas 45 shekels of tin	30-viii-ZL 8	Isshi-Dagan,	ARM XXV 368
		Yatar-Addu	
arrival of 107 minas 40 shekels of tin	?	Isshi-Dagan,	AAM 2
		Yatar-Addu	
dispatch of 138 minas 40 shekels of tin to Carchemish, Ursum and Aleppo	15-ix-ZL 8	—	ARM XXIII 524
dispatch of 14 talents of tin by boat to the West	8-xii-ZL 8	Yantin-Addu	ARM XXV 450
dispatch of a gift to Kudu-zulush on his capture of Eshnunna	late ZL 8	—	M. 8806
dispatch of precious vessels to Elam	iv-ZL 9	—	ARM XXIII 542
gift of precious vessels to Elamites at Aleppo		Shamash-ili	ARM XXI 251

Notes: Zimri-Lim reigned from 1776 to 1761 BC according to the middle chronology. Data from Joannès 1991.

The brief period of amicable relations just described was a result of the rapprochement between Mari and Elam that followed their conquest, in concert with Babylon, of the kingdom of Eshnunna. Until that time Eshnunna and Assur had stood between Mari and the acquisition of Elamite

tin at a good price (Joannès 1991: 68, 70). This situation, however, was soon to change (Charpin and Durand 2003). Although we do not have all of the details, it seems clear that the *sukkalmah* had no intention of sharing the advantages gained by the conquest of Eshnunna with his allies at Mari and Babylon, and when Hammurabi occupied Mankisum and Upi, two towns along the frontier of the kingdoms of Eshnunna and Babylon, he was threatened by Siwe-palar-huppak of Elam (Grillot and Glassner 1990), who claimed them for himself, ordered their liberation forthwith, and threatened to invade Hammurabi's kingdom if this were not done (Charpin and Durand 1991: 63). Simultaneously, the *sukkalmah* demanded that the king of Mari terminate his relations with Hammurabi (Charpin 1990: 109). This was apparently going too far, and it would appear that the *sukkalmah*'s dictatorial manner prompted the formation of an anti-Elamite axis consisting of Mari, Babylon and the kingdom of Aleppo (Charpin and Durand 1991: 65; 2003).

Thanks to a letter describing the oath of alliance between Zimri-Lim and Hammurabi, we have a rare window on the actual ceremony at which a formal agreement between Babylon and Mari was sealed, while the text of Hammurabi's oath of allegiance, prepared by a scribe at Mari, shows the king of Babylon committing himself in no uncertain terms: 'From now on, as long as I live, I shall indeed be the enemy of Siwepalarhuppak. I shall not let my servants or my messengers mingle with his servants, and I shall not dispatch them to him. I shall not make peace with Siwepalarhuppak without the approval of Zimri-Lim. . . . If I plan to make peace with Siwepalarhuppak, I shall certainly consult with Zimri-Lim' (Sasson 1995: 909; Charpin 1990: 110). Considering the fact that Zimri-Lim had concluded a treaty with Ibal-pi-El II, king of Eshnunna, in the fourth year of his reign, yet by his eighth year had joined the coalition with Babylon and Elam against Eshnunna, which resulted in the probable massacre of Ibal-pi-El and his entire family (Durand 1994: 18; witness the year name for Zimri-Lim 8: 'year when Zimri-Lim sent allied troops to Elam'), the king of Mari may have had a jaundiced view of alliances such as these. If not, he certainly ought to have. In the thirtieth year of his reign (1764/3 BC), Hammurabi defeated an Elamite army that included recruits from the extremity of Marhashi, Subartu, Gutium, Eshnunna and Malgium (van Dijk 1970: 65; for the year name, see van Koppen 2013: 377); the following year (1763/2 BC) he again campaigned against Eshnunna, Subartu and Gutium, and crushed Larsa as well; and the next year (1762/1 BC) Hammurabi's troops marched into Mari, defeated Zimri-Lim and destroyed his kingdom (Sasson 1995: 911). A reconstructed year formula attested at Sippar reveals that Hammurabi's grandson, Abieshuh, also campaigned victoriously against Elam, probably in the fifth or sixth year of his reign (c. 1706/5 BC; van Koppen 2013: 377–9).

Thereafter historical sources on the *sukkalmahs* become very sparse. Neither a reference to cereals, perhaps to be sold in Elam, in the twenty-sixth year of

the reign of Ammiditana of Babylon (i.e. 1658 BC) nor an allusion to Kuk-Nashur of Elam in a source from the first year of Ammisaduqa of Babylon's reign provide evidence that Elam had become tributary to the Babylonian king (Zadok 1987: 11), though the latter text provides an important synchronism (Cole and De Meyer 1999). Small numbers of Elamite slaves and soldiers (in Babylonian service) are attested in records from late Old Babylonian Sippar (De Graef 1999: 16–19). As Frans van Koppen noted, however, 'The abrupt appearance of slaves from Ešnunna and Elam in the early years of Ammišaduqa, some of them sold by the palace, must be ascribed to particular circumstances, but data to determine the nature of this situation is lacking' (van Koppen 2004: 19).

KHUZISTAN IN THE TIME OF THE *SUKKALMAHS*

At Susa, architectural remains from the period of the *sukkalmahs* have been exposed both on the Ville Royale and on the Apadana. In the course of some twenty-one seasons of excavation on the Ville Royale, R. Ghirshman revealed no fewer than fifteen major stratigraphic levels in a deposit c. 15 m deep. Levels XV to XII in Chantier A show a changing plan of domestic and public architecture and can be assigned to the *sukkalmah* period (Ghirshman 1965c, 1967b). A marked increase in sub-floor burials beneath the houses of these levels, along with newly introduced string-cut beakers, may point to an influx of Babylonians, including potters, after c. 1700 BC (Gasche 2013: 80). As Carter observed, 'a "chapel" from A XV, the large households of A XIV, the industrial area of A XIII (Ghirshman and Steve 1966: 4ff.) with its kilns (see on this level also Ghirshman 1965c), and the house of the temple prostitutes in A XII give some idea of the variety of functions within the city during the early second millennium' (Carter 1985: 47; see also Trümpelmann 1981; Ghirshman 1963, 1964c, 1965c; Ghirshman and Steve 1966). School texts found at Susa confirm that the scribal curriculum there, as in contemporary Babylonia, involved the copying of proverbs; literary works, such as the *Instructions of Shuruppak*, *Gilgamesh and Huwawa A*, the *Legend of Etana*, the Akkadian Anzu poem *Dumuzi's Dream*, the *Curse of Agade* and the *Introduction of Grain to Sumer*; disputations, such as *Datepalm and Tamarisk*; the Codex Hammurabi and Ur III royal letters; lists of signs and words, including personal and divine names; sentences; omens; and mathematical problems (Malayeri 2013: 370 and Fig. 6; cf. Dossin 1927; Van de Meer 1935; Bruins and Rutten 1961; Labat and Edzard 1974; Lambert 1975; Cavigneaux 2003; Michalowski 2006; Rutz 2006; Tanret and De Graef 2010; Tavernier 2010: 210–13; Potts 2012: 52). As Steve showed (Steve 1994: 25–7), tablets recovered in the large house on the east side of the Ville Royale excavation ('Complexe Est') in A XII and A XI can be linked to the reigns of half a dozen of the latest *sukkalmahs*, as well as to Kidinu, 'king of Susa and Anshan', the founder of the first post-*sukkalmah* dynasty at Susa,

TABLE 6.3. *References to sukkalmahs in texts from Ville Royale A, levels XI and XII*

Ville Royale A level	Text	Royal references
XI	7	Temti-halki, Kuk-Nashur (IV?)
	11	Tan-Uli, Kuk-Nashur (IV?)
	12, 19, 20	Kuk-Nashur (III?), Kudu-zulush II
XII	91	Kuk-Nashur (III? IV?)
	13	Kidinu

known as the ‘Kidinuids’ (Table 6.3; see also Chapter 7). Steve saw this as a sure sign that the first ‘kings of Susa and Anshan’ followed on directly from the last of the *sukkalmahs*. On the Apadana, excavations in what had been a huge pit dug in the Islamic era (Chantier 24) revealed a complex of rooms with many associated, intramural graves built up against a large packed mud (*pisé*) wall of Susa I date. The third phase (‘troisième état’) of this complex could be associated ceramically with levels A XV and B VI-V in Ghirshman’s Ville Royale excavations, c. 1970–1750 BC (Steve and Gasche 1990: 16, 18, 23; Ghirshman 1966: 361). Vallat suggested that the large private houses excavated by Ghirshman in levels XV–XI, which he considered ‘veritable small palaces’ (Vallat 1999a: 41, ‘grandes résidences, de véritables petits palais’), might be an indication that the palace(s) of the *sukkalmahs* themselves were located in the same area.

Building inscriptions in the form of dedications inscribed on bricks are a source of precise information on the building activities of various *sukkals* and *sukkalmahs* at Susa during the early second millennium BC. Five rulers from this period were active at the site (Table 6.4), where work was done on a ramp, a temple for Ishmekarab and a temple for Inshushinak known as the ‘Ekikuanna’ (Grillot-Susini 2001: 142; Potts 2010b: 55–6; for a year formula possibly commemorating its construction, see De Graef 2008a: 76). The goddess Ishmekarab was thought to escort the dead on their way to final judgement by Inshushinak, chief deity of Susa (Malbran-Labat 1995: 194). The building activities of the *sukkalmahs* outside of Susa are also attested by inscribed bricks (or fragments thereof) at several sites. Material attributable to Temti-Agun (De Graef 2011f) is known from the site of Choga Pahn East (Plate 6.1) in Khuzistan (Stolper and Wright 1990), while the name of Siwe-palar-huppak is attested on a brick inscription from Tal-i Malyan which tells us that ‘Siwe-palar-huppak, *sukkal* of Elam, [built] a temple’ (Stolper 1982: 60). A fragment of an alabaster socle belonging to Simut-wartash is also known from Liyan (Tol-e Peytul), near Bushehr (Plate 6.2) (Malbran-Labat 1995: 19, 217, n. 23).

There are a number of distinctive categories of material culture dating to the *sukkalmah* period which deserve particular attention (see the overview in Pittman 2003). Generally speaking, the ceramics of *sukkalmah*-era Susa continue to follow the traditional, largely Mesopotamian forms of the

TABLE 6.4. *Brick inscriptions showing the building activities of various sukkalmahs at Susa*

Ruler	Text	Reference
Kuk-Kirmash	For Inshushinak, his lord, Kuk-Kirmash, <i>sukkalmah</i> , <i>sukkal</i> of Elam, of Shimashki and of Susa, sister's son of Shilhaha, did not re-do the ancient temple but restored the Ekikuanna (with) a new wall of baked bricks; he built (it) for his life	IRS 18
Atta-hushu	Atta-hushu, the shepherd of the people of Susa, beloved servant of Inshushinak, sister's son of Shilhaha, built a ramp	IRS 10
"	Atta-hushu, the shepherd of Inshushinak, sister's son of Shilhaha, restored the ancient sanctuary; he did it for his life	IRS 11
"	Atta-hushu, the shepherd of Inshushinak, sister's son of Shilhaha, made a stele of justice; he had it erected in the marketplace. He who does not know the just price, may the Sun (Utu? Shamash? Nahhunte?) inform him	IRS 12
"	Atta-hushu, the shepherd of the people of Susa, sister's son of Shilhaha, his beloved dwelling which he de[sired? . . .]	IRS 13
Temti-Agun	Temti-Agun, <i>sukkal</i> of Susa, sister's son of Shiruktuḥ, has built a temple of baked bricks for Ishmekarab, for the life of Kutir-Nahhunte, for the life of Lila-irtash, for his own life, for the life of Temti-hisha-hanesh, for the life of his venerated?/gracious? mother Welkisha	IRS 14
Temti-halki	Temti-halki, <i>sukkalmah</i> , <i>sukkal</i> of Elam, of Shimashki and of Susa, sister's son of Shilhaha, beloved brother of Kurigugu, for his life, he has built the temple of baked bricks for Inshushinak	IRS 15
"	For Inshushinak, the great king, Temti-halki, <i>sukkalmah</i> of Elam (and) of Shimashki, sister's son of Shilhaha, his beloved brother of Kur[igugu . . .]	IRS 16
Kuk-Nashur	For Inshushinak, his lord, Kuk-Nashur, <i>sukkalmah</i> , <i>sukkal</i> of Elam, of Shimashki and of Susa, sister's son of Shilhaha, has built for his life the high temple of baked bricks of the Acropole of Inshushinak	IRS 17

Note: IRS = Malbran-Labat 1995.

preceding Shimashki phase (Carter and Stolper 1984: 148). Large vats set in the ground beneath the plastered, baked brick floor of a building in Ville Royale A XII contained in one case a set of five beakers. This was interpreted as an ancient beer keg and a set of drinking mugs (Trümpelmann 1981: 39ff.). Fine grey pottery with incised and punctate decoration, including geometric shapes and concentric circles filled with a white substance (Plate 6.3), forms a coherent group found over a large area extending from Nuzi in the northwest to Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) and Tell Hasan in the Diyala region; to Godin Tepe and Choga Gavaneh in central western Iran (Abdi and Beckman 2007; based on onomastic evidence, Gentili 2012 suggested that Choga Gavaneh was an outpost of Eshnunna); to Tello in southern Mesopotamia; to Susa in Khuzistan; and to Tal-i Malyan in Fars (Carter 1990: 96). The style of much of this material



Plate 6.1. Choga Pahn (photo: author).



Plate 6.2. Tol-e Peytul (Liyan) (photo: author).



Plate 6.3. Incised greyware vessel from Susa, excavated 1937 by Roland de Mecquenem and acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1948 by exchange for surveying equipment (ME 48.98.11, Rogers Fund, 1948; www.metmuseum.org).

is so similar that the existence of a single production centre has been suggested (Delougaz 1952: 120). Given the extensive interaction amongst the *sukkalmahs*, Eshnunna, Larsa and Babylon, the distribution of this pottery is scarcely surprising.

Vessels made of a unique bitumen compound containing ground-up calcite and quartz grains are also characteristic of Susa in the early second millennium. Naturally available at many spots around Susa and in Khuzistan generally (Connan and Deschesne 1996: 228–337; see also Marschner, Duffy and Wright 1978), bitumen was used at Susa to make a compound that was formed into bars or blocks and fired at 250°C. In this way it acquired the hardness of a stone and could be carved (Connan and Deschesne 1996: 117). Bitumen compound appeared as early as the Susa I period, but its most extensive exploitation dates to the early second millennium when a wide range of tripod vessels, bowls and cups, some with animal protomes, were fashioned from

it (Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 99–105; Connan and Deschesne 1996: 238–62). A fine bitumen compound vessel, showing a recumbent ram, was discovered in the Ishtar-Kititum temple at Tell Ischali in the Diyala (Porada 1965: 52, Fig. 33; see also Calmeyer 1995a: 445, Abb. 1) and is yet another reflection of the frequent contact which took place between the kingdom of Eshnunna and Susa during the *sukkalmaḥ* period. Further south, a fragmentary caprid head was found at Uruk (Lindemeyer and Martin 1993: Taf. 11.139A), while a nearly complete vessel was discovered at Choga Mish (Kantor 1977). Bitumen compound was frequently used to manufacture cylinder and stamp seals at Susa during the *sukkalmaḥ* period (Connan and Deschesne 1996: 289ff.).

An enormous number of both male and female terracotta figurines was found in *sukkalmaḥ*-era contexts at Susa (Spycket 1992; Azarpay 1999; Goodarzi-Tabrizi 1999). Male figurines were predominant at this time with a diverse range of types including bearded figures with horned crowns (Binder 2012), most likely representing deities; musicians holding, for example, *oud* or mandolin-like string instruments and ‘crooked pipes’, presumably wind instruments; men holding monkeys; and men, perhaps priests, grasping kids or lambs to their chest. Female figurines normally show the complete human figure nude with the arms folded across the chest and hands clasped beneath the breasts. Most of these were mould-made, as the recovery of actual moulds attests (Spycket 1992). Nude females lying on terracotta bed models are also known. These find parallels at contemporary sites in Mesopotamia, such as Isin and Tello (Trümpelmann 1981: 42–3). Females or goddesses wearing the fleecy garment known as the *kaunakes* are also depicted (Spycket 1992: 123–4; Binder 2012). Finally, Susa has yielded several examples of apparently handmade terracotta plaques with incised ‘drawings’. These may have been ‘artists’ trial pieces or studies for sculptural production’ (Winter 1996: 398).

Turning to the metalwork of the period (Tallon 1987: 341ff.), much of it derives from the poorly published and as yet largely unevaluated terracotta ‘sarcophagus’ graves excavated by R. de Mecquenem. A typologically broad range of socketed axeheads, spear and lance heads, arrowheads, and daggers were found, as well as agricultural or horticultural tools such as adzes, sickles and hoes. Vessels included open bowls, cauldrons, deep ‘buckets’, vases, and an embossed bowl. Alongside silver and gold bracelets, earrings, and beads, some of which incorporated semiprecious stones such as agates, copper or bronze jewellery was also found. Small copper figurines (c. 10–20 cm high) of horned deities, one of which was originally gold-plated and another of which is shown seated in a chariot, are also attested at this time. The use of tin-bronze, particularly favoured for weaponry, increased in the early second millennium (Tallon 1987: 351; Pigott, Rogers and Nash 2003), hardly surprising given what is known about Elam’s access to tin during this period.

One of the more important metal types found at Susa in the early second millennium is a socketed axe with a flaring blade which has come to be known

as the ‘Atta-hushu type’ axe because of the fact that one of the known examples bears the inscription: ‘Atta-hushu, sister’s son of Shilhaha, he who holds the reins (?) of the people of Susa, Ibni-Adad his servant, has given him this bronze axe’ (Sollberger and Kupper 1971: 261; for an unprovenanced bronze tankard given to Atta-hushu by Ibni-Adad, see Sollberger 1968 and Tavernier 2014: 315; parallels exist at Kamtarlan II in Luristan; see Schmidt, Van Loon and Curvers 1989: Pl. 124 j; Bellelli 2002: no. 106). Ibni-Adad was a well-known scribe whose son Rim-Adad and grandson Adad-rabi also served Atta-hushu (Vallat 1989a: 34, 1996e: 304; Grillot and Glassner 1993; Glassner 2013: 324 queries whether Ibni-Adad, father of Rim-Adad, or another Ibni-Adad was in fact Atta-hushu’s scribe). At least one terracotta figurine from Susa, although headless, shows the male figure clearly grasping an ‘Atta-hushu-type’ axe in his left hand (Spycket 1992: Pl. 92.775). Moreover, similar axes are attested on *sukkalmaḥ*-period seals and seal impressions from Susa.

The glyptic of Susa during the early second millennium is extremely heterogeneous. Nearly one hundred cylinder seals from Susa are ‘Old Babylonian’ in style, strongly reflecting Mesopotamian styles and iconography, while somewhat more than that number differ enough from the glyptic of the Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods to be classified as ‘popular Elamite’ (Amiet 1972a: 226–64). Seals attributable to this latter group are also known from Tal-i Malyan, Persepolis and the art market (Seidl 1990; Porada 1990; Neumann 2012, 2013: 88). At least two cylinder seals from Susa, one of which is heavily worn, are ‘Cappadocian’. These show clear affinities to glyptic from level 1b at Kültepe (ancient Kanesh), while several seal impressions and at least one seal are Syrian in origin. The historical ties between Mari and the *sukkalmaḥ*s, and the activities of the latter in northern Syria discussed earlier, undoubtedly provide the context for the appearance of such material at Susa (Amiet 1985a: 11; see also 1972a: 212; Neumann 2013: 86).

Susa is thought to have covered an area of *c.* 85 ha by the *sukkalmaḥ* period, when roughly twenty new villages were founded as well (Carter and Stolper 1984: 150). Settlement, though sparser, is also attested at this time in some of the adjacent valley systems to the east, including the Mianab plain (Moghaddam and Miri 2003: 102, 2007: 35–8), Ram Hormuz and Izeh (Bayani 1979: 99–103), while *sukkalmaḥ*-period levels have been excavated at Tepe Farukhabad in the Deh Luran plain to the north and identified through surface survey at five other sites nearby, including Tepe Musiyan (Wright 1981; Carter 1981; Wright and Neely 2010: 14–15).

DILMUN, MAGAN, BACTRIA AND ELAM

From the time of the *sukkalmaḥ*s comes a growing body of evidence, both epigraphic and archaeological, reflecting ties between Susa, Elam and Anshan,

the regions bordering the Persian Gulf and Bactria (northern Afghanistan/southern Uzbekistan).

I/Enzag/k, the chief deity of Dilmun – a name denominating Bahrain and the adjacent mainland of what is today eastern Saudi Arabia (Potts 1990b) – was an epithet of Inshushinak (Vallat 1997d, 2004a: 181–2, correcting 1983a: 93). Contact with Dilmun is demonstrated by four ‘classic’ Dilmun stamp seals made of soft-stone found at Susa; six imitation Dilmun stamp seals made of bitumen compound which are probably local copies of actual Dilmun-style seals (Connan and Deschesne 1996: 291–2, nos. 299–304); two cylinder seals reminiscent both in iconography and execution of Dilmun stamp seals; a clay sealing with the impression of a Dilmun seal; and a tablet bearing the impression of a Dilmun seal (Amiet 1986f: 265–8; Peyronel 2007: 433). These last two finds are particularly interesting, for while the sealing may have come off a commodity sealed in Dilmun and shipped to Susa, the tablet is a contract resembling others from Susa (for which see e.g. Oers 2010), which concerns three brothers (Elamatum, A’abba and Milki-El son of Tem-Enzag) who lent 10 *minas* of copper to one Ekiba, about to depart on a business trip, against a guarantee by one Milku-danum (Lambert 1976: 71). Why the tablet, probably written at Susa, was sealed using a Dilmun seal is suggested by Milki-El’s father’s theophoric name, Tem-Enzag, which contains in slightly variant form the name of the chief deity of Dilmun, I/Enzag/k. Nor is this the only written source for such a link with Dilmun, for another account text found in 1965–6 in ‘Chantier A’ and probably belonging to a small archive dating to the reign of the *sukkalmah* Kutir-Nahhunte I records the delivery of 17.5 *minas* of silver ‘brought by the Dilmunite’ (De Meyer 1966: 117). If the fragmentary Akkadian inscription (Plate 6.4, Figure 6.1) found in 1913 at Liyan near Bushehr, on the Persian Gulf, by M. Pézard which names Simut-wartash is indeed attributable to the *sukkal* of this name, son of Shiruktuh (Vallat 1984a: 258; Carter and Stolper 1984: 31; on Shiruktuh see De Graef 2011b), then this might suggest that the control of the *sukkalmahs* was firmly established



Plate 6.4. The Simut-Wartash inscription from Liyan (after Pézard 1914: Pl. 13.4).

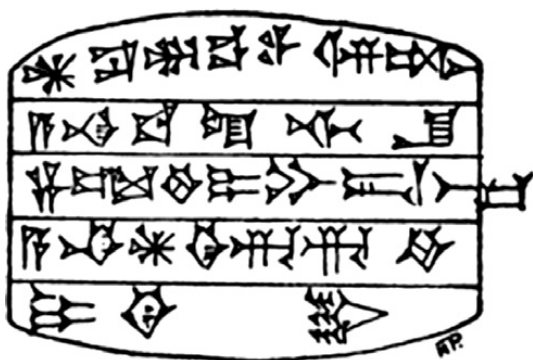


Figure 6.1. Drawing of the Simut-Wartash inscription from Liyan (after Pézard 1914: 91).

along the Persian Gulf coast. Elamite links with Dilmun may have proceeded via Fars just as easily as up the Persian Gulf and Karkheh river.

Soft-stone vessels from the Oman peninsula (ancient Magan) certainly reached southwestern Iran in the early second millennium BC. Although the number of extant examples is small, a characteristic lid with dotted circle decoration is known from the foundation deposit of the Inshushinak temple on the Acropole at Susa (de Miroschedji 1973: Pl. 7e; Häser 1988: Abb. 42.531), while a similar lid and a large fragment of a hole-mouth vessel were discovered by M. Pézard during his excavations at Liyan in 1913 (Häser 1988: 100). As with the alabaster ‘booty of Magan’ discussed in Chapter 4, it is most likely that these soft-stone vessels were merely containers for substances of high value, perhaps aromatics or unguents. Whether copper from Magan reached Susa at this time, as it had done in the late Early Dynastic era (see Chapter 4), we do not know.

Bactria was the source of a distinctive group of square-based, soft-stone flasks found at Susa (Amiet 1980a), as well as a small number of pieces of imported stone statuary, an inlaid eagle pendant, a stone column, and a compartmented bronze stamp seal (Amiet 1986c: Figs. 97, 106, 108). Objects like these may have been brought to Susa as a by-product of the much more important trade in tin discussed previously.

SITES IN FARS

In Chapter 5 it was noted that the Kaftari period at Tal-i Malyan overlapped with the late Akkadian, Ur III, Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian periods, or the Shimashki and *sukkalmaḥ* periods at Susa. For this reason it is unnecessary to again review the situation there. Two rock reliefs datable to this period have been located in Fars, and these show strong iconographic links to some of the popular Elamite glyptic mentioned earlier.

The best preserved of the two reliefs is at Kurangun (Herzfeld 1926; Seidl 1986; Vanden Berghe 1986a; Kleiss 1993; Potts 2004b, 2013a; Binder 2013;



Plate 6.5. The rock relief at Kurangun (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

Álvarez-Mon 2014), roughly halfway between Bishapur and Behbahan in western Fars (Plates 6.5–6.8, Figure 6.2). The left-hand and right-hand panels are of much later, Neo-Elamite date (eighth/seventh centuries BC). The central panel shows a god with horned crown seated on a coiled serpent throne (Spycket 2000: 654). Behind him sits a goddess, likewise crowned, wearing the *kaunakes*. Each holds a pair of serpents in the left hand. In his right hand the god grasps a ‘flowing vase’ out of which streams of water flow towards the first of three worshippers who flank the divine pair on either side. The identification of the deities on the relief is a matter for speculation. It has been suggested that they represent Inshushinak and Napirisha, the ‘divine Anshanite couple’ *par excellence* (Vanden Berghe 1986a: 159 with further refs.; cf. Carter 1989: 147, 2014: 44; Potts 2004b; Álvarez-Mon 2014).

The representation of a god seated on a serpent throne found in the central panel at Kurangun is also attested on a number of seal impressions belonging to



Plate 6.6. Close-up of the central panel at Kurangun (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

the ‘popular Elamite’ group (Amiet 1980c: 48–9; see also de Miroschedji 1981a; Trokay 1991; Neumann 2012), some of which were made by seals belonging to specific *sukkalmahs* or other royalty. These include the seals of ‘Sirahupitir, the scribe, son of Inzuzu, servant of Atta-hushu’ used on two tablets from Susa (Amiet 1972a: 296, no. 2327); Tetep-mada, ‘shepherd of Susa, sister’s son of Shilhaha’ (Amiet 1972a: 260, no. 2016); Kuk-Nashur II, ‘*sukkal* of Susa, sister’s son of Temti-Agun’ (Amiet 1972a: 260, no. 2015; see also Steve 1994: 26; Vallat 1997c, 2007); and Tan-Uli, ‘*sukkalmaḥ*, *sukkal* of Elam and Shimashki, sister’s son of Shilhaha’ (Amiet 1972a: 297, no. 2330; Harper et al. 1992: 117; Vallat 1989c). The serpent throne also appears on several more seals from Susa which cannot be attributed to a specific owner (e.g. Amiet 1972a: 260, no. 2017; 1994c: Fig. 5), as well as on a seal impression from Haft Tepe in Khuzistan (de Miroschedji 1981a: 15; Harper et al. 1992: 117). The glyptic evidence suggests a date in the *sukkalmaḥ* period for the Kurangun relief (e.g. Amiet 1992b: 259; see also Vanden Berghe 1983: 114, 1986a: 162, n. 23; Seidl 1986; Carter 1989: 145; see now Binder 2013 for a detailed analysis of the glyptic parallels pointing to a late date). Interestingly, recent excavations (see Chapter 7) confirm the hitherto unattested presence of *sukkalmaḥ*-era occupation of seventeenth and sixteenth century BC date at Haft Tepe (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2014a: 90–8, Abb. 11–13), thus strengthening the parallels between Kurangun and Haft Tepe’s glyptic repertoire.



Plate 6.7. The seated deity on a snake throne at Kurangun (photo: Dr. Wouter Henkelman).

A badly preserved remnant of a second relief, located at Naqsh-e Rostam near Persepolis, also shows two seated deities, one of whom sits on a serpent throne, as well as a standing male figure (Plate 6.9, Figure 6.3). Unfortunately, the carving of a later Sasanian relief of Bahram II (AD 246–93) destroyed most of the earlier Elamite relief (Porada 1965: 67; Vanden Berghe 1983: 29; Carter 2014: 46).



Plate 6.8. Attendant figures in procession at Kurangun (photo: Dr. Wouter Henkelman).

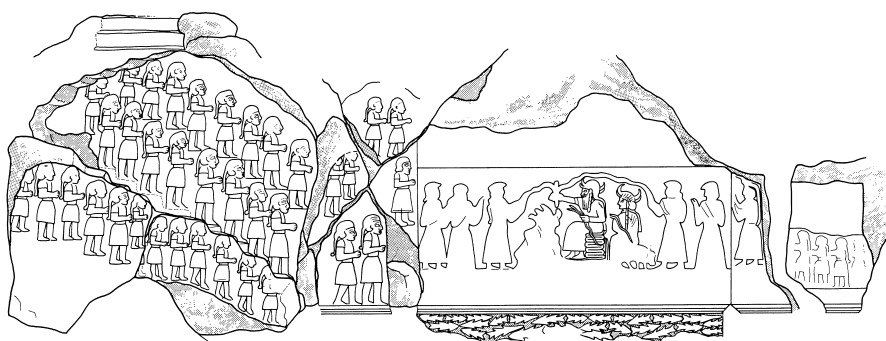


Figure 6.2. The Kurangun relief (drawing: Erik Smekens, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

CONCLUSION

The prestige and influence of the *sukkalmaḥ* during the early second millennium undoubtedly represent the apogee of Elamite political influence in Western Asia. Never before had Elamite political power been projected so far to the west, and it is unlikely that it had ever been projected equally far to the east. At no later period did any Elamite monarch enjoy a role comparable to that played by the *sukkalmaḥ* in the balance of power amongst Babylonia, Assyria, Eshnunna and Mari. As in the preceding Shimashki period, it is difficult to find physical manifestations in the archaeological record of Susa, Tal-i Malyan or Tepe Farukhabad which corroborate the enormous influence of Elam at this time.

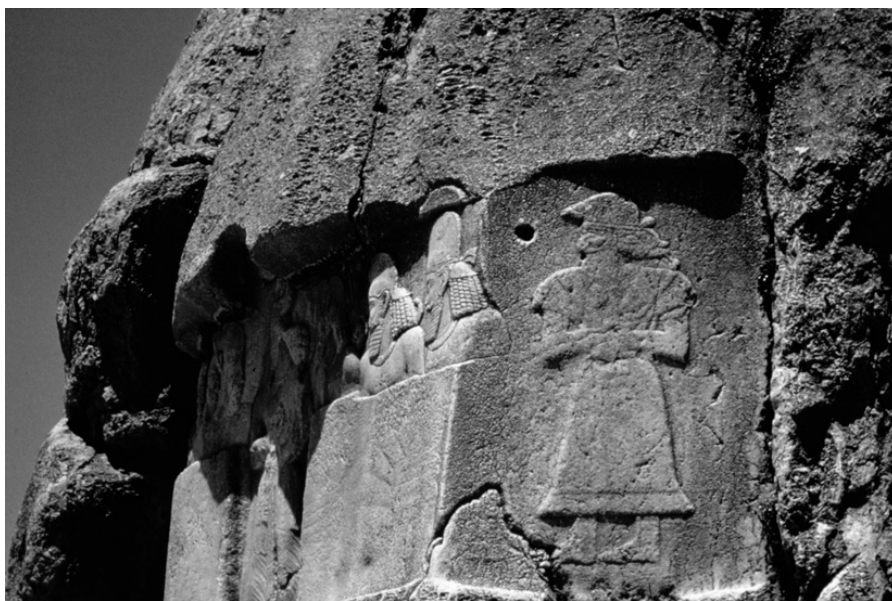


Plate 6.9. Relief of Bahram II at Naqsh-i Rostam overcutting an earlier Elamite relief (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).



Figure 6.3. Naqsh-i Rostam II, showing a scene of homage being paid to Bahram II, overcut on top of and partially obscuring an older Elamite relief (drawing: Erik Smekens, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

During the early second millennium BC tin was probably the most important exotic commodity in circulation in Western Asia. Assur traded it to the cities of Anatolia, as the Old Assyrian caravan texts make clear, and the king of Mari, as we have seen, distributed it to his clients further west

(Kuhrt 1995: 94, 101 with extensive bibliography). The tantalizing references to tin from Elam in the Mari letters suggest that the power of the *sukkalmah*, while not exclusively based on the ownership of this scarce resource, may have rested to a not inconsiderable extent on an ability to control the flow of tin to the West.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
1932–1906 BC	Susa subjugated by Gungunum of Larsa?	Anshan and Pashime sacked by Gungunum	eclipse of Isin and rise of Larsa under Gungunum	end of Shimashkian ‘independence’?
1900–1600 BC	Susa part of a polity governed by a ruler with the title <i>sukkalmah</i> ; continued use of Akkadian; maritime links to Dilmun and Magan (Bahrain and Oman); major occupation levels at Susa, building activities of <i>sukkalmahs</i> attested at Susa, Choga Pahn East, Liyan; strong Mesopotamian influence in glyptic at Susa; occupation at other sites such as Tepe Farukhabad	Anshan and Shimashki part of the <i>sukkalmah</i> ’s kingdom; later Kaftari period occupation at Malyan, building activity by Siwe-palar-huppak; rock reliefs at Kurangun and Naqsh-e Rostam	rival kingdoms of Isin, Larsa, Babylon, Assyria, Mari, etc.; recognition of authority of Elamite <i>sukkalmah</i> ; Elamite conquest of Larsa; Elamite–Amorite connections in east Tigris region; eventual defeat of Elam by Hammurabi c. 1764/3 BC	Susa, Anshan, Shimashki, together constitute most powerful ‘Elamite’ entity in history; Elam provides tin for Mari, implying strong links further east

CHAPTER 7

THE KINGDOM OF SUSA AND ANSHAN

The period of the *sukkalmahs* was followed by the Middle Elamite period. While details of the transition between these two eras are lacking, the onset of the Middle Elamite period is usually put at *c.* 1500 BC, its end at *c.* 1100 BC. Three phases have been distinguished, each marked by a different dynasty named after its founder or most significant early leader (thus the Kidinuids, Igihalkids and Shutrukids). This is the period when the title ‘king of Susa and Anshan’, as it is expressed in Akkadian texts, or ‘king of Anshan and Susa’, according to the usage of the Elamite sources, is attested.

The first phase of this period (Middle Elamite I, *c.* 1500–1400 BC) is notable not only for the wealth of evidence from Susa but for the expansion of an important site at Haft Tepe by a king named Tepti-ahar (De Graef 2011g). The second phase (Middle Elamite II, *c.* 1400–1200 BC) is characterized by intermarriage with the royal family of the contemporary Kassite dynasty in Babylonia. This was also the time when one of the Middle Elamite II period’s most important rulers, Untash-Napirisha, founded a monumental new site at Choga Zanbil, ancient Al Untash-Napirisha, complete with a stepped temple tower or *ziggurat*, where the deities of the highlands were worshipped alongside those of the lowlands. Susa, too, provides abundant evidence of occupation at this time. The third phase (Middle Elamite III, *c.* 1200–1100 BC) saw the overthrow of the Kassites by one of the most belligerent figures in Elamite history, Shutruk-Nahhunte. It was he, following his conquest of southern Mesopotamia, who brought to Susa such significant monuments as the stele bearing the inscribed law code of Hammurabi, the victory stele of the Old Akkadian king Naram-Sin, and many other pieces of Mesopotamian statuary, booty taken during his victorious campaign in 1158 BC. Shutruk-Nahhunte’s son and successor, Kutir-Nahhunte, meted out even more punishment to his western neighbours, removing the all-important cult statue of Marduk from his temple at Babylon. Likewise Kutir-Nahhunte’s

successor, Shilhak-Inshushinak, campaigned widely, particularly in eastern and northeastern Mesopotamia.

Important archaeological finds from this latest phase of the Middle Elamite era have been recovered at Tal-i Malyan in Fars, and rock reliefs near Izeh add yet another dimension to our understanding of political fragmentation and religious practice in this period. A number of significant sites, as yet unexcavated, are also known in Fars and Khuzistan where bricks inscribed in Elamite, often mentioning shrines to particular deities, have been found.

If the Mesopotamian literary tradition is to be believed, the Middle Elamite period was brought to a close by Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 BC), the fourth king of the southern Babylonian Dynasty of the Sealand (a term which refers to the southern marshes of Iraq) who is said to have avenged Kutir-Nahhunte's removal of the statue of Marduk by conquering Elam. Thus we reach the end of an important era in Elamite history, one in which the unity of highland Anshan and lowland Susa was expressed in the titulature of its kings, and revealed in a wealth of archaeological remains from sites like Tal-i Malyan, Kul-e Farah, Choga Zanbil, Haft Tepe and Susa. It is a period from which much information on Elamite religion has come down to us (for overviews see Vallat 1997g, 2002–3; Quintana 2009; Potts 2010b), and one in which Elam figured prominently in political affairs which transcended the boundaries of modern Iran.

INTRODUCTION

Due to a paucity of synchronisms between the later *sukkalmaḥs* and Babylonian historical chronology, as well as a dearth of radiocarbon dates, it has long proven difficult to fix the end of the *sukkalmaḥ* period and the beginning of what is generally referred to as the Middle Elamite era. Estimates have run the gamut from c. 1600/1500 to 1300/1200 BC. Stolper argued that, given the existence of at least five rulers following Kuk-Nashur II, the contemporary of Ammisaduqa of Babylon (1646–1626 BC), 'The *sukkalmaḥ* dynasty therefore certainly lasted through the seventeenth, probably well into the sixteenth, and possibly as late as the early fifteenth century BC' (Carter and Stolper 1984: 32; see in general Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2009). M.-J. Steve reviewed the evidence in the context of his analysis of the epigraphic evidence from Ville Royale A XII, as discussed in the [previous chapter](#), stressing the following three points (Steve 1994: 28):

1. Given the synchronism between Ammisaduqa and Kuk-Nashur II (Vallat 1993b), the midpoint of the latter's reign might be reasonably placed around 1620 BC.
2. Following Kuk-Nashur, one must account for at least four rulers, Kuduzulush II, Tan-Uli, Temti-halki and Kuk-Nashur III, before the advent of Kidinu and a new dynasty (Middle Elamite I).
3. One might therefore place the last of the *sukkalmaḥs* between 1620 and 1500 BC.

As noted in [Chapter 6](#), Ville Royale A XII contained tablets impressed with the seal of Kuk-Nashur III (or IV?), the iconography of which is extremely reminiscent of that found on the seal of another late *sukkalmaḥ*, Tan-Uli. Moreover, the same level produced a text sealed with the cylinder of Kidinu, first ‘king of Susa and Anshan’ and founder of a new, post-*sukkalmaḥ* dynasty. Thus, whatever his absolute dates may be, it is clear that, barring severe stratigraphic perturbation in A XII, no time lag of any consequence intervened between the last *sukkalmaḥ* and the first Middle Elamite ruler. Nevertheless, differences in titulature clearly suggest that a major dynastic change occurred as well as a shift, if not a rupture, in Elamite history.

To what extent these changes did or did not have something to do with events in the wider world is, however, unclear. Some scholars have pointed to the rise of the kingdom of Mittani under Shaushtatar in the period *c.* 1500–1450 BC, and to his conquest of Assyria and Babylonia (Steve, Gasche and De Meyer 1980: 91), but just how this may have impacted on the late *sukkalmaḥ*s is difficult to assess. A tempting if obscure historical correlation is suggested by the Babylonian *Chronicle of Early Kings* which reports that Ea-gamil, eleventh and last king of the First Dynasty of the Sealand, went to Elam (Brinkman 1968: 150), after which Ulam-Burash (Ulam-Buriash), brother of the Kassite king Kashtiliashu, ‘conquered the Sealand and became its overlord’ (Brinkman 1976: 318). The term ‘Sealand’ denoted appropriately enough that region of southernmost Mesopotamia largely consisting of the marshy area south of Ur (Brinkman 1993a). Zadok assumed that Ea-gamil in fact fled in the wake of a Kassite conquest (Zadok 1987: 13), whereas the *Chronicle* makes it clear that the conquest only followed Ea-gamil’s departure. In either case, it is interesting to note that the fourth and fifth kings of the First Dynasty of the Sealand – Ishkibal and Shushshi – had names which ‘are perhaps explicable in Elamite terms’ (Zadok 1987: 25, n. 51). While the notion of a link between the Sealand dynasty and one or more noble Elamite families is intriguing, it is premature to speculate on how such a link, and Ea-gamil’s transferral to Elam, might have affected the last of the *sukkalmaḥ*s. A chronological correlation, while plausible, is far from certain.

Based on the broad lines of dynastic succession, the Middle Elamite period may be divided into three phases: Middle Elamite I (*c.* 1500–1400 BC), whose rulers are sometimes called the ‘Kidinuids’ after the first ruler of the group, Kidinu; Middle Elamite II (*c.* 1400–1200 BC), generally referred to as the period of the ‘Igi-halkids’ after Igi-halki, founder of a dynastic line of ten rulers; and Middle Elamite III (*c.* 1200–1100 BC), the time of the ‘Shutrukids’, named after one of the most powerful of the dynasty’s early rulers, Shutruk-Nahhunte I (Vallat 1994: 13–14).

MIDDLE ELAMITE I (*c.* 1500–1400 BC)

The first real dynasty assigned to the Middle Elamite period began with Igi-halki, *c.* 1400 BC (Middle Elamite II), but before him we must place five rulers, none of

whom can with certainty be shown to have been related. All but one of these rulers used the title ‘king of Susa and Anzan’, the latter a variant of Anshan. Obviously this title recalls that of the Shimashkian */sukkalmaḥ* Ebarat who styled himself ‘king of Anshan and Susa’. It is unclear whether the transposition of the two toponyms in the title is significant. E. Quintana suggested that kings styled ‘king of Susa and Anshan’ ruled only in Susa, while those styled ‘king of Anshan and Susa’, ruled only at Anshan (Quintana 1996c), but Vallat showed that this was not the case, pointing out that the title ‘king of Susa and Anshan’ is attested only in Akkadian texts, while ‘king of Anshan and Susa’ is confined exclusively to Elamite texts, as if the authors of these inscriptions were appealing to and perhaps even flattering the Akkadian and Elamite speakers of their realms, respectively, reversing the order of the linguistically different areas depending on the intended audience (Vallat 1997b). Be that as it may, Anshan was certainly of less importance during this period than Susa and other sites in Khuzistan. The order of the five ‘Kidinuids’ is as uncertain as their filiation, but we shall briefly introduce them, beginning with their namesake, in the order suggested by F. Vallat (Vallat 1994: 13; for an alternative arrangement, see Steve, Gasche and De Meyer 1980: 78).

Kidinu is known only from the tablet (TS.XII.13) mentioned earlier which bore the impression of his cylinder seal, identifying him as ‘Kidinu, king of Susa and Anzan, son of Adad-sharru-rabu (^dIM.SAR.GAL), servant of his god, Kirwashir’ (Amiet 1980c: 139, no. 11). To date, Kidinu’s seal inscription appears to be the earliest attestation of the use of the logogram EŠŠANA for the Akkadian word *šarru* (i.e. king) (Steve et al. 1980: 93).

Tan-Ruhurater II obviously shared his name with the eighth ruler of Shimashki (see Chapter 5). He, too, is known only from a cylinder seal in a private collection, the legend of which closely resembles that of Kidinu in calling him ‘king of Susa and Anzan’ (Steve et al. 1980: 83, 95, Pl. IV.2).

Shalla is mentioned without title in a group of approximately twelve texts originally alleged to have come from Malamir to the east of Susiana (note, however, the scepticism of Reiner 1963) but more likely, on prosopographic grounds, to derive from Haft Tepe (Stolper 1987–90: 280; Glassner 1991: 117, disagreed), and is otherwise known only from a single legal text found at Susa where a wish for his prosperity is expressed (Glassner 1991: 117; on the standard prayer for a long and prosperous reign, see Tourovets 2005). Despite the absence of a royal title, most scholars recognize Shalla as a likely ‘king of Susa’ because of the fact that his name is invoked in an oath used in legal texts alongside Inshushinak, in precisely the same way as the name of the ‘king of Susa’ is (Steve et al. 1980: 96). Shalla may have been ‘an immediate predecessor of Tepti-ahar’ (Stolper 1987–90: 280; Steve et al. 1980: 96).

Tepti-ahar and Inshushinak-shar-ilani (Akkadian; or Inshushinak-sunkir-nappir in Elamite) have been known from inscribed bricks found at Susa since the early twentieth century. A sale text from Susa (MDP 23: 248, no. 18) contains the oath ‘may Inshushinak live for ever, may Tepti-ahar prosper’



Plate 7.1. Fragmentary seal impression (H.T.S. 153b) of Tepti-ahar from Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

(Reiner 1973b: 94). Tepti-ahar is also mentioned on approximately fifty-five tablets from the site of Haft Tepe, 10 km east-southeast of Susa, where the impressions of his cylinder seal (Plate 7.1) call him ‘king of Susa and Anzan, servant of Kirwashir and Inshushinak’ (Glassner 1991: 111), and on a stele found there which identifies him simply as ‘king’ (Reiner 1973b: 89, l. 27). Finally, Tepti-ahar is mentioned on a single ‘Malamir’ text (Scheil 1902: 191, no. 15; 1930: 76; Stolper 1987–90: 280; Glassner 1991: 117), in which the parties to a sale ‘took an oath by Tepti-ahar and Inshushinak’ (Reiner 1973b: 94).

As for Inshushinak-shar-ilani, he has long been known from some two dozen inscribed bricks found at Susa which report that, having entered the temple of Inshushinak and seen that the construction of his *sukkalmaḥ* predecessor, Tepti-halki (De Graef 2011h), was collapsing, ‘he removed that which was (made) of dried bricks and built beside it (i.e. replaced it) in baked bricks’ (Malbran-Labat 1995: 56). Unlike Tepti-ahar, Inshushinak-shar-ilani is called simply ‘king of Susa’, the same title by which he is identified in three seal impressions from Haft Tepe made with a cylinder seal belonging to one Adad-erish, identified as ‘servant of Inshushinak-shar-ilani, king of Susa’ (Herrero and Glassner 1990: 6–7; Glassner 1991: 111; Amiet 1996: 140).

Two points are particularly important about Tepti-ahar and his reign, the first chronological, the second culture-historical. To begin with the

chronological issue, one of the administrative texts from Haft Tepe is dated ‘year when the king expelled Kadashman-^dKUR.GAL’. In publishing this, P. Herrero suggested that ^dKUR.GAL should be read ‘Enlil’; hence, the individual in question was the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil I, who reigned from 1374 or earlier to 1360 BC (Herrero 1976: 102, no. 6/11–12). Cole and De Meyer read the name as Kadashman-Harbe (Cole and De Meyer 1999; Vallat 2000b: 11). Obviously, if Herrero’s reading is correct, it establishes an important synchronism for anchoring at least part of the Middle Elamite I period, and many scholars have embraced this possibility (e.g. Carter and Stolper 1984: 34; Amiet 1985a: 11; Gassan 1986: 189; Zadok 1987: 13; Negahban 1991: 108; Spycket 1992: 231, n. 429; Malbran-Labat 1995: 53; Vallat 2000b). However, some forty years ago J.A. Brinkman cast doubt on the validity of reading ^dKUR.GAL as Enlil, noting that it most often seemed to refer to the deity Amurru in Kassite period texts (Brinkman 1976: 144–5), and this has led many to reject the posited synchronism with Kadashman-Enlil I (e.g. Steve et al. 1980: 97, n. 57; Seidl 1990: 130; Amiet 1996: 135; Cole and De Meyer 1999; Glassner 1991: 119 was undecided), which, in any case, seems far too late by roughly a century. The absence of a royal title for Kadashman-^dKUR.GAL is also suspicious, and casts further doubt on his identification with Kadashman-Enlil I (Glassner 2000 retained the identification of ^dKUR.GAL with Enlil at Haft Tepe).

The culture-historical point of greatest significance in relation to Tepti-ahar is his re-foundation of the settlement and religious/mortuary complex at Haft Tepe (some *sukkalmaḥ*-era occupation of the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC has been found in Bauschicht I; see e.g. Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Prechel and Vahidzadeh 2010; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2014a: 90–8, Abb. 11–13; König 2014: 51), and the relationship of this act to the ongoing existence of Susa and Tal-i Malyan. As indicated earlier, there is nothing to suggest even a brief hiatus between the last *sukkalmaḥ*s and the reign of Kidinu, and certainly the Ville Royale continued to be occupied into the Middle Elamite II period. It is important to stress, however, that the texts from Ville Royale A XI as well as the inscribed bricks of Inshushinak-shar-ilani and Tepti-ahar from Susa show very clear graphic similarities with the ‘Malamir’ texts and the tablets from Haft Tepe, where, as noted previously, Tepti-ahar figures prominently (Steve et al. 1980: 98–9; some important omen texts found in a pit dug into A XII ‘were probably written . . . in the century before the time of the Haft Tepe texts’; see Biggs and Stolper 1983: 160). Moreover, the few human figurines found at Haft Tepe (Negahban 1991: Pls. 25–6; see also Van den Boorn, Houtkamp and Verhart 1989: Pl. III.5) are said to be ‘identical’ to those from Ville Royale A XII and XI at Susa (Spycket 1992: 231). Thus, in assessing the political and social situation at Susa in the Middle Elamite I period, it is clear that the site was certainly occupied, and that it figured in the titulature of Tepti-ahar. On the other hand, a major effort seems to have been expended at Haft Tepe (see later discussion).

At the same time, it would appear that there was no substantial settlement in the Kur River basin between the end of the Kaftari period (*c.* 1600 BC) and the Middle Elamite II phase, although W.M. Sumner suggested that evidence of early ‘Qaleh’ occupation (*c.* 1600–1350 BC), named after the type site excavated by L. Vanden Berghe (Haerinck and Overlaet 2003), might be attested ‘in the upper levels at GHI, ABC, TT-F, and possibly XX’, mainly in the north-west part of the site (Sumner 1988b: 316). Both ceramic parallels to Susa and a series of radiocarbon dates suggest, however, that the first major post-Kaftari construction at Tal-i Malyan did not occur until the second half of the fourteenth century BC. All of this implies that the use of the title ‘king of Susa and Anzan’ in the Middle Elamite I (and II, discussed later) phase was conventional and anachronistic, much as the title ‘king of Kish’ was used by later Old Babylonian rulers or ‘king of Ur’ was used by the kings of Isin and Larsa (Hallo 1957: 17, 26). These titles might imply control over Ur or Kish, and the same may have been true of Susa and Anshan, but the cities in question need not have been capital cities any longer. Certainly it would seem that Tepti-ahar’s residence may well have been Haft Tepe, where he was buried, rather than Susa.

MIDDLE ELAMITE I SETTLEMENT AT SUSAS AND MINOR SITES IN KHUZISTAN

As noted previously, there is evidence of Middle Elamite I occupation at Susa in various areas. In Ville Royale A XI, an extensive area of domestic houses (Steve et al. 1980: Fig. 8) was excavated as well as a large, almost square building (‘Building T’) which may have been founded late in the preceding period represented by A XII (Spycket 1992: 157). Along with quantities of pottery, roughly fifty fragments of nude female figurines were found in Building T. In each case, the female has an elaborate coiffure and stands erect with the hands cupping each breast (e.g. Spycket 1992: no. 953). Terracotta figurines depicting clothed females with their hands clasped beneath their breasts, as well as figurines showing clothed females suckling an infant at the left breast, were also found in A XI (Spycket 1992: 182, 187). Male figurines of musicians playing a hand-held string instrument (‘lutenists’) and terracotta model beds depicting naked couples (male and female) on the upper surface, were also found in A XI (Spycket 1992: 196, 209).

In 1975 a small sounding adjacent to Ghirshman’s Ville Royale excavation, known as Ville Royale II, was opened by Pierre de Miroschedji. Levels 12 and 13 in this area contained little mudbrick architecture or pottery (de Miroschedji 1978: Fig. 50, 1981b: 36) but are probably contemporary with Middle Elamite I (Steve et al. 1980: 76–7, Fig. 13). Glyptic evidence from secure contexts that can be assigned to A XI (as opposed to graves or pits dug into it) was rare but at least one faience cylinder seal (Amiet 1980c: 142, no. 17) showing linear,

geometric design has close parallels in the large corpus of Middle Elamite material from Choga Zanbil.

According to a series of eighteen fragmentary bricks describing in some detail a rite to be carried out by four female guardians of the temple, Tepti-ahar, who calls himself ‘king of Susa’, built a baked brick structure at Susa called the É.DÙ.A and dedicated it to Inshushinak (Malbran-Labat 1995: 57). Although somewhat cryptic, the text reads as follows: ‘(1) Tepti-ahar, king of Susa [made?] a statue of himself and of his servant girls to whom he is gracious, and interceding female figures (2) who would intercede for him and for his servant girls to whom he is gracious; he built a house of baked bricks (3) and gave it to his lord Inshushinak. May Inshushinak show him favor as long as he lives! (4) When night falls, four women of the guardians of the house . . . they must not act in concert (5) to peel off the gold; their garments should be fastened with strings; they should come in and (6) sleep at the feet of the *lamassu*- [protective genius] and the *karibu*-figures; they should. . .’ (Reiner 1973b: 95). Because of the similarity of this text to another on a stele recovered at Haft Tepe (discussed later), E. Reiner suggested that they may both refer to the same building, which she describes, paraphrasing the original building inscription as ‘constructed of baked bricks, under Tepti-ahar, and . . . dedicated to Inshushinak; it housed the statue of Tepti-ahar and the statues of his “servant girls”, as well as statues of protective deities (*lamassati*) whose role was to invoke blessings upon the king and the “servant girls”. As the stele specifies funerary offerings to be made [see below], the “servant girls” may refer to dead female members of Tepti-ahar’s family’ (Reiner 1973b: 96). Reiner’s belief that the building mentioned in the text of the inscribed bricks from Susa is in fact the structure which E.O. Negahban identified as Tepti-ahar’s tomb at Haft Tepe is discussed later.

Occupation at Tepe Farukhabad in the Deh Luran plain continued from the preceding *sukkalmah* period, and at least some of the pottery recovered there finds parallels in the Ville Royale A XIII–XI and Haft Tepe assemblages (Carter 1981: 214; Wright and Neely 2010: 14–15). A small sounding by Robert Schacht at Tepe Sharafabad (Schacht 1975) produced both ceramics and female figurines comparable in style to the material of A XI at Susa (Spycket 1992: 182), while some of the finds from survey and test excavations at and around Izeh (Sajjidi and Wright 1979: 107; Bayani 1979) appear to be contemporary as well.

Since most Middle Elamite ceramic indicators cannot be distinguished as Middle Elamite I, II or III, it is impossible to assess overall settlement trends in Khuzistan at the level of the periodization adopted here. This, combined with an absence of epigraphic evidence, has led to the conflicting periodizations found in the literature for the late second millennium assemblages of Susa. Nevertheless, it is certainly true in broad terms that Susa’s pre-eminence seems to have been on the wane as a number of other sites in Susiana (e.g. KS-3, 7, 96,

120, 172 and 233) grew in size. New settlements were founded in the northwest at Tepe Goughan and Tepe Patak, and sites such as Tol-e Bormi and Tal-i Ghazir in the Ram Hormuz region southeast of Susa, and KS 2X near Ahwaz, assumed greater importance vis-à-vis the old centre of Susa. No ‘new’ site, however, rivalled Haft Tepe in significance, although excavations at any one of the sites just mentioned could radically alter this image.

HAFT TEPE

Haft Tepe is the name given to a cluster of seven mounds ([Plate 7.2](#)) spread over an area of at least 30 ha (Carter and Stolper 1984: 158) which is located c. 10 km east-southeast of Susa. First described in 1908 by Jacques de Morgan, the site was excavated during the course of fourteen seasons conducted between 1965 and 1978 by E.O. Negahban (Negahban 1984, 1990, 1991, 1994; Carter 1999) and more recently by B. Mofidi-Nasrabadi (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2003–4, 2011a, b, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Mofidi-Nasrabadi, Prechel and Vahidzadeh 2010; Mohaseb and Mashkour 2012; Niebel 2012; König 2014). Negahban’s excavations concentrated on the ‘tomb-temple complex of Tepti-ahar’, so called because of the discovery of a stele fragment in the central courtyard of the complex which names him (see later discussion), and two ‘terrace complexes’ (I and II) to the southeast of the tomb-temple area.

Before describing the ‘tomb-temple complex’, it is important to say a word about terminology. What is the basis for this designation? In his final report on



Plate 7.2. View of Haft Tepe (photo: Gian Pietro Basello, courtesy DARIOSH Project).

Haft Tepe, Negahban gave no justification for the use of the term ‘tomb-temple’. The complex has also been called a ‘funerary temple’ (Carter and Stolper 1984: 158; cf. Carter 2011: 51–3). In fact, the inscription on the Haft Tepe stele, written in Middle Babylonian Akkadian (not Elamite), does not use any of the Akkadian terms for temple commonly used on inscribed bricks at Susa, such as *kizzum*, *kukunnum* or *siyan/zīyanam*, but rather the much vaguer and certainly more neutral designation, É.DÙ.A, meaning ‘house, construction’ (Malbran-Labat 1995: 185) in referring to the ‘6 guards of the “house”’ (e.g. Reiner 1973b: 88, l. 15; 90, l. 39). In her discussion of the Haft Tepe stele, moreover, Reiner at no point suggested that the text came from a temple context, but always spoke of it as deriving from a royal tomb. Her suggestion (Reiner 1973b: 95) that the inscribed bricks of Tepti-ahar from Susa mentioning his construction of an É.DÙ.A might in fact have originated at Haft Tepe by way of local workmen who could have picked them up there and given them to the French at Susa seems unlikely now that we have Malbran-Labat’s full publication of no fewer than eighteen fragments of the Tepti-ahar bricks from Susa. Moreover, the text of the Haft Tepe stele (Table 7.1) is clearly a record of beer, sheep and flour offerings (for the recovery of cereals and the palaeobotanical record of Haft Tepe, see König 2014) for the deceased to be made throughout the year (cf. Grillot-Susini 2014: 106; for similar Mesopotamian ceremonies, see Potts 1997a: 221ff.) along with provisions for the six guards of the ‘house’. This would seem to exclude the possibility of identifying the complex simultaneously as both a tomb and a temple, and as Reiner observed, ‘the purpose of the “house” (always referred to as É.DÙ.A, as customary in the orthography of Akkadian texts from Elam) could be ascertained from the mention of funerary offerings alone (lines 31, 34), even if its function as a tomb had not been established from the archaeological evidence’

TABLE 7.1. *Summary of Haft Tepe stele 1*

Lines	Simplified description of contents
1–19	obligation of the six guards of the house – Kuk-Allatu, Kuk-eshru, Iribamma, Agunannu, Attameten and Irib-Adad – to sacrifice specified amounts of flour, beer and sheep per month or year as <i>terru shetru</i> offerings, and at the festivals of Abu and Tashritu
20–27	summary of the above plus additional amounts to be sacrificed before the chariot of Inshushinak and the <i>saparru</i> -wagon of Tepti-ahar
28–31	summary of offerings plus sheep for the festivals of Abu, Kirawashir, Tashritu and the chariot
31–38	summary of funerary offerings to be made by the six guards
39–46	further duties of the guards, admonition against negligence
47–55	duties of the women of the guards

(Reiner 1973b: 94). For these reasons, the ‘tomb-temple complex’ will simply be referred to here as the ‘royal tomb’.

Built entirely of brick, some of it baked, the Haft Tepe royal tomb resembles an elongated H with a narrow entrance through a southern wall leading into a small room, and a further doorway leading northwards into a large courtyard (15×24.5 m) paved with baked brick in the centre of which stood a ruined brick altar or platform (3×5 m). Negahban suggested that the stele discussed previously, two fragments of which were found in the courtyard, may have originally stood on this platform (Negahban 1991: 13). A doorway at the northern end of the courtyard opened onto another room, described as the ‘long portico’ (5.5×17 m) from the northeastern side of which access was gained to ‘Hall no. 1’, a large chamber (6×9.2 m) paved with baked bricks. The interior walls of the hall were plastered and decorated with ‘incised geometric designs including squares, rectangles, circles, and triangles’ (Negahban 1991: 14; Álvarez-Mon 2005b). At the north end of this hall stood a baked brick chamber (5.8×12.9 m ext. dimensions, 3.25×10 m int. dimensions) with a vaulted roof some 3.75 m high which Negahban considered to be the tomb of Tepti-ahar. It is said to have contained ‘possibly 21 skeletons’, seven of which were found at the north end of the chamber; ‘at least two’ of which were near the south end; and twelve of which lay ‘carelessly dumped inside the southern entrance’ to the tomb from the hall (Negahban 1991: 15). A second ‘hall’ which was probably once identical in dimensions to Hall 1 was located just west of it, separated by a 4.8 m thick wall. This, too, contained a vaulted burial chamber, known as the ‘mass burial tomb’, roughly half the size (2.65×5.20 m ext. dimensions; 1.85×4.80 m int. dimensions) of the so-called tomb of Tepti-ahar, containing the articulated remains of twenty-three individuals. The entrance to this chamber had been blocked up with rubble, and the vaulted roof had been destroyed. Given the fact that sacrifices to be made before Tepti-ahar’s chariot are mentioned in the Haft Tepe stele inscription, Reiner suggested ‘that the sacrifices were instituted during or immediately after the reign of Tepti-ahar’ (Reiner 1973b: 94). This makes it conceivable, though far from certain, that the tomb complex was that of the king himself, although the notion that the two skeletons found ‘together with an elongated pottery vessel in the southern section’ of Hall 1 represented ‘the remains of the king and his favorite girl servant’ (Negahban 1991: 15, 21) is sheer speculation. Jar burials and simple pit graves were also found outside the walled royal tomb area, particularly to the west of the structure where they were obscured by the walls of a series of mudbrick houses built during the Sasanian period. Excavations at Haft Tepe in 2010 revealed the grave of a male whose cylinder seals (Plates 7.3 and 7.4) identify him as Ginadu, *puhu-teppu* (archivist of the Haft Tepe store-rooms?) of Inshushinak-shar-ilani (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011b).

Terrace Complex I is a large mound to the southeast of the royal tomb area which is comprised of a massive, nearly square (40×44 m, c. 14 m high) brick



Plate 7.3. Goods from the grave of Ginadu at Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).



Plate 7.4. Cylinder seal from the grave of Ginadu at Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

terrace and a network of adjacent rooms running off it. To the south, a second, 'much higher' structure was also detected in an area of limited horizontal excavation. The rooms, corridors and courtyards of these two complexes



Plate 7.5. Funerary head from Susa (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

yielded a diverse collection of material, and included a craft workshop area in Hall 6 in which sculpted human heads of clay of a sort also well-known at Susa (Plate 7.5) were found (Mecquenem 1926; Álvarez-Mon 2005a), as well as ivory figures (witness the recovery of ‘a nearly complete elephant skeleton in Trench M XXXIII/XXXIV’), mosaic fragments, and decorative bitumen roundels (Negahban 1994). A ceramic kiln was identified in the ‘eastern courtyard’ of the complex, while recent excavations have revealed both plain and painted ceramics, some of which show highland associations in their decoration (Plate 7.6). Bronze weaponry (Negahban 1991: 46; Oudbashi and Mohammadamin Emami 2010; Rafiei Alavi 2012; Plate 7.7); some three hundred seal impressions (see generally Amiet 1996, 1999); and an unspecified proportion of the ‘nearly four thousand complete and partial clay tablets’ (Negahban 1994: 31) from Haft Tepe were recovered here. In spite of this wealth of material, little serious attention has been paid as yet to the actual function of the terrace complexes.

While the excavator, by the very neutrality of his designation, appears to eschew any attempt at identifying its function, others have suggested that Terrace Complex I represents either a series of temples or the royal palace (e. g. Glassner 1991: 115, n. 48). As a common domestic role for workshops intermingled with private houses would seem to be excluded by the



Plate 7.6. Painted pottery from Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

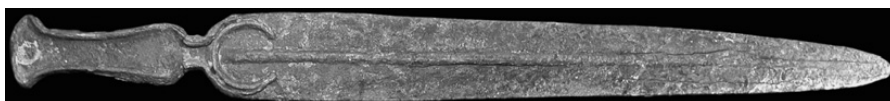


Plate 7.7. Sword from Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

massiveness of the high terraces, can we determine whether a religious or palatial explanation best fits the evidence? It is unfortunate that virtually nothing is known about the mound called Haft Tepe B, opposite the railroad station to the east of the main site, where ‘a massive construction’ was partly revealed in 1976 and where an unspecified number of tablets was recovered (Negahban 1991: 11, 103). Nevertheless, as an educated guess it may be suggested that the terrace area is not a palace – there are no demonstrable living quarters in the area – but a temple precinct where, as in the great precincts of southern Mesopotamia, a wide range of craft activities were housed, including pottery manufacture, stoneworking and metalsmithing, which served to manufacture goods for the gods, the priesthood, and the large number of dependents attached to the temple. In addition, the temple almost certainly incorporated a scribal school (see the school texts amongst the Haft Tepe tablets) and a corps of scribes (see the economic text and letters found as well), as well as a staff of specialized priests, some of whom performed acts of

extispicy (for extispicy texts from Haft Tepe, see Herrero and Glassner 1993: 126–133; Daneshmand 2004; see in general Jeyes 1980). A decorated bronze plaque (10 × 7.5 cm) found ‘on the ground in front of the entrance door’ of Hall H2, showing ‘a deity, possibly the god Nergal . . . standing on the back of a lion with a nude female kneeling in front of him and a praying figure behind him’ (Negahban 1990), might support the attribution of a religious function for the complex. This piece has been compared with a series of *sukkalmaḥ*-era cylinder seals from Susa and Middle Elamite cylinder seals from Haft Tepe and Choga Zanbil Susa depicting storm gods (Álvarez-Mon in press).

The texts from what we may therefore call the Haft Tepe temple complex are diverse (Table 7.2), and both their content and their date formulae raise some interesting questions about the life of the site and the interpretation of its remains. References to the ‘house’ (É.DÙ.A), in both the stele fragments from the courtyard south of the royal tomb and in an undated letter, make it reasonable to suggest that the structure so designated was indeed the tomb. Whether or not the ‘great house’ (É.DÙ.A GAL) referred to in two year formulae of an unnamed king refers to the same building we cannot tell. These formulae commemorate the initiation of the construction of the É.DÙ.A and the erection of another wall surrounding it. Alternatively, if the É.DÙ.A refers specifically to one of the tomb chambers, the term É.DÙ.A GAL might plausibly refer to the larger complex in its entirety. On the other hand, could the É.KUR referred to in one of the year formulae, if indeed the reading is correct, signify the great brick massif of Terrace Complex I? The most famous temple of this name – the “Mountain house”, whence Enlil, surnamed the “Great Mountain” (^dkur-gal), rules his human subjects’ (Wiggermann 1996: 209) – was certainly the temple of Enlil at Nippur (Westenholz 1987: 21–9). Was the decision to build the mudbrick massif and associated temple complex an attempt to re-create something of the grandeur of the great religious centre at Nippur which, even in the Kassite period, was still an impressive monument, or perhaps the Kassite ziggurat at Dur Kurigalzu (E. Carter, pers. comm.)? Several of the year formulae used at Haft Tepe refer to messengers travelling to and from Babylonia, and even if this suggests that contact between the areas was rare enough to warrant special mention (M.W. Stolper, pers. comm.), it might suggest that some knowledge of the Nippur sanctuary reached Haft Tepe.

According to Haft Tepe stele 1, the ‘six guards of the house’ (i.e. of the É.DÙ.A) should sacrifice ‘before the chariot of Inshushinak’, and they were required to both ‘provision’ and to celebrate a festival in honour of ‘the chariot of the god’ (Reiner 1973b: 89). These references are interesting in light of the discovery at Susa of a 15.7 cm. high fragmentary copper figurine of a deity seated in a chariot, even if this piece, which lacks a provenience, has been dated stylistically to the *sukkalmaḥ* period (Tallon, Hurtel and Drilhon 1989: 123–4). It is unclear, however, whether the same sort of small, portable chariot is

TABLE 7.2. *Summaries of selected texts from the Haft Tepe temple complex*

Type	Text	Reference	Summary	Year formula
religious	Stele 1	Reiner 1973b	enumeration of flour, beer and sheep ‘given’ by six guards of the É.DÙ.A who are to perform sacrifices during various festivals; instructions relating to funerary offerings to be made which involve the <i>ippu</i> and priestess of Susa; injunctions regarding maintenance to be carried out by the guards and sweeping to be performed by eight women	undated
”	Stele 2	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 3	enumeration of flour, sheep and beer offerings; reference to the É.DÙ.A	
epistolary	H.T. 2	Herrero 1976: Fig. 21	Awilu to Sin-rimeni the porter, the scribe(s?), and the guards of the É.DÙ.A, requesting that a great chariot with gold fittings be brought to him by Temtu-hahpu	undated

TABLE 7.2. (continued)

Type	Text	Reference	Summary	Year formula
economic	H.T. 28	Herrero 1976: Fig. 16	account of silver paid for bracelets	‘year when the king . . . Pir’i-Amurru messenger of Babylonia’
”	H.T. 38	Herrero 1976: Fig. 19a	account of silver and gold	‘year when the king expelled Kadeshman- ^d KUR.GAL’
”	H.T. 1	Herrero 1976: Fig. 22	account of flour which Pir’i-Amurru will deliver to the attendants and give to the king	‘year when the king began construction of the É.DÛ.A GAL (and?) the É.KUR’
”	H.T. 12	Herrero 1976: Fig. 23a	account of linen disbursement	‘year when the king surrounded the É.DÛ.A GAL with a wall of clay (i.e. unbaked brick?)’
”	H.T. 39	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 8	account of silver for the decoration or manufacture of various chariot parts	—
”	H.T. 106	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 9	account of silver for the decoration or manufacture of a wheel, running board, yoke, reins, and pole for chariots	—
”	H.T. 246	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 10	account of gold for the manufacture of various parts of great chariots	—
”	H.T. 9	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 13	account of vessels made of gold and lapis lazuli	—
”	H.T. 40	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 16	account of gold used for the manufacture of bracelets	‘year when the king ordered Habibanutu to build an <i>arattu</i> ; seal impression of Tepti-ahar’

”	H.T. 435	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 23	account of vessels, bracelets, divine figurines and other figurines of gold	—
”	H.T. 61	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 38	account of silver	‘year when Pir’i-Adad took up his place beside the king’
”	H.T. 27	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 40	receipt of bronze	‘year when the king ordered the construction of the stairway of. . .’
”	H.T. 101	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 44	account of armour plates, belts and other elements of armour in silver	undated; seal impression of Tepti- ahar
”	—	Beckman 1991	account of oxen	‘year when the king placed the cone (?) of Ina-bubla’
”	H.T. 605	Herrero/Glassner 1991: 42	list of females each receiving a gift (?) weighed out in talents and <i>minas</i>	—
unknown	H.T. 443	Herrero 1976: Fig. 17a	?	‘year when [. . . u]sh-tu came from Babylonia’
”	H.T. 317	Herrero 1976: Fig. 17b	?	‘year when Ili-barna came from Babylonia’
”	H.T. 129	Herrero 1976: Fig. 18a	?	‘year when Ili-barna came from Babylonia’
”	H.T. 114	Herrero 1976: Fig. 18b	?	‘year when Atta-. . . went to Babylonia’



Plate 7.8. Inventory of silver objects in Akkadian (H.T. 05–13–134; 13.3 × 10 cm) from the archive room at Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

referred to in the letter H.T. 2, where the adjective GAL, ‘great’, is used to qualify the term for chariot (GIŠ.GIGIR), or whether the chariot fittings discussed in a number of other economic texts from Haft Tepe (Table 7.2) were for models or life-size chariots (for life-size bronze ‘tyres’ and other fixtures from mid third and early second millennium BC contexts at Susa, see Tallon 1987/I: 297–307; 1987/II: 336–7; Littauer and Crouwel 1989: 111 and Pl. I; see also Littauer and Crouwel 1979 with earlier lit.). Recent excavations at Haft Tepe have uncovered a small number of cuneiform texts (Plate 7.8) as well as female figurines (Plate 7.9) with close parallels at Susa.

We shall close this section with some thoughts on the ancient name of Haft Tepe and Tepti-ahar’s relationship to it. The seal impressions of Athibu call him ‘great governor of Kabnak’, and this has been taken as evidence in support of the hypothesis that Haft Tepe = ancient Kabnak, the same city as Kabinak mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian king Assurbanipal’s account of his conquest of Susa and other cities in its environs (Herrero 1976: 113; Negahban 1991: 109; Malbran-Labat 1995: 53). Archaeological confirmation for some post-Middle Elamite occupation at the site may be provided by a so-called Bes vessel Terrace Complex II which finds its closest parallels in Palestine, Syria and Babylonia during a period coeval with the later Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid era (Rafiei Alavi 2014). It has also been suggested by some scholars that, notwithstanding his title ‘king of Susa and Anzan’, Tepti-ahar both lived and died at Haft Tepe (Glassner 1991: 115). That he may have been buried at Haft Tepe is plausible,



Plate 7.9. Female figurine from Haft Tepe (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

and in spite of the damaged state of the Haft Tepe stele inscriptions, it does seem as though the prescriptions concerning funerary offerings were *for* Tepti-ahar, not merely ordered *by* him. But as for living at Haft Tepe, this is more difficult to determine. Regardless of the absence of imposing remains from this period at Susa, the fact remains that the site was surely inhabited concurrently, that it was still an urban centre, and that the king had a governor at Kabnak, Athibu, ‘administrator and confidant of Tepti-ahar’ (Table 7.3). Does the use of Tepti-ahar’s seal at Haft Tepe, as demonstrated by numerous sealed tablets, necessarily mean that Tepti-ahar himself lived there? Haft Tepe is only 10 km from Susa, and the seals of both Athibu, Tepti-ahar’s man in Kabnak, and Adad-erish, Inshushinak-shar-ilani’s stable chief, refer to their respective chiefs as ‘king of

TABLE 7.3. *References to Tepti-ahar and other high-ranking officials in the Haft Tepe texts*

Name	Text	Reference	Legend
Tepti-ahar	H.T. 445,	Herrero 1976: Fig. 20a	Tepti-a[har], king of Susa and Anzan,
	H.T. 40,	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 16	[serva]nt of Kirwashir (and) of
	H.T. 101,	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 44	Inshushinak, may they in the good
	H.T. 20,	Herrero/Glassner 1991: 40	grace of their heart recognize him
	H.T. 450, 590	Herrero/Glassner 1991: 48	for as long as he lives
Athibu	H.T. 60, 16	Herrero/Glassner 1991: 52	
	H.T. 38	Herrero 1976: Fig. 19b	Athibu, great governor of Kabnak,
	H.T. 14	Herrero/Glassner 1991: 51	administrator and confidant of Tepti-ahar, king of Susa (and)
Adad-erish	H.T. 567,	Herrero/Glassner 1990: 6	[serva]nt of the god IM
	H.T. 3		Adad-erish, chief of the stable-hands, servant of Inshushinak-shar-ilani, king of Susa, servant of Adad (his god?)

Susa'. One could interpret this literally, and suggest that, regardless of where Tepti-ahar's tomb was located, his residence remained at Susa. In this regard, it is interesting to recall that a number of Mesopotamian monarchs were buried outside of the city where they reigned (Potts 1997a: 233–4). Thus Yahdun-Lim of Mari was buried at Terqa, and the Ur III emperor Shu-Sin, although he resided at the capital Ur, was buried at Uruk (Charpin 1992: 106). Similarly, one wonders whether Tepti-ahar, although he reigned at Susa, might not have been buried at Kabnak because of a particular familial association with the place.

On the other hand, a further possibility exists. Several scholars have questioned whether, at this stage in its history, Elam was indeed 'a monarchy controlling at a minimum both Susa and the nearby city at Haft Tepe ... with at least titular claim to Anshan' (Carter and Stolper 1984: 34). Rather, they point to references in several of the Haft Tepe texts (H.T. 29, 30 and 72) to a 'king of Huhnuri' (Herrero and Glassner 1990: 14; Glassner 1991: 118), another city to the east of Haft Tepe and Susa, for which various locations have been suggested (see Chapter 4). Although the internal chronology of the Haft Tepe texts is largely unknown (except, e.g., in the case of texts dated by the year formulae referring to the beginning of work on the É.DÛ.A GAL and the subsequent surrounding of that building with an outer wall), and the relationship of, for example, Tepti-ahar to Inshushinak-shar-ilani is a complete mystery, the existence of at least one other king at Huhnur, roughly halfway between Susa and Anshan, may point to a politically fragmented landscape at

this time (thus Malbran-Labat 1995: 53). In spite of his title ‘king of Susa and Anzan’, if Tepti-ahar had lost control of Susa, not to mention Anshan, in such a competitive situation he may well have been forced to create a new base from which to press his claim to legitimate authority. Under such circumstances Kabnak may have been where Tepti-ahar lived, in a kind of internal exile, and died.

MIDDLE ELAMITE II (c. 1400–1200 BC)

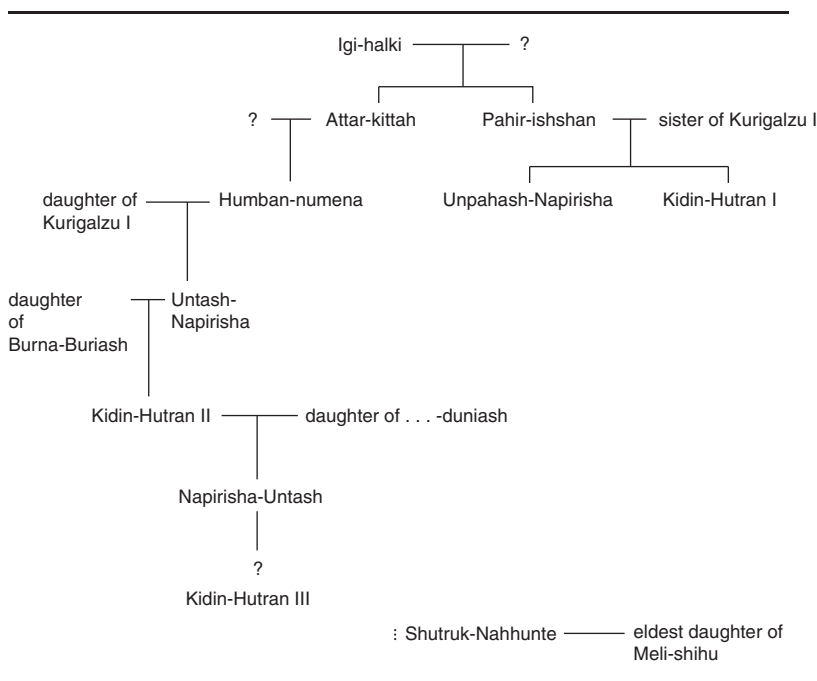
In our present state of knowledge we have no idea how the situation at Kabnak, Susa or Anshan may have evolved from the period just discussed to one in which a new dynasty appeared claiming Igi-halki as its founder. However, it is important to underscore the fact that Steve et al. (1980: 67) showed that a hiatus in occupation occurred in Ville Royale A between levels XI (Middle Elamite I) and X–IX. Based on the presence of numerous inscribed bricks attributable to rulers of the Shutrukid dynasty (Steve et al. 1980: 56–7) and on ceramics comparable to the latest phase of occupation at Choga Zanbil (Pons 1994: 48 and n. 48), levels X–IX can be dated to the Middle Elamite III period (1200/1100–1000 BC). Susa was certainly occupied in the interval, however, for a large pit on the Acropole excavated in 1966–7 yielded twenty inscribed brick fragments (Table 7.4) dating to the reigns of a series of monarchs beginning with Untash-Napirisha (mid-Igihalkid/Middle Elamite II) and ending with Shilhak-Inshushinak (mid-Shutrukid/Middle Elamite III) (Steve et al. 1980: 85). Shilhak-Inshushinak is important for various reasons, not least because he left a building inscription enumerating the rulers who preceded him in restoring the temple of Inshushinak at Susa (König 1965: 110, §48.2). There he names the earliest rulers of the Igihalkid dynasty (Table 7.5) as follows:

Pahir-ishshan, son of Igi-halki
 Attar-kittah, son of Igi-halki
 Untash-Napirisha, son of Humban-numena
 Unpashash-Napirisha, son of Pahir-ishshan, and
 Kidin-Hutran (II), son of Pahir-ishshan

Parts of this genealogy have been confirmed by other, contemporary sources, including a stele fragment attributed to Kidin-Hutran (Steve and Vallat 1989: 224–5), although it omits to identify Humban-numena as a son of Attar-kittah (cf. Roche and Overlaet 2006: 21), a fact confirmed by his inscribed bricks from Susa (Malbran-Labat 1995: 59). A second, even more remarkable document (Table 7.6) is a Neo-Babylonian copy of a literary text from Babylon, in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, which takes the form of a letter addressed to the Kassite court by an Elamite king and belongs to a group of texts concerned with the period in question. The text confirms that

TABLE 7.4. *Stratigraphic distribution of texts mentioning rulers from the Middle Elamite II and III periods at Susa*

King	Area of site	Location of text	Steve, Gasche and De Meyer 1980:
Untash-Napirisha	Acropole	locus 313 (pit)	85
"	Acropole	locus 292 (pit)	85
Shutruk-Nahhunte	Acropole	locus 292 (pit)	85
"	VR A IX	locus 103	120
Kutir-Nahhunte	Acropole	locus 313 (pit)	85
"	Acropole	locus 292 (pit)	85
	VR A IX	locus 104	120
	VR A IX	locus 35?	120
Shilhak-Inshushinak	Acropole	locus 313 (pit)	85
"	Acropole	locus 292 (pit)	85
	VR A IX	locus 104	120
Hutelutush-Inshushinak	VR A IX	floor, unspecified	120

TABLE 7.5. *Tentative family tree of the Igi-halkids*

Untash-Napirisha (Hundasha-napirisha) was a son of Humban-numena (Humban-immeni) (see also the brick fragment from Choga Pahn East, Cameron A, in Stolper and Wright 1990: 156; for an interesting omen text

TABLE 7.6. The ‘Berlin’ letter (after Van Dijk 1986)

ll. 1–8: too fragmentary for translation

Pihiranu-^dU married . . . [the sister?] of the mighty King Kurigalzu. Humban-immeni [married] his daughter; this one bore (him) Hundasha-napirisha. Hunda [sha-napirisha] married the daughter of Burnaburiash; this one bore (him) Kidin-[hud]juru[di]sh. Kidin-[hudurudish] married the daughter of [. . .]-^dduniash; this one bore (him) Nap[risha-h]und[ash?]. I, the [daughter’s]-son married the eldest daughter of Meli-shihu. . .

. . . which the (PN) . . . will not fling away; [their] descen[dants?] will take possession of Babylonia; I will rise up, I have approached my land. . . . Regarding that which was written to me: ‘You have given princesses of Babylonia, since the land was . . ., to all countries: in truth, a son of such a daughter, whom one has put on the throne of Babylonia, does not exist!’ The PN . . . who [. . .had go]ne, whom you [to Babylon’s misfortune] chose and put [on the throne] of Babylonia: He has occupied Babylonia, and to this day his reign is [no]t acknowledged like that of the [daugh]ter’s son, no, how. . .! Adad-shum-usur, son of Dunna-Sah, from the region by the bank of the Euphrates, whom you chose and put on the throne of Babylonia; h[ow has h]e frustrated the daughter’s son! Nabu-apal-iddina, the son of a Hittite (fem.), an abomination for Babylon, a Hittite (masc.), whom you chose to the detriment (?) of Babylon and put on the throne of Babylonia; you have experienced his sins, his failure, his crime and his. . .

Why I, who am a king, son of a king, seed of a king, scion of a king, who am king (?) for the lands, the land of Babylonia and for the land of El[am], descendant of the eldest daughter of mighty King Kurigalzu, (why) do I not sit on the throne of the land of Babylonia? I sent you a sincere proposal, you however have granted me no reply: you may climb up to heaven, [but I’ll pull you down] by your hem, you may go down to hell, [but I’ll pull you up] by your hair! I shall destroy your cities, dem[olish] your fortresses, stop up your (irrigation) ditches, cut down your orchards, [pull out] the rings (of the sluices) at the mouths of your (irrigation) canals, [Send me] a [favourable] answer [and I shall. . .]

fragment from this site, see Biggs and Stolper 1983); that a second Kidin-Hutran I (Kidin-hudurudish) was Untash-Napirisha’s son; and that a Napirisha-Untash (Napirisha-hundash) was Kidin-Hutran II’s son (van Dijk 1986: 163; see also Steve and Vallat 1989: 226; Vallat 1994: 14, 2006b; Goldberg 2004; Potts 2006; Paulus 2013: 43off.). The incompleteness of these sources is important to remember, but this is to be expected given the fact that Shilhak-Inshushinak’s inscription mentions only kings who carried out work on the temple of Inshushinak, while the ‘letter’ to the Kassite court names only kings who took royal Kassite wives.

Igi-halki is named as Attar-kittah’s father on two inscribed maceheads from Choga Zanbil (Steve 1967: 112). He was previously thought to be attested in an inscription (Table 7.7), several copies of which were found at Deh-e Now (KS-120), c. 20 km to the east of Haft Tepe, wherein his rule over Susa and Anzan is

TABLE 7.7. *Selection of important Middle Elamite II inscriptions from Susa, Bushehr and Deh-e Now*

Author	Text	Provenience	Content
Igi-halki (1400–1380 BC) ¹	Steve 1987: 11–13	Deh-e Now	Igi-halki, Manzat-Ishtar having granted him the kingship of Susa and Anzan, after having restored the ancient <i>kukunnum</i> ² of baked brick for Manzat he made an offering to her. May Manzat, having accorded him a long life grant him to achieve a happy reign
Humban-numena (1350–1340 BC)	Vallat 1984a: 258	Bushehr	[I am Humban-numena, son of Attar-kittah. . .] king of Susa [and Anshan. . .], [. . .] Inshushinak [gave me the kingship of Susa and of Anshan. . .], [. . . for my life, for the li]fe of Mishi[mru]h, for the life of Rishapanla. . .], [. . . I constructed] the <i>kukunnum</i> [. . .] [. . . at X . . . I ga]ve it. My Napirisha, Ki [ririsha. . .] [. . . grant [a happy reign]].
	IRS: 59	Susa	O great god, Kiririsha and the (divine) protectors of the earth, (gods) of Liyan, I, Humban-numena, son of Attar-kittah, I (am) the enlarger of the kingdom, the master (of the) Elamite (land), the holder of the Elamite throne, the king of Anzan and Susa; on account of the continuity by (my) mother, (the) great god chose me and loved me: prosperity established (?), the crown restored (?), Inshushinak gave me kingship. For my life, for the life of Mishimru]h and the life of Rishap-La, for this, the temple having been completely destroyed (?), on its site I built a <i>kukunnum</i> and gave it to the great god, to Kiririsha and to the (divine) protectors of the earth. May (the) great god, Kiririsha and the (divine) protectors of the earth grant me a long life, may they grant me a continuously prosperous kingship.
Untash-Napirisha (1340–1300 BC)	IRS: 66	Susa	I, Untash-Napirisha, son of Humban-numena, king of Anzan and of Susa, I built the temple of Pinigir in baked bricks; I placed in it (a) Pinigir of gold; may the work which I created, as an offering, be agreeable to Pinigir-of-siyan-kuk!

TABLE 7.7. (continued)

Author	Text	Provenience	Content
	IRS: 77	Susa	I, Untash-Napirisha, son of Humban-numena, king of Anzan and of Susa, desirous (that) my life (be) continually one of prosperity, that the extinction of my lineage not be granted (when it shall be) judged (?), with this intention I built a temple of baked bricks, a high temple of glazed bricks; I gave it to Inshushinak-of- <i>siyan-kuk</i> . I raised a ziggurat. May the work which I created, as an offering, be agreeable to Inshushinak!
	IRS: 77	Susa	I, Untash-Napirisha, I built a high temple in bricks of gold and silver, obsidian and alabaster and I gave it to the great god and to Inshushinak-of- <i>siyan-kuk</i> . Whosoever tears it down, destroys its brickwork, removes and takes to another country its gold, its silver, its obsidian, its alabaster and its brickwork, may the wrath of the great god, of Inshushinak and of Kiririsha-of- <i>siyan-kuk</i> be on him and may his descendants not prosper under the sun!
Napir-Asu	EKI §16 ³	Susa	I, Napir-Asu, wife of Untash-Napirisha. He who would seize my statue, who would smash it, who would destroy its inscription, who would erase my name, may he be smitten by the curse of Napirisha, of Kiririsha, and of Inshushinak, that his name shall become extinct, that his offspring be barren, that the forces of Beltiya, the great goddess, shall sweep down on him. This is Napir-Asu's offering. . .

Notes:

¹ Dates are approximate and follow Steve and Vallat 1989: 234 unless otherwise indicated.² For the *kukunnum*, a type of temple, see Malbran-Labat 1995: 187.³ Trans. after Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 83.

attributed to the goddess Manzat-Ishtar. The reading of the royal name on these texts has now been re-examined in light of duplicates and has been shown to be that of Igi-hatet, a previously unattested king of Susa and Anshan who probably reigned in the late *sukkalmah* period (Daneshmand and Abdoli 2015).



Plate 7.10. General view of excavations at Deh-e Now (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

Deh-e Now was founded in the Early Uruk period (Johnson 1973: 77, 81). Recent excavations (Plates 7.10 and 7.11) have begun to reveal the history of Deh-e Now in the Middle Elamite period, by which time it covered *c.* 9.5 ha (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2010: 268–70).

If we follow the genealogy established by Shilhak-Inshushinak's building inscription, then Igi-halki was succeeded by his son Pahir-ishshan. This king has left us no original inscriptions, but we know from Shilhak-Inshushinak that he carried out work on the temple of Inshushinak at Susa, while a text of Shutruk-Nahhunte I's tells us that Pahir-ishshan did something, the sense of which is obscure, in a place called Aahitek (König 1965: 81, §28A/19; Carter and Stolper 1984: 36). Furthermore, the Berlin 'letter' referred to earlier informs us that Pahir-ishshan (called Pihiranu-^dU, van Dijk 1986: 161, l. 9; see also Vallat 1987b: 89) married the eldest daughter of 'the powerful king Kurigalzu' (van Dijk 1986: 163; Paulus 2013: 437). Because of other synchronisms between later Middle Elamite and Kassite kings, this can only have been Kurigalzu I, who reigned sometime before 1375 BC (Brinkman 1977: 338) and who, according to Chronicle P, defeated one Hurpatila, king of Elammat, while on his way to attack Elam (thus Gassan 1989; see also Hüsing 1916a: 19; Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2011a: 9 does not distinguish between Elammat and Elam and thus inserts Hurpatila in the list of Middle Elamite kings between Tepti-ahar and Igi-halki). As the Berlin letter shows, generations of Igihalkid kings and Kassite princesses intermarried.



Plate 7.11. Middle Elamite grave at Deh-e Now (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

Igi-halki's other son, Attar-kittah, carried on the operation begun by his brother mentioned in Berlin letter, this time however in relation to the temple of Inshushinak at Susa (König 1965: 81, §28A/20). E. Quintana suggested that the two brothers or their descendants may have divided the rule over Susa and Anshan between themselves, with Attar-kittah ruling over Susa and Susiana (inscribed bricks of his from Susa were already identified in the late nineteenth century; see Weissbach 1895: 693–4), and Pahir-ishshan controlling Anshan (Quintana 1996c: 106). The main justification of this view is the fact that, whereas Attar-kittah's son Humban-numena calls himself 'king of Susa and Anzan' (Malbran-Labat 1995: 59), Pahir-ishshan's son Kidin-Hutran II inverted the title and called himself 'king of Anshan and Susa' (Steve and Vallat 1989: 224). Since Humban-numena is known to have styled himself both 'king of Susa and Anshan' and 'king of Anshan and Susa' in different

contexts (Table 7.7), depending on whether the text was written in Akkadian (Susa and Anshan) or Elamite (Anshan and Susa), Vallat rejected this hypothesis of divided rule (Vallat 1997b).

Be that as it may, it is not inconceivable that rivalry erupted between the cousins descended from the two sons of Igi-halki, Pahir-ishshan and Attar-kittah. If we follow the order of succession given in Shilhak-Inshushinak's building inscription, and insert Humban-numena before his son Untash-Napirisha (even if the former did not carry out restoration work on the Inshushinak temple, but assuming that he reigned before his son), then we find that Humban-numena and his son Untash-Napirisha ruled before Pahir-ishshan's two sons, Unpahash-Napirisha and Kidin-Hutran II. This would be explicable if Pahir-ishshan, who ruled before Attar-kittah, had died before his own eldest son could succeed him (i.e. if Unpahash-Napirisha had only been a young boy at the time), and Attar-kittah had instead become king. The shift in descent from Pahir-ishshan's line to that of Attar-kittah, however, may have caused friction, and if the order in Shilhak-Inshushinak's text is a correct, sequential account of Elamite rule in this period, then it can only mean that after passing down the line from Attar-kittah to his son Humban-numena and his grandson Untash-Napirisha, rule over Susa and Anzan shifted back to the collateral line emanating from Pahir-ishshan to his two sons Unpahash-Napirisha and Kidin-Hutran II. For no apparent reason, Vallat assumed that the kingship reverted to Pahir-ishshan's sons after the death of Attar-kittah. He suggested, furthermore, that each of these sons died without issue, after which kingship reverted to Attar-kittah's son, Humban-numena (Vallat 1994: 14, chart). There seems no evidence to support this series of assumptions, however. Moreover, it stands in conflict with the evidence of Shilhak-Inshushinak's enumeration of Elamite kings who contributed to the maintenance or rebuilding of the temple of Inshushinak at Susa, as we have already seen.

Humban-numena I clearly states in his brick inscriptions from Susa that, by virtue of his matrilineal descent, he was chosen by the 'great god' and, although the text is difficult to understand, he seems to say that Inshushinak granted him kingship once he had re-established prosperity and restored the crown (Table 7.7). Claims such as these are unlikely to have been made if accession to the throne previously occupied by his father had been smooth. Moreover, continuity with his predecessor is scarcely to be inferred from Humban-numena's allegation that he built a high temple or *kukunnum* (Vallat 1997f; Grillot-Susini 2001: 145; Potts 2010b: 57ff.) on the site of a temple which had been completely destroyed. How we are to interpret his construction of a temple for Kiririsha-of-Liyan at Liyan (Tol-e Peytul), near modern Bushehr on the Persian Gulf (Reiner 1965; Vallat 1984a; Walker 1981: 130, no. 192; Wagensonner 2014) is unclear, but it surely indicates a close relationship with that site (contra Malbran-Labat 1995: 82; Vallat 1997b noted that none of the bricks referring to this work were found at Susa; all came from Bushehr).

Malbran-Labat suggested that the survival of Humban-numena's line may likewise have been in question, and that royal inscriptions which cite the names of family members (e.g. Mishim-ruh, presumably his wife, and Rishap-La, another female, perhaps a daughter) may reflect the uncertainties surrounding either the foundation or the prolongation of a royal line (Malbran-Labat 1995: 204). The survival of his line, however, may have owed something to his marriage to the daughter of 'the mighty king Kurigalzu' (i.e. Kurgalzu I), possibly the Mishim-ruh of his inscriptions, as revealed in the Berlin letter referred to earlier. The letter goes on to tell us that the Kassite princess gave birth to Untash-Napirisha, who himself married the daughter of Burna-Buriash (II), the nineteenth king to sit on the Kassite throne (1359–1333 BC). A fragment of a statue of the god Immeriya found at Susa contains a dedication to Burna-Buriash by Untash-Napirisha, according to a restoration of the broken name of the dedicatee proposed by Vallat (Vallat 1999b: 112; for earlier readings of the name see e.g. Scheil 1908: 85; Brinkman 1976: 189; Steve et al. 1980: 102).

Untash-Napirisha left us ample evidence of his activities in southwestern Iran. An inscribed brick discovered in a sondage at Tol-e Bormi (Plate 7.12) in the Ram Hormuz valley between Khuzistan and Fars alludes to his building activities there, as do bricks found at Tepe Deylam (KS 47), Tepe Gotvand (Steve et al. 1980: 81–2) and Choga Pahn East (KS 102; see Stolper and Wright 1990; De Maaijer 1996: 71–2). At Susa he left no fewer than eleven different building inscriptions (with even more variants) incised on bricks (Table 7.8).



Plate 7.12. Tol-e Bormi (photo: author).

TABLE 7.8. *Deities for whom Untash-Napirisha built or reconstructed various religious buildings*

Deity	Structure	Location	Meaning	Reference
Belala	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	temple of glazed brick (Steve), painted brick (Vallat) temple of glazed brick (Steve), painted brick (Vallat)	IRS 30; EKI §10a–c
Ea ² -sunkir	<i>Siyan</i>	Susa	temple	IRS 24
Hishmitik and	<i>siyan hunin</i>	Choga Zanbil	unknown type of temple	EKI §6h = MDP 4I: no. 20
Ruhurater	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §7IIb, 11C = MDP 4I: nos. 19, 39
Humban IM and Shala	<i>hadien hapshir sukartah</i>	Choga Zanbil	unknown type of structure	EKI §11C = MDP 4I: no. 39
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12D = MDP 4I: no. 39
	<i>siyan silin</i>	Susa	temple of?	IRS 24
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 25
	<i>siyan silin</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple of?	EKI §6g = MDP 4I: no. 14
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §7IIc = MDP 4I: no. 13
Inanna	<i>Siyan</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §10A = MDP 4I: no. 45
Inshushinak	<i>siyan ubqumimma</i>	Susa	temple of artificial sandstone bricks (Hinz-Koch) or glazed bricks (Malbran-Labat)	IRS 24
	<i>Kukunnum</i>	Susa	high temple	IRS 31
	<i>kukunnum</i>	Susa	high temple of artificial sandstone	IRS 28
	<i>ubqumimma</i>		bricks (Hinz-Koch) or glazed bricks	
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 28
	<i>Zagratume</i>	Susa	ziggurat	IRS 28
	<i>nur kiprat</i>	Susa	(temple of) ‘moonlight’	IRS 29
	<i>siyan ubqumimma</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple of artificial sandstone bricks (Hinz-Koch) or glazed bricks	EKI §5e = MDP 4I: no. 33

			(Malbran-Labat)	
	<i>siyan likrin</i>	Choga Zanbil	unknown type of temple	EKI §6i = MDP 4I: no. 34
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12a-c = MDP 4I: no. 1, EKI §12A = MDP 4I: no. 5
	<i>kukunnum</i> <i>ubqumimma</i>	Choga Zanbil	high temple of artificial sandstone bricks	EKI §12a-c = MDP 4I: no. 1
	<i>Zagrature</i>	Choga Zanbil	ziggurat	EKI §13a
	<i>x-x-x mushia</i>	Choga Zanbil	bull? and griffin of glazed clay	MDP 4I: nos. 53-5
	<i>tush pitteka</i>	Choga Zanbil	enclosed courtyard? (Steve)	MDP 4I: no. 22
	<i>Kukunnum</i>	KS 937 along the old Dizful- Shustar route	high temple	MDP 53: no. 7
Ishnikarab	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 24
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §6e = MDP 4I: no. 8
	<i>ligi mushitta</i>	Choga Zanbil	blue-glazed terracotta knob	MDP 4I: no. 57
Kilah shupir	<i>siyan limin</i>	Choga Zanbil	‘fire’ temple	EKI §9Va
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §9Vb = MDP 4I: no. 51
Kiririsha	<i>kishtum.ma</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple ‘in the grove’	EKI §9IVc = MDP 4I: 25
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12B = MDP 4I: no. 7
Kirwashir	<i>Siyan</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	MDP 4I: no. 30
Manzat	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12G = MDP 4I: 48
Nabium	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	MDP 4I: no. 42
Nabu	<i>Siyan</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §7Ia
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12E = MDP 4I: no. 41
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 25
Nahhunte	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §10a
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 30
Napirisha	<i>ain kuten</i>	Choga Zanbil	‘house of justice’ (Steve, Malbran-Labat)	EKI §8 = MDP 4I: no. 38
	<i>Siyan</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	MDP 4I: no. 28

TABLE 7.8. (continued)

Deity	Structure	Location	Meaning	Reference
	<i>siyan talin</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple of? (something related to writing?)	EKI §11D = MDP 41: no. 9
	<i>ain kuten</i>	Susa	‘house of justice’	IRS 26
	<i>Siyan</i>	Susa	temple	IRS 27
Napirisha and Belet-ali	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 25
Napirisha and Inshushinak	<i>siyan mielki ilani</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple of?	EKI §9II
	<i>Siyan</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §9IIIa–c = MDP 41: nos. 2–4
	<i>nur kiprat</i>	Choga Zanbil	(temple of) ‘moonlight’	MDP 41: no. 21
	<i>abullu kinunni</i>	Choga Zanbil	‘gate of the oven’	EKI §11A, a–b; MDP 41: nos. 36–7
	<i>shunshu irpi kushih</i>	Choga Zanbil	unknown type of structure	EKI §11B = MDP 41: no. 6
	<i>Kukunnum</i>	Choga Zanbil	high temple	EKI §13A–B = MDP 41: nos. 31–2
	<i>siyan mielki ilani</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple of the ‘king of the gods’? (Steve)	MDP 41: no. 35
	<i>Ulhi</i>	Choga Zanbil	type of temple	MDP 41: nos. 2, 4A–B
	<i>siyan mielki ilani</i>	Susa	temple of the ‘king of the gods’? (Steve)	IRS 27
	<i>Kukunnum</i>	Susa	high temple	IRS 32
Napratep gods	<i>Siyan</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §6d = MDP 41: no. 17
	<i>sir halte</i>	Choga Zanbil	columned doorway? (Steve)	EKI §6k = MDP 41: no. 18
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §7II d
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 25
Nazit	<i>Siyan</i>	Susa	temple	IRS 27
NIN.É.GAL	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12F = MDP 41: no. 47
NUN-LUGAL	<i>Siyan</i>	Susa	temple	IRS 27
Nushku	<i>Murti</i>	Choga Zanbil	podium? (Malbran-Labat)	EKI §7III = MDP 41: no. 24
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §12C = MDP 41: no. 43
	<i>Ipillati</i>	Choga Zanbil	courtyard? (Steve)	MDP 41: nos. 23 and 44

Pinigir	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i> <i>Ashtam</i>	Susa Susa	(s.v. Belala) building where statues/figurines signifying the goddess's fecundity role in procreation were gathered; cf. link with sacred marriage rites or divine prostitution	IRS 22, 25 IRS 24
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §6a, 7Ib = MDP 41: nos. 10–11
	<i>Ashtam</i>	Choga Zanbil	(s.v. Belala)	EKI §5d = MDP 41: no. 12
Shimut and Belet-ali	<i>siyan kinin</i>	Choga Zanbil		EKI §6f = MDP 41: no. 16
	<i>Siyān</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §7IIa = MDP 41: no. 15
	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 25
Shushmusi or Damusi and Belilit	<i>Siyān</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §10B = MDP 41: no. 50
Siiashum	<i>Siyān</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	EKI §8A
Sin	<i>siyan . . . upat hussip</i>	Susa	(s.v. Belala)	IRS 30
Sunkir risharra (‘Great god’)	<i>pukshi takkipi</i>	Choga Zanbil	‘house of life, place of destinies’ (Steve)	MDP 41: no. 46
	<i>Siyān</i>	Choga Zanbil	temple	MDP 41: no. 26
Upurkubak	<i>Siyān</i>	Susa	temple	IRS 23
	<i>Siyān</i>	Choga Gotvand	temple	MDP 53: no. 5
	<i>Zagratume</i>	eastern Susiana	ziggurat	MDP 53: no. 6

According to these, he had statues carved and temples or other types of religious buildings erected for Belala, Belet-Ali, Ea²-sunkir, IM, Inshushinak, Ishnikarab, Kiririsha (Grillot 1986), Nabu, Nahhunte, Napirisha (the 'great god'), the Napratep gods ('the protectors'; Vallat 1987a), Nazit, NUN-EŠŠANA, Pinigir, Shala, Shimut, Sin and Upurkupak. No program of public/religious building on this scale had previously taken place at Susa. Unfortunately, much of the architecture which must have resulted from this burst of activity has been lost to us through subsequent construction and disturbance, so that the inscribed bricks which record a particular building project are often all we have to go on. The absence of the buildings themselves in most cases makes it difficult to fully comprehend the variety of terms used to denote the different types of structures erected by Untash-Napirisha. The main shrine to Inshushinak was one of the rare examples of a Middle Elamite religious building still extant at Susa when excavations began, but this was largely excavated in the late nineteenth century when recording was often imprecise and 'while excavators give elaborate descriptions of some of the architectural details (crenellated roofs and polychrome inlaid terracotta wall knobs)' and 'mention glazed inscribed relief brickwork on the main doorways on the southeastern side of the temple of which we have examples' (Harper et al. 1992: 123), the finds themselves are no longer extant.

Two caches from the Inshushinak temple area are important as they provide us with a glimpse of the variety of Middle Elamite material culture. Deposit I, as I shall call it, was found on New Year's Day 1904, in a three-sided brick cist which measured 1.5 × 1.2 m (Tallon et al. 1989: 121). Along with unpierced beads, unengraved cylinder seals and scrap metal, several dozen male and female metal figurines were found. These included examples made from nearly pure copper with trace impurities (e.g. zinc, lead, arsenic, iron, silver, etc.) as well as some low-tin bronzes with up to 5.9 per cent tin (Tallon et al. 1989: Fig. 1). On 22 February 1904 a second cache, Deposit II, was found clustered on a green-glazed brick platform (c. 96 × 64 cm) to the south of the temple itself. Initially the excavator, R. de Mecquenem, believed this to be a foundation deposit. Later he changed his mind and suggested it represented the 'remnants of a funerary deposit from a vaulted tomb that had been looted' (Harper et al. 1992: 145). This cache included a pair of nearly identical, 6 cm. tall statuettes of male worshippers made of gold and silver (Plate 7.13); a series of faience figurines depicting male worshippers; a lapis lazuli dove inlaid with gold; limestone animal figures mounted on bitumen compound sledges; a schist whetstone with an elaborate gold lion's head finial at one end showing fine granulation and repoussé work; and an agate bead inscribed in Akkadian with the legend 'To Ishtarān [city god of Der; see Chapter 6], Kurigalzu has dedicated [this]' (Harper et al. 1992: 153).

Perhaps the most outstanding find from this period is a 1.29 m high, 1,750 kg cast bronze statue excavated in 1903 in the east-central portion of the Acropole.



Plate 7.13. Gold and silver male figurines from Deposit II at Susa (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

The piece, which came from the upper levels of a room in the temple to Ninhursag founded by Shulgi (Amiet 2006: 71), depicts Untash-Napirisha's wife, Napir-Asu (Plates 7.14 and 7.15). It consists of a solid core of 11 per cent tin-bronze which supports an outer shell of copper cast in the lost wax process with 1 per cent tin and various other impurities, including lead, silver, nickel, bismuth and cobalt. Napir-Asu is shown wearing a long dress with short sleeves. The upper part of the dress is covered with dotted circles which might represent eyelet-like decoration, while the skirt, which appears to be wrapped around the figure, has panels of geometric decoration running around the waist and down the front, as well as wavy lines suggesting a border of fringe at the bottom. The eyelet pattern covers large portions of the body of the skirt as well, although one area has been inscribed in Elamite (Table 7.7) with a curse on anyone who would do damage to the statue or its inscription, invoking the Elamite deities Napirisha, Kiririsha and Inshushinak. Although most of the decorative work on Napir-Asu's dress was originally cast, the inscription, eyelets, and portions of the geometric borders were chased after casting. It is not



Plate 7.14. The statue of Napir-Asu (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

certain whether the statue was originally covered with gold or silver plate which has since been lost, but the possibility exists, for grooves were found on the arm and on either side of the skirt which, in other situations, have been known to help secure sheets of precious metal to base metal statuary (Harper et al. 1992: 134–5). Napir-Asu has a four-banded bracelet on her right wrist, and a clasp at her right shoulder is shown attached to her dress. If Napir-Asu was the Elamite king's principal wife, then she was probably the daughter of the Kassite king Burna-Buriash II mentioned in the Berlin letter. Her statue has been called 'rightly the most famous work of Elamite

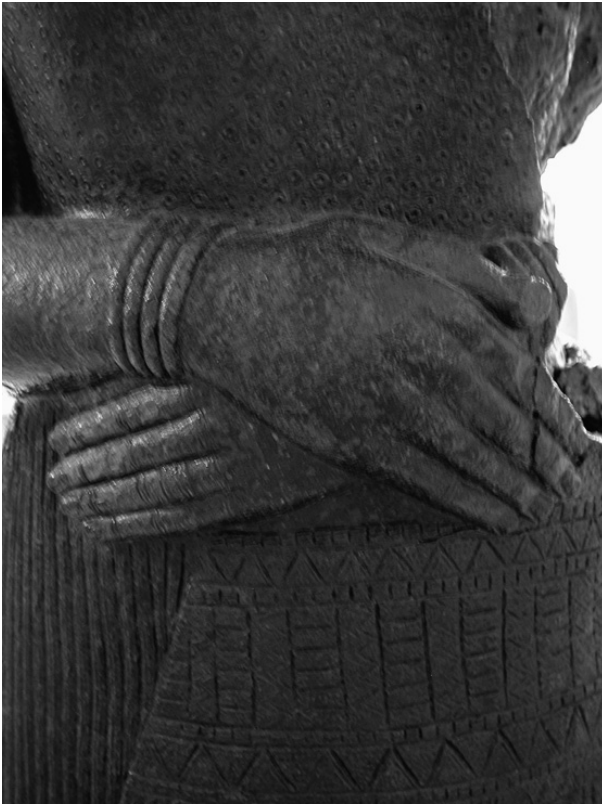


Plate 7.15. Detail of Napir-Asu's hands (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

art' (Porada 1971: 30; cf. Carter 2014). Napir-Asu's statue is only one of a number of fragments of large cast bronzework from Middle Elamite Susa.

Susa has also yielded fragments of one or more statues of Untash-Napirisha (Vallat 1988a) along with fragments of an inscribed (Vallat 1981) stele showing, in four registers, the king before a seated god wearing a horned crown (I); Napir-Asu, Untash-Napirisha and the priestess U-tik (Untash-Napirisha's mother?) (II); two goddess with horned crowns (Binder 2012) holding the streams emanating from a number of flowing vases (III); and two standing mountain goats with bearded, human faces grasping the leaves of a tree (IV) (Harper et al. 1992: 128–9). Meandering serpents with dragons' heads frame the scenes. Both the stele and the statues of, or commissioned by, Untash-Napirisha are thought to have been brought to Susa by the later Middle Elamite III ruler Shutruk-Nahhunte who, in one of his inscriptions, writes, 'I (am) Shutruk-Nahhunte, son of Hallutush-Inshushinak [the beloved servant] of [the god Inshushinak]. I removed the statues which Untash-Napirisha had placed in the *siyan-kuk* when Inshushinak, my god, demanded it of me, and at Susa dedicated them to Inshushinak, my god' (König 1965: 75–6, §21; see also

Grillot and Vallat 1978: 82, n. 3; Vallat 1981: 32; for the two typically Elamite braids that appear on either side of the headless statue's beard, see Potts 2011c: 186ff.). The *siyan-kuk* where Untash-Napirisha originally displayed these works was at Al Untash-Napirisha, modern Choga Zanbil, an entirely new city founded by the king approximately 40 km southeast of Susa (Lantos 2014, 2013: 140 emphasizes that *siyan-kuk* specifically designated the temenos of Choga Zanbil and served as a synonym for the site's actual name; cf. Henkelman 2008a: 193, n. 417; Potts 2010b: 61).

CHOGA ZANBIL

French archaeologists working at Susa first became aware of Choga Zanbil in the mid-1890s when a geologist prospecting for oil brought an inscribed brick from the site overlooking the Diz river to the French camp (Ghirshman 1966a: 1). R. de Mecquenem undertook limited soundings at the site in 1936 and 1939, but it was R. Ghirshman who, in the course of nine seasons of excavation (1951–62), uncovered a vast area of Choga Zanbil, complete with ziggurat, temples, a palace and a perimeter wall exceeding 4 km in extent which enclosed an area of roughly 100 ha (Ghirshman 1952b, 1953, 1954a, 1955a, 1955b, 1956a, 1956c, 1957, 1959a, 1959b, 1962). Subsequent exploration in the environs has identified a temple to Manzat and NIN.DAR.A c. 3 km away, built by Shutruk-Nahhunte (Mousavi 1990; Vallat 1990c), while a study of aerial photographs of Choga Zanbil has located what has been described as a 'ceremonial way' leading to the east gate of the outer city wall (Tourovets 1997; Malbran-Labat 2004: 41–2). More recent geophysical survey and soundings continue to yield data on Choga Zanbil and its material culture (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2007).

With the exception of two stone maceheads bearing the inscription 'Attar-kittah, son of ... king of Susa and Anshan' (Steve 1967: 112), all of the epigraphic evidence from Choga Zanbil – somewhere between 5,000 and 6,500 inscribed bricks plus assorted other texts – underscores the fact that the city was a new foundation of Untash-Napirisha's. However piously he may have acted at Susa, and as we saw earlier the inscribed bricks found there attest to his fostering of the cults of no fewer than eighteen different deities, Untash-Napirisha exceeded every one of his predecessors in the zeal and energy expended on the Elamite, Susian and Mesopotamian deities worshipped at Choga Zanbil. Looking at the building inscriptions (Table 7.8), we find that twenty-five deities – Belet-ali, Belilit, Hishmitik, Humban, IM, Inanna, Inshushinak, Ishnikarab, Kilah shupir, Kiririsha, Kirwashir, Manzat, Nabium, Nabu, Nahhunte, Napirisha, the Napraterp gods, NIN.É.GAL, Nushku, Pinigir, Ruhurater, Shala, Shimut, Shushmusi and Sunkir risharra – were honoured in one or more shrines at Choga Zanbil.

These were clustered within an inner walled area, which Ghirshman referred to by the Greek term *temenos*. The perimeter wall of this precinct was 1,625 m

long, the individual sides of which measured 470 m (NE wall), 325 m (NW wall), 450 m (SW wall) and 380 m (SE wall), respectively. A bilingual Elamite-Akkadian brick inscription begins with an Elamite text and concludes with a curse in Akkadian threatening whoever dared to 'shoot an arrow at the wall of *siyan-kuk*, make a breach, remove its bricks, burn its gates . . . [and] come near and undermine the walls with the scepter of Napirisha, Inshushinak and Kiririsha' (Berger 1967: 425). The temples of Pinigir, IM and Shala, Shimut and Belet-ali, and the Napratep gods were located, one beside the other, to the right of the entrance in the southeastern wall of the *temenos*. The first three of these temples had identical plans with a series of rooms on the southern and western sides, presumably for the priests and temple functionaries, and a pavement leading diagonally from the entrance across the interior courtyard to a two-roomed shrine with decorative buttresses on the exterior and a pair of altars (only one in the case of Pinigir) in the interior. Although M.E.L. Mallowan compared the layouts of these three identical shrines to the Enki temple at Ur built by Rim-Sin, suggesting that his descent from Kudur-mabuk and the alleged Elamite connection of the family may have been responsible for their similarity (Mallowan 1970: 270), the differences between the temples in question seem as great as their similarities.

To the northeast of the complex just described was the temple of Hishmitik and Ruhurater, while the temples of Ishnikarab, Nabu, Kiririsha and Napirisha were situated just northwest of the ziggurat, in the approximate centre of the enclosure. The ziggurat was encircled by yet another wall, adjacent to which were further chapels, and built into this wall were shrines to Inshushinak (A and B). Within the *temenos* were distinct roadways leading from the northeast and northwest gates (the so-called Susa gate) towards the ziggurat, but the rest of the interior seems to have been empty.

The ziggurat itself (Plate 7.16) was built of millions of bricks. Three types were noted in excavation: sun-dried, baked, and sun-dried with fragments of baked brick used as temper (Ghirshman 1966a: 12). The structure was principally built of sun-dried bricks capped by a 2 m thick 'skin' of baked brick to inhibit erosion. Inscribed bricks (Plate 7.17) proclaiming Untash-Napirisha's dedication of the ziggurat to Inshushinak occurred after every tenth row of uninscribed bricks. Throughout the ziggurat, layers of mud mortar were used between the rows of bricks, and in one area tree trunks coated with bitumen were used like dowels to help secure the mantle of baked brick to the core of sun-dried brick (Ghirshman 1966a: 13).

Estimated by Ghirshman to have stood originally 12 m high (Ghirshman 1966a: 59; see also Roche 1986), the ziggurat consisted of four levels, one on top of the next. These shrank in size from bottom to top, the lowest measuring 99.40 m on a side, standing on a slightly larger socle 105.20 m on a side (approximately equal to 200 Elamite cubits of 52.5 cm. each; see Trümpelmann 1976: 325); the second measuring 67 m on a side, standing on



Plate 7.16. The ziggurat of Choga Zanbil (photo: author).



Plate 7.17. An inscribed brick in the façade of the ziggurat of Choga Zanbil (photo: author).

a socle 71.2 m on a side; the third measuring 51 m on a side, the socle of which had been eroded; and the fourth measuring 35.2 m on a side, the socle of which was likewise no longer extant (Ghirshman 1966a: 36). The footprint of this impressive structure was slightly larger than that of the more famous ziggurat of Babylon (Potts 2014b). As in the case of Babylonian ziggurats, the uppermost stage supported a shrine, in this case the *kukunnum* of Napirisha and Inshushinak. Faced with bricks glazed blue and green, with touches of gold and silver as well, and decorated with square blue and green glazed plaques (Plate 7.18) with a raised pommel in the centre and palmette decoration (Nunn



Plate 7.18. Glazed ceramic wall plaque from Choga Zanbil (ME47.66.1; gift of Professor Roman Ghirshman, 1957; www.metmuseum.org).

1988: 161) – most inscribed with the name of Untash-Napirisha (Steve 1967: 103; Quintana 2008) – this high temple was surely an impressive, highly visible sight that must have shone in the sunlight.

One of the most extraordinary aspects of the Choga Zanbil ziggurat is the preservation of the gateways, galleries and staircases (Plates 7.19 and 7.20) which gave access to the *kukunnum*. In contrast to the ziggurats of southern Mesopotamia, in which access to the uppermost shrine was via staircases external to the individual levels themselves (Mallowan 1970: 267), the Choga Zanbil ziggurat was entered through a monumental internal stairway. Equally remarkable is the building's construction history which was revealed when Ghirshman and his colleagues excavated an exploratory tunnel through the ziggurat. This exposed a method of construction completely unattested in Mesopotamia (Mallowan 1970: 266–7). Briefly stated, in its earliest configuration, the square area occupied by the ziggurat was a sunken courtyard (believed by Gropp 1989: 243ff. to have been a 'pool' filled with water for ritual purposes, comparable to the so-called Great Bath at Mohenjo-Daro in Pakistan, a far from convincing hypothesis), entered through one of three monumental gateways on its northeast, southeast and southwest sides, and surrounded by the L-shaped temples of Inshushinak (A and B). A solid brick tower was constructed in the centre of this square space, the upper surface of which formed the fourth level of the ziggurat. This in turn was surrounded by a second skin of brick, the surface of which represented the third level of the ziggurat, and a third skin of brick, the surface of which constituted the second level of the ziggurat. The 'first' level of the ziggurat was nothing more than the ceiling of the Inshushinak



Plate 7.19. The staircase of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, looking upward (photo: Dr. Behzad Mofidi-Nasrabadi).

temples and the walls which were eventually added onto them so as to complete the northern sides of the square (Ghirshman 1966a: 38–45). This must surely be one of the most ambitious brick constructions ever erected in the ancient Near East.

The ziggurat at Choga Zanbil yielded a wide variety of important finds. The remains of a blue-glazed bull (1.35 m tall, 1.105 m long) were recovered during the excavation of the northeastern entranceway (Ghirshman 1966a: Pl. LXIX, top). The bull's back bore a sixteen-line inscription in the glaze identifying it as 'a bull in glazed terracotta, such as the ancients never made' which Untash-Napirisha set up as a guardian of the precinct of Inshushinak (Steve 1967: 95). Similarly, excavations in the northwest entrance to the ziggurat yielded



Plate 7.20. The staircase of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, looking downward (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

fragments of a blue-glazed griffon (Ghirshman 1966a: Pl. LXIX, bottom; 1966b: Fig. 3), badly broken but presumably of approximately the same size as its bovine counterpart, with a poorly preserved inscription (Steve 1967: 97). A surprising number of stone tools, including flint scrapers, knives, burins and projectile points, were found around the ziggurat, confirming that stone tools were still used in Late Bronze Age Khuzistan (e.g. Ghirshman 1966a: Pl. LXVI, LXX–LXII). Large numbers of animal figurines (including birds, turtles, rams,

boars, bulls), beads, and maceheads, found in the ‘chapels’ along the southwest side of the ziggurat, had presumably been donated as votive offerings by worshippers. These chapels also yielded 127 of the 160 cylinder seals discovered by Ghirshman at Choga Zanbil (Porada 1970: 3). These included both pseudo-Kassite and Elamite (*‘élamite élaborée’*) seals (Amiet 2000: 4–5), the majority of which were made of faience or frit (see now Matthews 1992: 15ff.; for a seal found at Bubastis in Egypt with clear Middle Elamite parallels at Choga Zanbil and Susa, see Martin 1995).

The various temples in close proximity to the ziggurat also yielded finds, some of which may have been used in temple ritual and some of which may have been *ex voto* offerings. Thus, the tall ceramic beakers (Ghirshman 1966a: Pl. LXXXII; for a study of the mass production of Middle Elamite beakers see Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2014b) from the temple of Napirisha (the ‘great god’) could have been employed by priests for domestic use or for pouring libations, while a fragmentary frit statuette of a female with arms crossed across her stomach (Ghirshman 1966a: Pl. LXXXII, G.T.Z. 273) probably represents a worshipper in an attitude of prayer which was dedicated by the worshipper herself. A pair of bronze shaft-hole axes, one of which has a boar (?) reclining on the shaft and the blade emanating from a lion’s mouth, as well as a bronze celt (small blade-axe), all of which were found in the temple of Kiririsha, were engraved with the name of Untash-Napirisha (Steve 1967: 102; Ghirshman 1966a: Pls. LXXXIII, LXXXV). Small bronze animal figurines, rings, pendants, stone maceheads bearing the name of Untash-Napirisha and a selection of short swords and dagger blades were also recovered from the temple (Ghirshman 1966a: Pls. LXXXIV–XCIII). The temple of Ishnikarab (Ishmekarab), on the other hand, yielded a number of examples of the ceramic dish-on-stand (Ghirshman 1966a: Pl. XCVI), while excavations in the temple of Pinigir brought to light a number of frit vessels in the form of a female head (Ghirshman 1968b: Pl. LXX). Finds such as these, along with alabaster vessels (Ghirshman 1968b: Pls. LI–LIII, XCIII, XCIV), closely paralleled at Middle Assyrian Assur (von Bissing 1940: Figs. 12–14; Haller 1954: Pl. 31), show that representative examples of international art styles in wide circulation during the Late Bronze Age were well known at the court and in the temples of Al Untash-Napirisha.

In the eastern corner of the site Ghirshman excavated four major buildings in what he called the ‘royal quarter’ of the city. This area of buildings lay approximately 300 to 600 m away from the *temenos* wall. Although the intervening zone has in recent times been subject to intense erosion during the winter rains, Ghirshman imagined that it had never really been built up with domestic houses, but that ‘pilgrims’, journeying to the great complex of deities within the centre of the city, had camped there in the wide open spaces (Ghirshman 1968b: 47). This remains, however, pure speculation, and there is no concrete evidence that Choga Zanbil was ever a site of pilgrimage. More

recently, the residential and commercial character of the nonreligious precincts at the site have been emphasized (Carlson 2014).

A monumental ‘royal’ gateway complex slightly south of the northeastern corner of the site gave access to this part of Al Untash-Napirisha where inscribed bricks identified a 4.9 m wide entrance through the outer city wall as the ‘great gate’. This opened onto a large courtyard (64×62.3 m) with rooms, perhaps for guards, built into the surrounding walls. Directly opposite the ‘great gate’, on the opposite side of the courtyard, was the 4 m wide ‘king’s gate’ (Ghirshman 1968b: 87–9).

Immediately to the east of the gate/courtyard complex was a large building (90.1×42.9 m) that comprised a gallery of rooms built around two nearly identical internal courtyards (29.3×29.3 m and 29.5×29.3 m, respectively). This structure, composed of two symmetrical sets of rooms each surrounding a courtyard, was termed Palace III by Ghirshman, who felt that the general dearth of finds, consisting only of some jar lids and a few sherds (Ghirshman 1968b: 83), apart from a buried hoard of twelve alabaster vessels (Ghirshman 1968b: Pls. XCIII, XCIV), suggested that the building may have been systematically looted, perhaps by the Assyrians under Assurbanipal in the late seventh century BC. Although analysis of the latest ceramics from Ghirshman’s excavations suggested that Choga Zanbil’s destruction probably occurred when Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 BC) brought the Middle Elamite III Shutrukid dynasty to an end (Pons 1994: 43), subsequent excavations have brought to light architectural remains dating as late as the eighth and seventh centuries BC (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2014b: 385).

To the northeast of the gateway and Palace III lay the ephemeral remains of what Ghirshman took to be another palace (IV), and beyond this was yet another building, called Palace II, which consisted of three courtyards, each surrounded by a gallery of rooms, the whole arranged in an L shape. This perfectly symmetrical building was made up of three square units, 58 m on each side, so that at its widest point the building measured 116 m. The internal courtyards measured $c. 38.4 \times 37.8$ m. As in the case of Palace III, finds were rare. Although the term ‘palace’ is retained here for purposes of reference, the function of these structures is unclear.

Approximately 70 m to the west of Palace II lay a building with a completely different plan, the so-called *palais hypogée*. Covering an area $c. 70 \times 56$ m, it consisted of a large internal courtyard (22.9×29.75 m) on the south side of the building, flanked by sets of rooms of varying dimensions to the northwest and northeast and a pair of long, narrow rooms along the southwestern and southeastern sides. Below ground Ghirshman discovered no fewer than five monumental, subterranean, vaulted tombs, all built of brick. Access to each of these was via a staircase of sixteen or seventeen steps but the tombs themselves differed from each other in plan. Thus, the stairway might be placed at one end of a long, narrow chamber (3.65×12.6 m internally), as in Tomb I, whereas in Tomb IV

the entrance and staircase were in the middle of the long side of a chamber (4.1×1.5 m), and in the case of Tombs II, III and V, the tomb comprised two long chambers of roughly similar dimensions (II: 6.25 and 6.85 m; III: 6.15 and 6.6 m; V: 9 m) connected by a narrow passageway. The height of the vaulted ceilings in the chambers was *c.* 4 m while the floors, reached by steeply inclined staircases, were up to 5.25 m below the floor of the palace above.

The use of these chambers as tombs was indicated in a variety of ways. In Tomb II small concentrations of carbonized bone and ash were recovered, one in each chamber. These proved to be the remains of three individuals in the first chamber and five in the second, all of whom had been cremated along with grave goods including weapons (swords and arrowheads) and personal jewellery (e.g. beads, buttons, a silver torque) (Ghirshman 1968b: 63–5). A completely different form of burial seemed to be indicated by the evidence from Tomb IV, where the fully articulated skeleton of a female, age *c.* 40–50 years, was found in flexed position, lying on its left side, on top of a solid brick platform measuring $2 \times 2.25 \times 8$ m. The skeleton lay crosswise near one end of the platform (rather than lengthwise as on a bed), accompanied by the cremated remains of two other individuals and their personal belongings (weaponry, jewellery), which also rested on the platform. Similar remains may once have existed in Tomb V, but pillaging here – again ascribed by Ghirshman to the violent destruction wrought by Assurbanipal in the seventh century BC – had obliterated most of the evidence (Ghirshman 1968b: 73).

While reminiscent of the slightly earlier vaulted tombs at Haft Tepe, the Choga Zanbil tombs are far more elaborate architecturally, and the evidence they provide of cremation is important for our understanding of the varieties of Middle Elamite mortuary practice. Ghirshman stressed that, in the course of roughly seventy years of excavations by the French at Susa, not a single instance of cremation had been uncovered (Ghirshman 1968b: 73). Assuming that all of the tombs found in the *palais hypogée* were, in some sense, royal, he suggested that the uncremated female may have been a princess of foreign origin for whom cremation would not have been an acceptable mode of burial, noting that diplomatic marriages, particularly involving Egyptian, Mittanian, Kassite and Hittite royalty, were common at the time (see also Pintore 1978). Knowing as we now do that Untash-Napirisha was married to a Kassite, namely the daughter of Burna-Buriash II (Table 7.5), and that intermarriage was common between the princes of Susa and Anshan and the princesses of Kassite Babylonia, it is tempting to suggest that the uncremated female from Tomb IV at Choga Zanbil was, as Ghirshman suggested, of foreign blood, most likely Kassite (Vallat 1988a: 175). On the other hand, the absence of earlier Elamite cremation burials suggests that one should not automatically assume the cremations at Choga Zanbil were necessarily those of Elamites. Diplomatic and commercial contacts with areas as far away as Assur in northern Mesopotamia, Tell Zubeidi in the Hamrin basin or Marlik near the Caspian

Sea are also attested in this period by the diffusion of Elamite cylinder seals (Amiet 1986d, 1989, 1990a), and there may be other nationalities that might be considered candidates for cremation burial in the Late Bronze Age.

In conclusion, Choga Zanbil is in many ways a remarkable site. With respect to monumental architecture and religious reform, the achievements of Untash-Napirisha are unparalleled, even if it is far from certain that Choga Zanbil was ‘an ambitious attempt to replace Susa as the political and religious center of the Elamite kingdom . . . a kind of federal sanctuary where the gods of the highlands and the lowlands were worshiped on an equal footing’ (Harper et al. 1992: 121). Nothing, however, suggests that Untash-Napirisha’s example was followed by his immediate offspring.

AFTER UNTASH-NAPIRISHA

The genealogy of Untash-Napirisha’s successors is, in part, revealed by the Berlin letter (Table 7.6), which tells us that his Kassite wife bore him a son, called Kidin-hudurudish in Akkadian or Kidin-Hutran (II) in Elamite, who married another Kassite princess, daughter of [. . .]^dduniash, who gave birth to Napirisha-Untash (Paulus 2013: 431). As noted earlier, the Shilhak-Inshushinak building inscription listing those kings who contributed to the maintenance of the Inshushinak temple at Susa suggests that following the reign of Untash-Napirisha, whether directly or indirectly, he was succeeded by his second cousins, Pahir-ishshan’s sons, Unpahash-Napirisha and Kidin-Hutran I. If this were true, then both men must have been fairly advanced in years. Vallat suggested that these two may have died without issue (Vallat 1994: 5), and if this were so then it would explain why succession reverted to Untash-Napirisha’s son Kidin-Hutran II, who was in turn succeeded by his son, Napirisha-Untash. However, although not named in the letter, presumably because he did not take a Kassite bride, the existence of a third Kidin-Hutran has been postulated by some scholars for the simple reason that an Elamite king by this name was active in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and cannot, therefore, be Kidin-Hutran II (Steve and Vallat 1989: 228; Steve 1991: 6; for a dissenting view see Quintana 2010a).

According to Babylonian Chronicle P, Kidin-Hutran (II) attacked the east Tigris region (Postgate and Mattila 2004: 242; Bányai 2014), destroying Der and its main temple, Edimgalkalamma, before entering Babylonia where he captured Nippur, deported some of its inhabitants and overthrew Enlil-nadinshumi, twenty-ninth ruler of the Kassite dynasty, in 1224 BC. In reality, this Kassite king was only a puppet of the Assyrian state, for Tukulti-Ninurta I had conquered Babylonia by attacking and defeating Kashtiliashu I approximately a year earlier (Weidner 1959: 4; see also Brinkman 1968: 86, 1976: 125). A few years later, according to Chronicle P (Brinkman 1968: 87, 1976: 87), Kidin-Hutran II attacked the third Assyrian appointee to the Kassite throne, Adad-shuma-iddina (1222–1217 BC), striking at both Marad and Isin.

The reason for these attacks is nowhere stated explicitly, but one may suppose that, as the legitimate Kassite royal house had long been linked by marriage with that of the kings of Susa and Anshan, Tukulti-Ninurta I's overthrow of Kashtiliashu IV provided ample justification for the Elamites to take up arms against the Assyrian's client. The lack of any Assyrian response to these attacks may seem strange, but the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta was assassinated shortly thereafter (*c.* 1207 BC) might indicate that the king was too preoccupied at home to respond to the Elamite attack. As the Berlin letter ([Table 7.6](#)) makes clear, its author was married to the daughter of the thirty-third Kassite king, Meli-Shihu or Meli-shipak (1186–1172 BC). He bitterly resented the fact that, despite having a Kassite royal mother, he did 'not sit on the throne of the land of Babylonia'. As his letter reveals, he was incensed at not having received a civil reply to his 'sincere proposal' – presumably that he ascend the Babylonian throne. He threatened to 'destroy your cities, dem[olish] your fortresses, stop up your (irrigation) ditches, cut down your orchards, [and pull out] the rings (of the sluices) at the mouths of your (irrigation) canals'. Although the name of the author of the Berlin letter is not preserved, several scholars have suggested it was Shutruk-Nahhunte (Steve and Vallat [1989](#): 228; Steve [1991](#): 7) or his son, Kutir-Nahhunte (van Dijk [1986](#): 166; followed by Foster [1993](#): 284, n. 1, and Lambert [1994](#): 67). Recent scholarship, however, suggests that the attack threatened in the Berlin letter, and the campaign actually conducted, as related in Chronicle P, are identical. In other words, the author of the Berlin letter was none other than Kidin-Hutran II (Paulus [2013](#): 437). Unfortunately, we have no sources relating to the end of Kidin-Hutran II's aggressive reign, but we know that, after Tukulti-Ninurta's death, the son of Kashtiliashu IV, Adad-shuma-usur, regained the throne, restoring the Kassites to power and eventually gaining supremacy over its arch-rival Assyria (Brinkman [1968](#): 87).

The complete absence of inscriptions at Choga Zanbil attributable to Untash-Napirisha's successors strongly suggests that, upon Untash-Napirisha's death, all major construction at the site ceased, as did, one presumes, the patronage of the sanctuaries there. As noted earlier, some occupation of the site following the reign of Untash-Napirisha may be inferred on ceramic grounds (Pons [1994](#); Mofidi-Nasrabadi [2014b](#): 385), but this does not alter the fact that his successors seem to have neglected the site for official purposes (Steve et al. [1980](#): 103). Nonroyal occupation is almost certain to have ended when, as the Babylonian literary tradition asserts, Nebuchadnezzar I terminated the Shutrukid dynasty in the eleventh century.

MIDDLE ELAMITE III (*c.* 1200–1100 BC)

We have no clear idea of how the Ighalkid dynasty came to an end, but it is thought that Kidin-Hutran II died early in the reign of his Kassite contemporary Adad-shuma-usur (Steve et al. [1980](#): 103). What followed is unclear. The

next historical figure to call himself ‘king of Anshan and Susa’ is Shutruk-Nahhunte I (Henkelman 2012b), son of Hallutush-Inshushinak. Of the latter, we know nothing apart from his name as given by his son on more than 450 inscribed bricks from Susa (Malbran-Labat 1995: 79–83) and on several bricks from Deh-e Now (KS 120) and Choga Pahn West (KS 3A) (Steve 1987: 20–6).

Shilhak-Inshushinak’s enumeration of the rebuilders of the Inshushinak temple at Susa includes Shutruk-Nahhunte (König 1965: §48.2), and indeed 439 of his own inscribed bricks tell us that on the Apadana mound he built a *hiyan*, variously interpreted as a columned hall for Inshushinak which became the ‘family chapel’ of the Shutrukids (Malbran-Labat 1995: 79, 100 and n. 133) or the palace of the Elamite kings at Susa (Vallat 1999a: 38; cf. Potts 2010b: 59). In addition, four brick fragments tell us of Shutruk-Nahhunte’s restoration of the temple to Kiririsha-of-Liyan built by Humban-numena (Malbran-Labat 1995: 82; Wagensonner 2014). Similarly, Shutruk-Nahhunte restored the temple of Manzat at Deh-e Now (KS 120), which Igi-halki had rebuilt several centuries earlier (identically inscribed bricks were found at Choga Pahn West; see De Maaijer 1996: 72). Two inscribed brick fragments from Deh-e Now also mention the originally Sumerian goddess ^dNIN.DAR.A (Steve 1968: 300–3, 1987: 20, 27). Shutruk-Nahhunte’s building activities at Susa are also attested by fragments of glazed terracotta plaques with raised pommels which name him (Steve 1987: 29). These are similar to those used by Untash-Napirisha to decorate the high temple at Choga Zanbil. Whether this indicates a particular connection between Choga Zanbil and the family of Igi-halki is impossible to ascertain but certainly plausible. As two of the inscribed brick fragments from Deh-e Now seem to call ^dNIN.DAR.A (and Manzat?) ‘god of Elam and of Hubshen’ (Steve 1987: 27; see also 1968: 303), it has been suggested that Hubshen may have been the ancient name of the site (e.g. Hinz 1972: 121), but the fact that specific reference is made to the land and not to the city/town of Hubshen makes this doubtful. Finally, according to inscribed brick fragments from Tol-e Bard-e Karegar in eastern Khuzistan (Alizadeh et al. 2004: 76; Kozuh 2014: 134–9; cf. an unprovenanced example from the antiquities market in Peshawar published in Michaud 2000), Shutruk-Nahhunte is also known to have rebuilt temples there to Pinigir and the otherwise unknown deity Kamul.

Shutruk-Nahhunte’s presence at Susa is, however, most famously attested by the booty which he brought back from Mesopotamia after he invaded Babylonia and overthrew the thirty-fifth Kassite king, Zababa-shuma-iddina, in 1158 BC (Brinkman 1968: 88). This included numerous *kudurrus*, or boundary stones recording royal Kassite land grants (Seidl 1968; Slanski 2000); stone tablets; stelae, such as the famous victory stele of Naram-Sin, most probably the Law Code of Hammurabi, and a Kassite monument to which Shutruk-Nahhunte had his own image added (Amiet 1976: Fig. 12; 1992c: Fig. 2; cf. Seidl 1965; Spycket 2000: 656 and Fig. 1); and statues, including life-size representations of the Old Akkadian king Manishtushu (Table 7.9). Many of these, or fragments of

TABLE 7.9. *Mesopotamian booty seized by Shutruk-Nahhunte and other Elamite kings which was recovered at Susa*

Object	‘Author’	Date	Seized by	Reference
stele	Sargon	2334–2279 BC	unknown	Jéquier 1905: 9–41 = RCS 105
”	”	”	unknown	Nassouhi 1924: 65–74 = RCS 106
statue	Manishtusu	2269–2255 BC	Shutruk-Nahhunte	EKI §24a = RCS 107
stele	Naram-Sin	2254–2218 BC	Shutruk-Nahhunte	EKI §22 = RCS 109
stele	unknown	Ur III?	unknown	de Morgan et al. 1900: Pl. 3 = RCS 110
statue	unknown	Ur III/Isin-Larsa?	Shutruk-Nahhunte	Pézard and Pottier 1926: 191–2 = RCS 111
statue	unknown	Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian	Shutruk-Nahhunte	Scheil 1905: 12–13 = RCS 112
statue head	unknown	Old Babylonian	unknown	Frankfort 1954: 59 = RCS 113
stele (law code)	Hammurabi	Old Babylonian	unknown	de Morgan et al. 1905: 28–9
limestone statue	Kurigalzu I or II	pre-1375 BC; 1332–1308 BC	unknown	Scheil 1939: 11–12 = MSKH Q.2.2
agate scaraboid	”	”	unknown	Scheil 1905: 30 = MSKH Q.2.105
stone tablet	Nazi-Maruttash	1307–1282 BC	unknown	Scheil 1900: 86–92 = MSKH U.2.19
sceptre pommel	Shagarakti-Shuriash	1245–1233 BC	unknown	Scheil 1933: 32 = MSKH V.2.1
kudurru	Kashtiliashu IV	1232–1225 BC	unknown	Scheil 1900: 93–4 = MSKH O.2.5
stone tablet	post-Kashtiliashu?		unknown	Scheil 1900: 95–6 = MSKH O.2.6
<i>kudurru</i>	Adad-shuma-usur	1216–1187 BC	unknown	Scheil 1900: 97–8 = MSKH C.22.6
”	”	”	unknown	Scheil 1905: 42–3 = MSKH R.2.6
”	Meli-Shihu	1186–1172 BC	unknown	Scheil 1900: 99–111 = MSKH S.2.6 = RCS 115
”	”	”	unknown	Scheil 1900: 112 = MSKH S.2.7
”	”	”	unknown	Scheil 1908: 87–94 = MSKH S.2.8
”	”	”	unknown	Lampre 1900: 180 = MSKH S.2.9
stele	”	”	Shutruk-Nahhunte	Scheil 1902: 163–5 = MSKH S.5.1
<i>kudurru</i>	Marduk-apla-iddina I	1171–1159 BC	unknown	Scheil 1905: 39–41 = MSKH R.2.5
stele	uncertain	twelfth century BC?	unknown	de Morgan et al. 1905: Pl. 99 = RCS 117

them, bear one or another version of a standard inscription in which Shutruk-Nahhunte identifies himself as ‘son of Hallutush-Inshushinak, beloved servant of Inshushinak, king of Anshan and Susa, enlarger of my realm [for the title see Anthonioz and Malbran-Labat 2013], protector of Elam, prince of Elam’. This is followed by a reference to Inshushinak, at whose behest Shutruk-Nahhunte undertook a specific action, for example, ‘I destroyed Karaindash [i.e. Babylonia]’, ‘I destroyed Sippar’, or ‘I destroyed Eshnunna’. Thereafter the Elamite king identifies what it was he seized as booty, for example, ‘the stele of Naram-Sin’, ‘the statue of Manishtushu’ or ‘the stele of Meli-Shihu’ (König 1965: §22–4a). Additionally, there are numerous other Babylonian pieces, mainly *kudurrus*, from Susa, without specific labels telling us who seized them (Table 7.9; Seidl 1968). These may have been acquired by later kings, such as Kutir-Nahhunte, and it has even been suggested that some may have been brought back much earlier (e.g. by Kindattu) (Harper et al. 1992: 171). Finally, an inscribed agate bead, said to come from Iran and bearing a dedication by the Kassite king Shagarakti-Shuriash to the goddess Namma, may also have been acquired as booty (Gassan 1986), although an Iranian provenience is by no means guaranteed.

Shutruk-Nahhunte was also active in bringing stelae from other cities in Iran to Susa. For example, the inscription on one stele fragment (König 1965: §20) refers to a stele made in Anshan which Shutruk-Nahhunte, at Inshushinak’s behest, brought to Susa. ‘The king, who set it up, I do not know’, he wrote. In the same text he speaks of monuments taken from Choga Zambil and Tikni which he set up at Susa for Inshushinak and the goddess Balippiti. At least one more stele was moved from Choga Zambil to Susa (König 1965: §21), while a third stele from [...]amkiru was taken to Susa as well (König 1965: §28A). These actions would certainly suggest that, while Choga Zambil may not have been completely uninhabited after Untash-Napirisha’s death, the shrines there were perhaps neglected and, out of piety, Shutruk-Nahhunte wished to transfer certain holy monuments to Susa where they could be better cared for. Ritual paraphernalia, including a sacred basin which Siwe-palar-huppak, Pala-ishshan, Pahir-ishshan and Attar-kittah had each moved to a different city in their lifetimes, was also reconsecrated by Shutruk-Nahhunte at Susa (König 1965: §28A).

Several of Shutruk-Nahhunte’s inscriptions, although fragmentary, record military exploits. One refers to his camp while on campaign and to action near the Ulai river (modern Karkheh), in Khuzistan (König 1965: §28B; for the Ulai, see Steve et al. 1980: 104, n. 71; Potts 1999b). Another refers to 700, 600 and 400 cities/towns, presumably in different districts, which he ‘conquered’ (König 1965: §28CIa). The longest of these texts (Figure 7.1) lists tribute exacted from various defeated cities in Mesopotamia, citing an illegible amount of gold, 54 talents (i.e. 1,620 kg) and an illegible number of *minas* of silver from the Kassite capital Dur-Kurigalzu; an uncertain number of talents and 90 *minas* (c. 45 kg) of

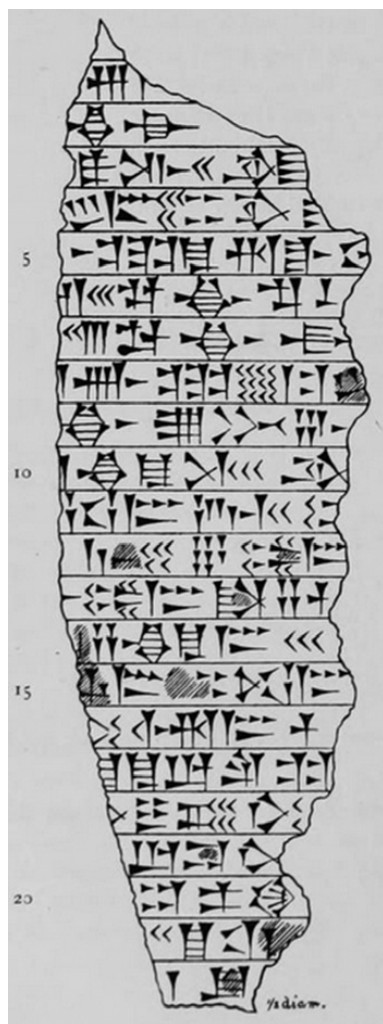


Figure 7.1. Fragmentary inscription of Shutruk-Nahhunte from Susa on sandstone enumerating tribute in gold, silver, copper and other commodities received from Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar, Akkad, Upi and other cities (after Hüsing 1916a: 88 = EKI 28C1).

something (gold or silver?) from Sippar; a number of talents and 23 *minas* (c. 11.5 kg) of something from Akkad; illegible amounts from Upi and Dur-[...]; and finally commodities such as copper bricks (ingots?), clothing, trees (or timber?) and swords (König 1965: §28C1). This last text reads like an actual record of the tribute received or booty seized in the campaign of 1158 BC.

Two texts, known principally from Neo-Assyrian copies belonging to the library of Assurbanipal and described as ‘highly poetic accounts of the deliverance of Babylonia from the Elamites’ (Brinkman 1968: 13), provide important, if one-sided information on the subsequent course of Kassite-Elamite relations. One of these, generally attributed to Nebuchadnezzar I, fourth king of the

Second Dynasty of the Sealand (1125–1104 BC) and eventual ‘liberator’ of Babylonia, tells us that after driving away (?) Zababa-shuma-iddina, Shutruk-Nahhunte ‘be[stowed royal authority] upon his eldest son, Kudur-Nahhunte’ (Foster 1993/I: 294). This does not suggest anything like total abdication on the part of the father, merely the appointment of his eldest son as a kind of military governor of Babylonia following its conquest. In spite of Shutruk-Nahhunte’s apparently ruthless campaign in Mesopotamia, yet another Kassite king, Enlil-nadin-ahi, was able to garner enough support to rule for three more years during which time land grants were issued and economic texts dated according to his year formulae (Brinkman 1976: 122).

How Kutir-Nahhunte and his father may have acted in this period is unclear. The same text states, ‘[The Babylonians? elevated] Enlil-nadin-ahi, my predecessor, [K.?] set to hostility, vowing destruction (?)’, and this seems to be the background to the three ‘Kedor-Laomer’ texts (so-called because of a tenuous and improbable argument that Kedor-Laomer, king of Elam, mentioned in Genesis 14, was in reality Kutir-Nahhunte; see Lambert 1994: 67) which date to the Achaemenid period and treat the Elamite-Kassite conflict (Foster 1993/I: 282–9). In one of these texts, which takes the form of a letter from Kutir-Nahhunte to the Babylonians, the Elamite king speaks of the punishment meted out to Babylon by Marduk and of the god’s decree that the ‘property of the Babylonians’ should become Elam’s (Foster 1993/I: 284). Ultimately Kutir-Nahhunte attacked Babylonia. As another of the Kedor-Laomer texts says, he ‘over[ran] all the people of Akkad like the deluge, He turned all the sublime [hol]y places into [ruin heaps]. . . . He carried off the [possessions] of Sumer and Akkad [to Elam], He took Enlil-nadin-ahi [to Elam]’ (Foster 1993/I: 294). The third Kedor-Laomer text treats the Elamite sack of Nippur in the following terms: ‘To all of his warriors he sped the blasphemy on, “Plunder Ekur [Enlil’s temple at Nippur], take its possessions! Obliterate its design [regulations? see Lambert 1994: 69], cut off its rites”’. The Elamites attacked another temple, the E-sharra (perhaps the famous one in Assur, but if so this seems out of order geographically), and ‘carried off its cult objects’; Kutir-Nahhunte ‘called up the barbarian horde, [level]led the land of Enlil’, then ‘headed north towards Borsippa . . . torched its sanctuary . . . [plun]dered all the temples . . . took their possessions and carried them off to Elam’ (Foster 1993/I: 285–7). Most notoriously of all, however, as the later composition attributed to Nebuchadnezzar I tells us, Kutir-Nahhunte committed that crime which ‘exceeded those of his forefathers, whose monstrous sin was the greatest of them all’ (Foster 1993/I: 294) by removing the statue of Marduk from his temple (Esagila) in Babylon and taking it to Susa (Brinkman 1968: 89).

Slightly more than fifty inscribed bricks and brick fragments attributable to Kutir-Nahhunte have been found at Susa. These commemorate various projects, including the replacement of some sun-dried brick with baked brick on an ‘exterior chapel’ of Inshushinak’s, and the restoration of the great gate of

Lagamal/r, the deity who, together with Ishnikarab, accompanied the dead to the divine judge Inshushinak (Malbran-Labat 1995: 83–7; see also König 1965: §29–30; Steve 1987: 30). Outside of Susa, Kutir-Nahhunte was active at Deh-e Now, where two fragmentary bricks of his mention the deity Manzat (Steve 1987: 31), presumably in connection with her temple, also attested in the inscriptions of Igi-halki and Shutruk-Nahhunte. The restoration of the temple of Kiririsha-of-Liyan, which had been built originally by Humban-numena (see previous discussion), is also mentioned in a text from Bushehr (König 1965: §31), which, additionally, tells us that the restoration of the temple was done for the life of not only Kutir-Nahhunte but for Nahhunte-Utu, and ‘her descendants’. Although most scholars have assumed that this was Kutir-Nahhunte’s wife (e.g. Carter and Stolper 1984: 41), Malbran-Labat suggested that she was his sister, and that this text reflects a particularity of Elamite dynastic succession in the absence of a male heir, viz. succession via the sister of the king (Malbran-Labat 1995: 87). Against this argument one should note, however, that upon his death, Kutir-Nahhunte was succeeded not by a nephew (i.e. his sister’s son) but by a brother.

As he tells us in a brick inscription, Shilhak-Inshushinak (c. 1150–1120 BC), who identifies himself ‘son of Shutruk-Nahhunte’ in the many inscriptions for which he is known, succeeded his brother Kutir-Nahhunte when the latter died (Malbran-Labat 1995: 94; Henkelman 2010d). In one text he calls himself the ‘chosen brother of Kutir-Nahhunte’ (König 1965: §54), and in fact, one of Kutir-Nahhunte’s building projects – the construction of a façade of moulded brick – was completed posthumously by Shilhak-Inshushinak (Table 7.10). The vast majority of Shilhak-Inshushinak’s texts come from Susa, where he undertook a wide variety of building works as recounted on his inscribed bricks, stelae and door sockets (Lambert 1978; Malbran-Labat 1995). Elsewhere, inscribed bricks from Bushehr confirm that he restored the Kiririsha temple there (König 1965: §§57–9; see also Grillot and Vallat 1984). Brick fragments from Choga Pahn West refer to the restoration of the ‘temple of the grove’, seemingly the same building referred to at Susa (?) (Stolper 1978: 89–91; Steve 1987: 32). Brick fragments from Deh-e Now commemorate his work on the temples of Manzat and Nin (Scheil 1910: 569). Finally, a stamped brick found at Tol-e Spid near Fahliyan in Fars province invoking the beneficence of Kilahshupir (Herzfeld 1928; König 1965: §41A) implies that Shilhak-Inshushinak built a temple to this deity there (e.g. Lambert 1972: 61; Potts 2010b). The significance of a bronze axe inscribed with the name of Shilhak-Inshushinak, said to come from a tomb in Luristan (Ghirshman 1960), is impossible to ascertain in view of its unconfirmed provenance.

However, Shilhak-Inshushinak’s activities were even more wide-ranging than these inscribed bricks would suggest, for two of his stelae from Susa mention the restoration of temples to various deities, including Huban-elū, Inshushinak, Lagamal/r, Manzat and Shimut, and one of them specifies that he

TABLE 7.10. *Shilhak-Inshushinak's building works at Susa*

Projects undertaken at Susa	Reference
restoration of the temple of Inshushinak built/restored by Kindattu, Ebarti, Shilhaha, Tan-Ruhuratir, Idadu, Atta-hushu, Shiruk-tuh, Siwe-palar-huppak, Humban-numena, Hutran-tepti, Kuk-Nashur, Tepti-halki, and Kuk-Kirwash	IRS §38, 49
restoration of the temple of Inshushinak, construction of a doorway in glazed brick with gold fixtures	IRS §43
restoration of the gate of Inshushinak	IRS §50
restoration of the 'exterior chapel' of Inshushinak	IRS §40
completion of a moulded brick façade on the 'exterior chapel' of Inshushinak begun by Kutir-Nahhunte	IRS §41
refoundation and (re-?)construction of the throne/seat? of Tab-migirshu (?) in mudbrick	IRS §44
restoration of the temple of Kiririsha-of-Liyan	IRS §39
decoration of the temple of Kiririsha-of-Liyan with glazed brick	IRS §42
reconstruction of the 'temple of the grove' built by unknown predecessors	IRS §45

carried out this work in twenty different cities (e.g. Attata-ekal-likrub, Attata-mitik, Bit Hulmi, Bit Turni[. . .], Ekallate, Hantallak, Marrut, Peptar-siyan-sit, Perraperra, Pinigir, Shuhshipa and Tettum, as well as some whose names are broken) (König 1965: §§47–8; Grillot-Susini 2001: 141).

Two discoveries made at Susa shed further light on religious practice there during the reign of Shilhak-Inshushinak. The first of these is a cast bronze object (Plate 7.21) with a short inscription in which Shilhak-Inshushinak, after identifying himself and giving us his titles, writes, 'I have made a bronze sunrise (*sit shamshi*)' (König 1965: §56). Discovered in the area of the Ninhursag temple on the Acropole during the winter of 1904/5 (Gautier 1909), the *sit shamshi*, as it has come to be known, is a unique representation of ritual in action. It consists of a flat 60 × 40 cm. base which supports a pair of nude male figures, each of whom crouches. One holds a spouted vessel while the other's hands are extended flat, palms up. The figures are surrounded by various items, some of which were cast in one piece with the men and platform, while others were attached with rivets. Two stepped structures, broadly reminiscent of the ziggurat at Choga Zanbil, flank the figures. Two rectangular basins, a large pithos, three trees, a stele-like object, an L-shaped platform, and two rows of four hemispheres complete the scene. The interpretation of the *sit shamshi* is far from clear. It has been described as a depiction of 'a cult activity taking place at the break of day in which two persons, presumably priests, engage in ritual cleansing at the very spot where the day's sacrifices and libations will be carried



Plate 7.21. The *sit shamshi* from Susa (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

out' (Harper et al. 1992: 140), possibly on the Acropole of Susa itself (Gautier 1909: 43). Alternatively, F. Malbran-Labat suggested that it represents a funerary ceremony for kings interred nearby, celebrated at dawn on a sacred esplanade by two priests shown performing a rite of ablution (Malbran-Labat 1995: 214). Whatever the precise meaning of the scene depicted, it is certainly one of the most evocative finds ever made at Susa.

The second major find of religious significance dating to the reign of Shilhak-Inshushinak comes from the Apadana mound where, in a badly disturbed context (Harper et al. 1992: 141–4, 281–2), portions of a moulded brick façade were discovered which depict two figures, a standing bull-man grasping a date palm (Plate 7.22) and a female (?) with arms raised and hands cupped in front of the chest. The inscribed bricks which run across the centre of both the bull-man and the palm tree record that Shilhak-Inshushinak made a 'statue of brick' (*salmu erientum-ia*) for the *kumpum kiduya* ('exterior chapel' according to Grillot-Susini 1983: 15; 'royal chapel' attached to the king's palace at Susa according to Vallat 1999a: 36ff., 2004a: 179; Potts 2010b: 59) of Inshushinak. The text in question was used only on this façade, which is thought to represent a sacred garden, blessed and guarded by the beneficent figures of the bull-man and the partially destroyed frontal figure (Malbran-Labat 1995: 95). In Kassite Babylonia, the bull-man was viewed as a protective demon (Black and Green 1992: 49; Wiggermann 1992) and the use of moulded, baked brick to create architectural façades at sites such as Uruk as early as the fifteenth century (temple of Inanna built by Karaindash) is likely to have exerted an influence on the Elamite architects who designed Shilhak-Inshushinak's brickwork.



Plate 7.22. The moulded brick façade from Susa (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

The degree of piety evinced by Shilhak-Inshushinak appears to have surpassed that of any of his predecessors, including Untash-Napirisha. For while he may not have founded a new religious centre, Shilhak-Inshushinak certainly took extreme care to propitiate a wide variety of gods and goddesses at every turn. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the long inscription engraved on a roughly 1×2 m limestone stele from Susa (König 1965: §54). The text begins with a long invocation to many different deities, ‘gods of the heavens, gods of Elam, gods of Susa’, beseeching their blessings for his life, the life of his wife, Nahhunte-Utu, and the lives of their nine living children (Hutelutush-Inshushinak, Ishnikarabat, Urutuk-Elhalahu, Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar, Kutir-Huban, Utu-ehihhi-Pinigir, Temti-turkatash, Lil-airtash and Bar-Uli) and any more to come. Much of the text concerns offerings made to Inshushinak and requests that the consanguinity of the royal couple be sanctioned by the gods of Elam, Anshan, and Susa, along with the princes of Elam, the nobles of Susa, and the priesthood (König 1965: 124).

But after dwelling further on offerings made, Shilhak-Inshushinak then moves into an enumeration of political and administrative steps undertaken in a wide variety of places. Unfortunately, many of the toponyms mentioned are illegible, and the sense of the text is often interrupted, but it seems clear that, by carrying out sacrificial offerings, the king was appealing to Inshushinak to sanction some fundamental administrative initiatives, which included the

creation of a large number of provinces (one paragraph mentions twenty-two) and the installation of administrators following his successful conquest of the areas named. While König's attempted translation (König 1965: §54.30) of Shilhak-Inshushinak's text is problematic (M.W. Stolper, pers. comm.), Brinkman nevertheless noted that it enumerates 'many towns and cities lying within the normal sphere of influence of Assyria or Babylonia' (Brinkman 1968: 89) that were apparently subjugated (see Carter and Stolper 1984: 41) at a time coeval with the early years of the Second Dynasty of Isin and 'the declining years of the aged Ashur-Dan I' in Assyria. Allusions to these campaigns are also contained in inscriptions on three door sockets from Dizful, Shushtar and Tepe Pomp (Steve et al. 1980: 80–2). It seems that the power vacuum created by the collapse of the Kassite dynasty was vigorously exploited by Shilhak-Inshushinak.

Judging by the legible names— some Akkadian, some Kassite, and others Elamite — a number of the conquered cities were located in the Zagros east of the Tigris. At least some of them were in the region later known as Namri (west of Kermanshah? see Reade 1978: 139; Zadok 2002: 122ff.; Fuchs 2000: 74; 2011: 232), while others were further north, closer to the Lower Zab (König 1965: 126). Although most of the names mentioned early in the text cannot be identified, a number beginning with Ashuhash can, and these continue in a northwesterly direction towards the area of Nuzi (Table 7.11). This suggests that Shilhak-Inshushinak probably invaded from Susa, following a portion of what was later to become the Achaemenid royal road through Kismar, Der and on to the Diyala. This route appears in various guises, most notably as part of the 'List of Geographical Names' (the 'Elam-Kismar-Der-Diyala Road') attested at Abu Salabikh and Ebla during the mid-third millennium (Frayne 1992: 58–60). The third millennium sources also record a more northerly route which led from the Diyala (or Der) through Awal and eventually on to Gasur (Nuzi) and Assur. This route seems clearly to have been used by Shilhak-Inshushinak, as a comparison of a number of toponyms suggests. Thus, moving from south to north, we can recognize a whole cluster of names mentioned in the Nuzi texts (Fincke 1993; G.G.W. Müller 1994), including Ashuhish (= Ashuhash), Matka (= Matka), Shehala (= Sha Hala), Kipri (= Kiprat), Arraphe (= Arrapha), Nuzi (= Nuza), Hapate (= Hanbate) and Shinishhe (= Sha Nishe).

According to Cameron, who first noted a large number of correspondences between toponyms mentioned in Shilhak-Inshushinak's list and those of the Assyrian kings such as Shamshi-Adad V, the Elamite king headed east from the Nuzi area, and this raises the question of the Elamite relationship with the peoples of the Zagros. One of Shilhak-Inshushinak's stela (König 1965: §46) reports that 'The Balahute have plundered cult vessels and [. . .] of Inshushinak, but I brought them back. O Inshushinak, my god, therefore I ask you, [. . .] my camps and . . . my [. . .] and Susa . . . Anshan . . . Ulan'. Unfortunately, we do not know who the Balahute were and where they lived, although Cameron has

TABLE 7.11. *Shilhak-Inshushinak's western campaign as related in Šil S 27 = EKI §54*

EKI §54	Content	Reading	Location	Reference
	15–20 names	illegible		
	c. 15 names	[...]–e–a		
ii 37		[...]–un–nu		
		Sha Shilitu		
		rest illegible		
	c. 21 names	[...]–ri		
ii 44		Shenkuru		Vallat 1993a: 312
ii 45		Bit–Nappahie		
		Kur[...]		
ii 46		Sha Imire		
		Ha[...]		
		[...] kitekku		
ii 48		Bit–Nakiru.		
		[...] pilantu		
		rest illegible		
ii 59	number	Sha Barbari		
	illegible	Sha Alta[...]		
ii 60		Sha[...] nankari		
		rest illegible		
ii 71	c. 16 names	Sillam	Tell Suleimah in Hamrin?	Frayne 1992: 56
ii 72		Tunni		
		Arti[...]		
ii 73		Bit –[...] arrika		
		Sha Puh[...]		
ii 74		Matku–[...]		
		[...] pisi		
ii 75		Sha Si[...]		
ii 76		Bit– ^d Sin–iriba		
ii 77		Bit–Kadashman	east of the Tigris	Brinkman 1968: 258, n. 1641
		rest illegible		
ii 81		Ashuhash	Ashuhish? of Nuzi texts, on southern edge of Arappa region, around modern Kirkuk; OB Ashuh between Awal and Gasur/Nuzi	Fincke 1993: 58 Frayne 1992: 54
		Bit–Lassi		
ii 82		Bit– ^d Sin–shemi		
ii 82		Bit–Etellie		
		[...] shaya		
ii 83		Matka	Madga? modern Kifri north of Jabal Hamrin; Matka of Nuzi texts	Vallat 1993a: 179, Frayne 1992: 57 Fincke 1993: 176 Zaccagnini 1979: 156, Fincke 1993: 256
ii 83		Sha Hala	Shehala? near Nuzi	

TABLE 7.11. (continued)

EKI §54	Content	Reading	Location	Reference
ii 84		Appisinipeti		
ii 84		Sha ^d Arad-ekalli	Ekalli near Nuzi?	Fincke 1993: 71
ii 84		Kiprat	Kipri near Nuzi?	Fincke 1993: 146; a fortified city with a city gate
ii 95	8 names	Arrapha	Arappe, modern Kirkuk	Fincke 1993: 38
ii 95		Nuza	Nuzi (Yorgan Tepe)	Fincke 1993: 208
ii 96		Hanbate	Hapate? near Nuzi	Fincke 1993: 92
		Titu[. ..]?		
ii 97		Sha Nishe	Shinishe	Fincke 1993: 256
		rest illegible		
iii 8	c. 20 names	Tunnati		
iii 9		Sha Hanta		
iii 10		Bit-Rierabbi		
		rest illegible		
iii 14	18 names	Bit-Bahe		
		Sha Kush[. ..]		
iii 15		Sha	Purnamashhum	
		Ma[. ..]		
iii 16		Bit-Ishtar		
		Huratu		
		Ishirtu sha ^d Adad		
iii 17		Sha Anpima		
		Hurat- ^d Sharie-		
		GUD?		
iii 18		Bit-Riduti-rabû		
		Bit-Riduti-sehru		
		[. . .] ten- ^d Sîn		
		Bit-Itta[. . .]		
iii 19		Rieshu[. . .]		
iii 20		Bit-Rigim- ^d Adad		
		Bit-Muqiya		
iii 35	25 names	Nahishbararie		
		Batashi[. . .]		
		[. . .] sa		
iii 36		Sha Hilik		
		Sha Balihu		
iii 36–7		Manrazmurrattash		
iii 37		Dunnu		
		Bit-Uzali[. . .]		
iii 38		Bit-Hanipi		
		Sha Kupiya		
		Bitati		
		[. . .] silba		

TABLE 7.11. (continued)

EKI §54	Content	Reading	Location	Reference
iii 39		Bit-Nagiya Sha Kattarzah		
iii 40		Duhupuna Anahhutash Bit- ^d Sin- ishmanni		
iii 41		Bit-Siliya Sha Zahmi Bit-Salti		
iii 42		Bit-Hubbani Sha Marazza		
iii 46	23 names	Sha Ikla[. . .] ai Sha Sangibari		
iii 47		Tintu ilierish Bit-Matimu		
iii 48		Bit-Lakipu Tintu Bit-Rigim- ^d Adad [. . .] zahuka		
iii 49		Bit-Tamteya Harbatu		
iii 50		[. . .] urkuppuhti Bit-Nashumaliya [. . .] lue		
iii 51		Bit-Tasak-sharri		
iii 52		Uzzi[. . .] [. . .] ik		
iii 53		Bit-Barbari		
iii 54		[. . .] ia URU ² -kaplu		
iii 65	18 names	Bit-Kilalla Zaka[. . .]		
iii 66		Bit-Nangari Bit-[. . .] [. . .] silti		
iii 67		Tansillam [. . .] tukar[. . .] [. . .] kanbateya Bit-Shi[. . .]		
iii 69		Bit-Kunzubati Ata[. . .] pna[. . .]		
iii 70		Puhutu Nakapu Zalla[. . .]		
iii 71		Ki[. . .] su Bit-Rapiqum	Rapiqu on the Middle Euphrates	Brinkman 1968: 127, n. 748

TABLE 7.11. (continued)

EKI §54	Content	Reading	Location	Reference
iii 81	c. 20 names	Kitan		
iii 82		Narsillam		
		Bit[. . .] hatu		
		Bit[. . .] napsira		
iii 85		Bit-Ummashap		
iii 86		Harap		
iii 88		Bit-Amurri?		
iii 89		Bit-Kilak[. . .]		

suggested that they were somewhere in the central Zagros (Cameron 1936: 16; Waters 2000: 48, ‘in the mountainous regions below the Little Zab’, rejected by Fuchs 2003: 132; cf. the ‘land of the balahuteppe’ mentioned in a Neo-Elamite text of Tepti-Huban-Inshushinak’s; see Henkelman 2013a: 586). The statement by no means suggests that the Balahute actually plundered one of Inshushinak’s temples at Susa, however, for as Shilhak-Inshushinak’s references to his restoration works make clear, there were temples to the supreme deity of Susa in many places.

Another fragmentary text of Shilhak-Inshushinak’s records the plundering of cattle at Hussi, a city located near Upi/Opis in northern Babylonia, and mentions the Tigris, the Euphrates and Nippur, suggesting that the conquests extended both west and south of the northeastern frontier belt just described. In view of conquests such as these, one must query the status of the early kings of the Second Dynasty of Isin who ‘ruled’ at this time. Some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that they were in fact Elamite vassals. While not implausible, there is no evidence that such was the case (Brinkman 1968: 89, n. 467).

In those texts where Shilhak-Inshushinak names his children, Hutelutush-Inshushinak appears as his eldest son and it was he who succeeded Shilhak-Inshushinak c. 1120 BC. His mother was none other than Nahhunte-Utu, sister and wife of Kutir-Nahhunte and Shilhak-Inshushinak (Vallat 1985a: 46). Hutelutush-Inshushinak used the unparalleled title ‘king of Elam and Susiana’ (Vallat 1985a: 45; see also Steve 1987: 41; Malbran-Labat 1995: 117) and claimed descent from the *sukkalmaḥ* Shilhaha (e.g. Vallat 1978: 98). At Susa he rebuilt the temple of Inshushinak ‘of the grove’ (Vallat 1985a: 45) as well as the *kukunnum* of Inshushinak, the deity’s principal shrine on the Acropole (Malbran-Labat 1995: 119–22). He renovated the temple of Upurkupak in the land of Shalulikki (Plate 7.23), perhaps to be identified with the region known in the Middle Ages as Surraq or Dauraq in eastern Khuzistan (Steve 1987: 43–5; alternatively, note ^{lu}*Shal-lu-(uk)-ke-e-a* and related forms that may refer to a



Plate 7.23. Middle Elamite brick ME52.74.1 (7.92 × 13.64 × 22.53 cm) from Susa, with an inscription commemorating Hutelutush-Inshushinak's renovation of the temple of Upurkupak at Shalulikki (see Spar and Jursa 2014: 236–8; gift of Mrs. Charlotte M. Bradford, 1952; www.metmuseum.org).

region in western Fars; see Potts 2009b: 295). He also rebuilt the temple of Ishnikarab 'of the grove' at a place called Kipû which, because it is mentioned in a series of bricks from Susa, may have been nearby, perhaps even a district of the city (Malbran-Labat 1995: 117; Vallat 1993a: 140).

The inscription commemorating the latter deed is interesting in that Hutelutush-Inshushinak says that he did it, not for the lives of his wife and

offspring, but ‘for my life and the life of my brothers and sisters, for the life of my nephews, for the life of my nieces, of those of my house’ (Malbran-Labat 1995: 117). This led some scholars to suppose that the king never married and had children of his own, but inscribed bricks from Tal-i Malyan inform us of two children – a girl named Utuk-^dHute-kasan and a boy named Temti-pitet – without identifying their mother (Lambert 1972: 65; Reiner 1973a: 59). Brick fragments stored at Susa, however, identify Hutelutush-Inshushinak as the ‘beloved brother of Ishnikarab-huhun’, and it may well be that the king’s sister was the mother of his children (Vallat 1985a: 50).

Inscribed bricks from Tal-i Malyan, ancient Anshan, proclaim that Hutelutush-Inshushinak built a baked brick temple there to Napirisha, Kiririsha, Inshushinak and Shimut (Lambert 1972: 66), and it is probable that some of the texts from the site relate to that project. Before considering the political history of his reign, let us examine the evidence from Middle Elamite Tal-i Malyan, particularly that which dates to the time of Hutelutush-Inshushinak.

DEVELOPMENTS IN ANSHAN

The Middle Elamite or ‘Qaleh’ occupation of Tal-i Malyan was concentrated largely in the northwestern sector of the site (Sumner 1988b: 308). It was in the area which eventually became known as EE that the inscribed bricks of Hutelutush-Inshushinak were first discovered, although subsequent soundings were unsuccessful in identifying the structure from which they derived (Carter 1994a: 16). Some 430 m west of EE lay the highest point on the site where, in a series of ten 10 × 10 m squares, a building (Level IV) was exposed in sector EDD. Although excavation was not extensive enough to recover the entire ground plan, it is clear that the structure consisted of a large number of rooms arranged around an interior, rectangular courtyard (10 × 14 m). In plan this is generally reminiscent of the smaller courtyard and adjacent rooms in the *palais hypogée* at Choga Zanbil. The Level IV building was destroyed by fire and, although the northeast quadrant of the structure was subsequently used as a pottery workshop with four or more kilns (Level IIIB), all dating to the Qaleh phase, this and the later Neo-Elamite and Sasanian-era use of the site are of no great interest here. Based on ceramic parallels with Susa and Choga Zanbil, the burned building in EDD has been dated to the eleventh century BC (Pons 1994: 50), but an analysis of the available carbon-14 dates (Table 7.12) from Level IV led the excavator to suggest a construction date of c. 1250–1150 BC and a destruction date of c. 1100–1000 BC (Carter 1996: 16). Amongst the 246 tablets and fragments recovered in excavation were four which can be considered ‘royal’ and which provide us with absolute dating criteria. The earliest of the three royal texts (Stolper 1984: 142, no. 100) employs a word (*tenti*) which is otherwise attested only in the inscriptions of Shilhak-Inshushinak. A

TABLE 7.12. *Radiocarbon chronology of Middle Elamite occupation at Tal-i Malyan*

Lab #	C14 age	Calibrated age	Calibrated BC 1 σ range (probability method)	Relative contri- bution to probabilities	Calibrated BC 2 σ range (probability method)	Relative contribu- tion to probabilities
P-2060	3170 $\pm$ 50	1424	1507-1474 1465-1399	.29 .71	1522-1313	1.00
P-2061	3060 $\pm$ 60	1312	1399-1257 1236-1223	.93 .07	1429-1125	1.00
P-2230	2980 $\pm$ 60	1251, 1248, 1205	1301-1275 1269-1114 1093-1081	.10 .86 .04	1385-1338 1324-1013	.07 .93
P-2331	2830 $\pm$ 60	987, 956, 944	1110-1108 1053-899	.01 .99	1153-1148 1130-831	.00 1.00
P-2332	2950 $\pm$ 60	1152, 1149, 1130	1256-1238 1219-1046	.08 .92	1375-1348 1317-988 956-944	.02 .97 .01
P-3261	2900 $\pm$ 60	1045	1194-1185 1163-1142 1138-990 954-946	.03 .09 .86 .03	1259-1232 1227-916	.04 .96
P-3257	2640 $\pm$ 60	805	894-878 850-770	.09 .91	917-757 681-546	.86 .14

Note: All samples were charcoal. My thanks to Dr. P. Magee for calibrating these dates using the CALIB 3.0 program from the University of Washington's radiocarbon laboratory. Sample type is as follows: charcoal (P-2060, P-2061, P-3261), roof beam (P-2230), reeds and charcoal (P-2331, P-3257), matting and charcoal (P-2332).

second small fragment contains part of a curse formula used by both Shilhak-Inshushinak and Hutelutush-Inshushinak (Stolper 1984: 143, no. 101). A third fragment includes a personal name, [. . .] tir-^dHuban, which, if restored to Kutir-Huban, probably refers to the Kutir-Huban who was both the son of Shilhak-Inshushinak and brother of Hutelutush-Inshushinak (Stolper 1984: 144, no. 102). A fourth fragment (Stolper 1984: 122, no. 88) mentions the silver of the king (EŠŠANA; the reading of this logogram is *su[n]gir*; see Stolper 2013: 401, n. 2) Hu-[. . .], possibly a reference to Hutelutush-Inshushinak. Palaeographical considerations also point to the reign of Shilhak-Inshushinak (c. 1150–1120 BC) or later (Stolper 1984: 9; Steve 1992). Three individuals, whose names are unfortunately broken (Akshir-?, Hu-? and Shutruk-?), identified as *sugir*, may represent post-Shutrukid kings who may have ruled in Anshan ‘around 1,000 BC, give or take a hundred years or so’ (Stolper 2013: 404).

In this regard, it is interesting to re-examine the calibrated carbon-14 dates from the building. Of the three short-lived samples (reed matting) dated, one (P-2332) gives calibrated ages between 1152 and 1130 BC, while the other two are considerably later. As is to be expected, a sample taken from a roof beam (P-2230) is considerably older, with a calibrated age likely to fall between 1251 and 1205 BC, but this tells us the date of the wood, possibly a century-old tree trunk, not the date of its use.

It is unlikely, however, that the EDD building is in fact the temple built by Hutelutush-Inshushinak mentioned in the inscribed bricks from Tal-e Malyan. The content of the texts recovered is overwhelmingly metallurgical. Gold, silver, copper or bronze are mentioned, most frequently as raw metal and/or finished objects issued or transferred, although metal received is probably also implied as well (Stolper 1984: 13; 2003). The fact that roughly one quarter of all the texts were impressed with a single seal ‘indicates a single point of origin or control’ (Stolper 1984: 26). As Stolper noted, texts dealing with gold and silver, and those dealing with copper and tin, were clustered in two separate but nearby parts of the building. The fact that Anshan is virtually the only toponym mentioned (a fragmentary name occurs in text no. 85, [. . .]-*li-na*) demonstrates that the matters dealt with at EDD were purely internal. Whether they indeed related to the temple built by Hutelutush-Inshushinak (Carter 1994a: 18) is difficult to say. The presence of glazed or faience tile and knob fragments probably does bespeak high status (on their function, see Basello 2012). Carter suggested that ‘the courtyard and its surrounding rooms were used for the formal reception, redistribution, and storage of goods necessary for the functioning of the empire’ (Carter 1996: 49). On the other hand, the zooarchaeological finds from the excavation, which included 16 per cent cattle, 4 per cent equid (horse, *Equus caballus*) and 2 per cent camel (*Camelus bactrianus*) over and above the dominant 76 per cent sheep/goat (out of an assemblage of 685 identifiable bones, Zeder 1991: 217, Tab. 57), suggest that ‘EDD IV may . . . have served as a kind of Elamite *entrepôt*, an area to which nomadic groups

traveling through the valley came to exchange goods and animal products with Elamite administrators of Malyan' (Zeder 1991: 236). Although an interesting possibility, there is no confirmation in the texts found at the site, nor any evidence of nomadism in the region at this early date (Potts 2014a: 33ff.).

Before leaving the subject of Tal-i Malyan, it is interesting to note that, alongside the Qaleh buff wares which display some continuity in painted decoration with earlier Kaftari material and show clear parallels in shape to material found at both Susa and Choga Zanbil, a new tradition appeared in the Kur River basin at roughly the same time. Both handmade and wheel-made orange wares, known as Shogha and Teimuran, respectively, have been found at the type sites of Tal-i Shogha and Tal-i Teimuran (Overlaet 1997; Abdi and Atayi 2014: 74–5), and at Darvazeh Tepe (Nicol 1970, 1971; Jacobs 1980, 1994), c. 80 km southeast of Tal-i Malyan, in association with small amounts of Qaleh pottery. While the former are decorated with naturalistic motifs (fish, birds, animals, plants) and hatched lines, the latter tend to be decorated with horizontal lines and triangles (Carter and Stolper 1984: 174). Sumner suggested that these three traditions – Qaleh on the western side of the valley, Shogha and Teimuran in the east – were ceramic expressions of different, coexisting groups inhabiting the Kur River basin (Sumner 1988b: 318). Expanding on a hypothesis of M. Nicol (Nicol 1971), Sumner suggested that the Shogha/Teimuran wares might represent the earliest ceramic manifestations of Persian speakers in Fars whereas the Qaleh wares represented Elamite speakers (Sumner 1994). Needless to say, this is highly speculative (Henkelman 2003a: 79, n. 18).

BABYLONIAN REVENGE AND THE END OF THE MIDDLE ELAMITE ERA

According to a poem recounting the deeds of Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104 BC), fourth king of the Dynasty of the Sealand, the Babylonian king prayed to Marduk saying, 'Have mercy on me, in despair and prostrate, Have mercy on my land, which weeps and mourns . . . How long, O lord of Babylon, will you dwell in the land of the enemy?' (Foster 1993/I: 301). Ever since Kutir-Nahhunte's removal of the cult statue of Marduk from the Esagila at Babylon, the Elamites had enjoyed apparent superiority over their Babylonian neighbours, even if they had not chosen to colonize and dominate them outright. Shilhak-Inshushinak's campaigns, however, left no doubt about the military might of the kingdom of Susa and Anshan. The poem just cited tells us that Marduk, heeding Nebuchadnezzar's prayer, commanded him: 'Take me from Elam to Babylon. I, lord of Babylon, will surely give you Elam'. This was the beginning of the end for Hutelutush-Inshushinak.

An initial Babylonian foray into Susiana ended disastrously by the banks of the Ulai (Karkheh; Potts 1999b) river, where Nebuchadnezzar's army was struck by plague (Brinkman 1968: 106). As one text written in the first person

tells us, ‘Erra, mightiest of the gods, decimated my warriors . . . a demon was killing my fine steeds. I became afraid of death, did not advance to battle, but turned back. With heavy [...] I camped, stupefied, at the city Kar-Dur-Apil-Sin . . . the Elamite [advanced] and I withdrew before him. I lay on a bed of misery and sighs. . .’ (Foster 1993/I: 295). An account by Shitti-Marduk, a chariotry commander who styled himself as ‘head of the house of Bit-Karziabku’, a Kassite family and tribal unit (Brinkman 1968: 253), tells us that an attack was launched from Der in July: ‘With the heat glare scorching like fire, the very roadways were burning like open flames. . . . The finest of the great horses gave out, the legs of the strong man faltered’ (Foster 1993/I: 297; cf. Nielsen 2012: 405ff. for the episode; for the text of the Shitti-Marduk stele see Cooley 2006). The Babylonians pressed on to the Ulai (Karkheh) river, where Nebuchadnezzar finally engaged Hutelutush-Inshushinak in battle: ‘Both kings met there and made battle. Between them a conflagration burst out, the face of the sun was darkened by their dust, whirlwinds were blowing, raging was the storm’. When the dust cleared, ‘Huteludish, king of Elam, retreated and disappeared. Thus king Nebuchadnezzar triumphed, seized Elam, and plundered its possessions’ (Foster 1993/I: 298). According to a much later text written in the form of a letter from Nebuchadnezzar to the citizens of Babylon, Hutelutush-Inshushinak ‘abandoned his strongholds, and disappeared’ (Foster 1993/I: 302).

For many years it was thought that this was the end of Hutelutush-Inshushinak, although the fact that we cannot date his brick inscriptions, combined with the fact that Nebuchadnezzar certainly did not occupy Elam or annex it as his Old Akkadian and Ur III forebears had, always meant that his survival somewhere could not be entirely ruled out. New impetus was given to a ‘survival’ hypothesis with the discovery of Hutelutush-Inshushinak’s bricks at Tal-i Malyan. Indeed, it was in this sense that M. Lambert interpreted the king’s building program at Anshan, suggesting that this was carried out *after* Nebuchadnezzar’s campaign and that Hutelutush-Inshushinak retreated to Anshan rather than ‘disappearing’ as the Babylonian tradition would have it (Lambert 1972: 74; see also Vallat 1978: 104–5; Steve et al. 1980: 104–5; Steve 1991: 7; Pons 1994: 43). Vallat has even suggested that he returned to Susa after Nebuchadnezzar’s campaign. This is based on the fact that Hutelutush-Inshushinak’s Anshan bricks mention only two children, whereas one of his brick inscriptions from Susa mentions his ‘sister’s sons’ and ‘sister’s daughters’ in the plural (Vallat 1996b: 88; see also König 1965: §60 = Malbran-Labat 1995: 117). This is a tenuous argument, however, not merely because Hutelutush-Inshushinak does not identify the latter group as biological children, but because it is always possible that, of a larger number of children, several had died leaving only two survivors. In such a case, the Susa inscription would have to be dated before, not after, the Malyan bricks. More instructive, perhaps, is the discovery of an inscribed brick of Hutelutush-Inshushinak on the surface of



Plate 7.24. A view of Qal'e Geli (photo: author).

Qal'e Geli (Plate 7.24), a large, 25 m. high mound in the village of Qal'e Afqan, near Lordegan, in the Bakhtiyari mountains (Noruzi 2003). This relatively remote locale would have made an ideal safe haven, far from any threat of Babylonian attack.

Although P. Amiet and others (Amiet 1992c: 81, 86, with earlier bibliog.) suggested that three of the six rock reliefs at Kul-e Farah, near Izeh/Malamir, should be dated to the period following Nebuchadnezzar I's Elamite conquest (Kul-e Farah II, III and IV), a thorough re-analysis of the iconography, particularly the garments and postures, suggests a Neo-Elamite date (Álvarez-Mon 2010c, 2013b, 2013c, 2015a, 2015b; cf. de Waele 1989; see Chapter 8).

It was noted earlier that the final abandonment of Choga Zanbil has been attributed by some scholars, on ceramic grounds, to the campaign of Nebuchadnezzar I (Pons 1994). Such was not, however, the case at Susa. According to an analysis of the pottery from the latest phase of occupation at Choga Zanbil and Susa, Ville Royale A X and IX, these latter levels should be dated to the eleventh century BC, after Nebuchadnezzar I's attack on Susa (Pons 1994: 48 and n. 48). Comparable ceramic forms are attested sporadically in Ville Royale II levels 11–8 and Ville Royale B I, as well (Pons 1994: 49). In this regard it is interesting to note that, some 300 years after Nebuchadnezzar I and Hutelutush-Inshushinak, the Neo-

Elamite king Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717–699 BC) referred in a text found at Susa to three of his ancient predecessors as having been king – Hutelutush-Inshushinak, Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar and Humban-numena (König 1965: §72; see also Montagne and Grillot-Susini 1996: 33, who interpret the passage there as a reference to *statues* of the three kings in question). From the many brick inscriptions of Shilhak-Inshushinak, we know that Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar (Henkelman 2010e) was Hutelutush-Inshushinak's next younger brother (e.g. Malbran-Labat 1995: 90, 101, 108, 110, 116). Thus, although we have none of his original inscriptions, Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar presumably reigned in the early eleventh century BC, following Nebuchadnezzar's campaign and precisely at the time to which the various levels in the Ville Royale mentioned previously have been dated. As for Humban-numena, this name does not appear in Shilhak-Inshushinak's inscriptions as that of one of his sons, nor is it attested as that of a child of Hutelutush-Inshushinak, who, according to his inscribed bricks from Tal-i Malyan, had a girl named Utuk-^dHutekasan and a boy named Temti-pitet, discussed earlier. It is possible, however, that this Humban-numena came from another family and indeed reigned after Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar, which would extend the Shutrukid dynasty down to the middle or even the end of the eleventh century.

CONCLUSION

The Middle Elamite period is one of the most richly documented in the history of Elam and Anshan, and the exploits of kings such as Untash-Napirisha, Shutruk-Nahhunte, Kutir-Nahhunte and Shilhak-Inshushinak are unparalleled in earlier or later Elamite history. Although the full impact of Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns is difficult to judge, they certainly marked a watershed in Elamite history, and we have little evidence whatsoever from the succeeding three centuries.

One of the trends which has been noted in studying the inscriptions of Tal-i Malyan and those of Hutelutush-Inshushinak from the end of the Middle Elamite III period is an increase in the use of syllabic signs which find their closest parallels in the contemporary Assyrian sign list beginning with the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114–1076 BC) (Steve 1992: 12). In addition, certain administrative terms were borrowed as well. These changes may well have been a by-product of Shilhak-Inshushinak's extensive activities, both military and administrative, on the fringes of Assyria a half-generation before Hutelutush-Inshushinak. Whatever the explanation, we shall see in the [following chapter](#) that Assyria, rather than Babylonia, was to loom largest in the political history of Elam during the early first millennium BC.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
1600/1500 BC	end of <i>sukkalmah</i> dynasty		end of First Dynasty of Babylon, rise of kingdom of Mittani in north, First Dynasty of the Sealand in the south	kingdom of ‘Susa and Anshan’ established by Kidinu
1500–1400 BC	Middle Elamite I, ‘Kidinuids’, based at Susa? continued settlement in Deh Luran, foundation of Haft Tepe (Kabnak?) by Tepti-ahar	limited evidence of settlement at Malyan; petty kingdom around Huhnur near Arjan?	Kassite dynasty ruling in Mesopotamia	unclear relationship between Susa, Kabnak, Huhnur; kingdom of ‘Susa and Anshan’ a title without geographical meaning?
1400–1200 BC	Middle Elamite II, ‘Igi-halkids’, rupture in Susa sequence? Igi-halki linked to Deh-e Now; building activity at Liyan on Gulf coast near Bushire and at various sites in Khuzistan; building activity at Susa by Untash-Napirisha and foundation of new city, Choga Zanbil	highland deities worshipped at Choga Zanbil, but scant evidence from Anshan itself	Kassites linked to Igi-halkids by marriage	continued use of title king of ‘Susa and Anshan’ (in Akkadian) or ‘Anshan and Susa’ in Elamite

(continued)

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	'Elam'
1200–1100 BC	Middle Elamite III, 'Shutrukids'; building activity at Susa, Deh-e Now, Choga Pahan; war booty from Mesopotamia brought to Susa by Shutruk-Nahhunte	rock reliefs at Kul-e Farah and Shikaf-e Salman; foundation of major building complex at Malyan (Qaleh period)	Kassite rule contested by Shutruk-Nahhunte, who invaded Babylonia Anshan and overthrew Kassite king in 1158 BC; Babylonia again invaded by Kutir-Nahhunte; east Tigris area invaded by Shilhak-Inshushinak	continued use of title king of 'Susa and Anshan'
1125–1104 BC	invasion of Susiana by fourth king of Dynasty of the Sealand, Nebuchadnezzar I; end of occupation at Choga Zanbil	retreat to Anshan by last Shutrukid king, Hutelutush-Inshushinak? autonomous rulers near Izeh?	Nebuchadnezzar I, fourth king of the Dynasty of the Sealand	end of dynasty at hands of Nebuchadnezzar I

CHAPTER 8

THE NEO-ELAMITE PERIOD

The Neo-Elamite period (for the first use of this term in a linguistic sense, see Hüsing 1898: 1, 1908b: 3, 7) is dated from *c.* 1000 BC until the conquest of Babylonia in 539 BC by Cyrus the Great. For simplicity we have divided it into three phases. While the earliest phase (Neo-Elamite I, *c.* 1000–744 BC) is poorly known, the middle phase (Neo-Elamite II, 743–646 BC) is amply documented in Assyrian sources, for it was a period of intense conflict between the Assyrian kings and a series of Elamite rulers, often allied with insurrectionists in southern Babylonia. The inscriptions of Shutruk-Nahhunte II (*c.* 717–699 BC) from Susa reveal continuities with earlier periods in Elamite history, but much of the contemporary archaeological material from the site is badly disturbed. Similarly, it is impossible to correlate much of the military history of Assyria's aggression with Elamite archaeology for the simple reason that many of the towns in western Khuzistan which must have borne the brunt of Assyrian aggression have yet to be identified on the ground, let alone excavated (see in general Carter 2007; for the historical geography of this period see Parpola and Porter 2001). It is also likely that, under intense Assyrian pressure, Elam as it had existed in the Middle Elamite period was no longer a unified state comprising both the highlands of Fars and the lowlands of Khuzistan, and it is possible that individual cities, such as Hidalu or Madaktu, were not bound by the authority of a single Elamite king (but note the reservations of Henkelman 2003c: 253 on this point).

It is clear that, given the paucity of indigenous Elamite sources at this time, we are to some extent a prisoner of the Assyrian royal inscriptions and the Babylonian Chronicle which present us with a sequence of Elamite rulers through foreign eyes. In this regard it is important to note that the scarcity of references to Anshan at this time leaves us in the dark about contemporary historical events in the highlands. Rock reliefs at Kul-e Farah and Shikaft-e Salman seem to relate to petty kings in the highlands who wrote in Elamite but

whose relationship to the Elamite kings mentioned in Assyrian and Babylonian texts is generally obscure. Did these petty kings have the status of dynasties like the Salghurids whose authority was recognized by the Mongols in much later Iranian history, or were they more like competing warlords in a land where the power of the king acknowledged by Assyria was fragile at best? There are certainly several ways of looking at the political fragmentation of Khuzistan and the highlands during the Neo-Elamite period (Potts 2010c; cf. Tavernier 2013b: 368).

When the Assyrians under Assurbanipal finally descended upon Susa and destroyed the city, seizing the Elamite king Te'umman, the event was commemorated in stone in Assurbanipal's palaces at Nineveh (Reade 1976; Gunter 1982: 110; Álvarez-Mon 2009b). Importantly, if the Assyrian narrative is to be believed, Assurbanipal's victory over the Elamites provoked a number of Iranian leaders, possibly including the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, to send tribute to Assyria. The problems surrounding this episode are discussed later, and with them the Persians are introduced into our story for the first time. In the following Neo-Elamite III period (645–539 BC), we see evidence of close links between Persian and Elamite elements. This is the period to which a number of important Biblical references to Elam must allude, and it is a period from which we have a group of cylinder seals in which Elamite and Persian aspects are blended. Linguistically, too, this is a period in which the written Elamite which has survived shows close links to that which was later employed during the reign of Darius at the great Achaemenid city of Persepolis (see Chapter 9).

INTRODUCTION

Following the reign of Hutelutush-Inshushinak, it is difficult to track the Elamites until the late eighth century, as we have nearly three centuries with no textual evidence. Because of an eventual renaissance of the title 'king of Anshan and Susa', it is conventional to refer to the earlier first millennium, pre-Achaemenid era in southwestern Iran as the Neo-Elamite period. Proposals to further subdivide it have, however, varied and for the most part have been based on mutually incompatible data sets. For example, on stratigraphic and ceramic grounds, de Miroschedji identified two Neo-Elamite phases at Susa, I (c. 1000–725/700 BC) and II (c. 725/700–520 BC) (de Miroschedji 1981c, 1982; see also Carter and Stolper 1984: 182; Carter 1994b: 68), whereas, based on an analysis of the Elamite syllabary of the early first millennium – focusing on the total number of signs used and the varying number of logograms amongst them – Steve divided the Neo-Elamite period into four phases: IA (c. 1000–900 BC), II (c. 750–653 BC), IIIA (c. 653–605 BC) and IIIB (605–539 BC) (Steve 1992: 21–2; one assumes the first phase is called IA rather than I because Steve wished to leave open the possibility of a IB between 900 and 750

BC when and if evidence emerges which fills this lacuna). Malbran-Labat, on the other hand, to some extent combined Steve's schema with historical considerations, resulting in three phases: Neo-Elamite I (1000–c. 760 BC), II (c. 750–653 BC) and III (653–539 BC) (Malbran-Labat 1995: 129). Finally, Vallat proposed a slight modification of Steve's periodization as follows: I (c. 1100–770 BC), II (c. 770–646 BC), IIIA (646–c. 585 BC), and IIIB (c. 585–539 BC) (Vallat 1996d: 393).

Further north in the Zagros region, where there is abundant though generally not Elamite-related occupation reflected in a variety of ceramic styles, the terms Iron Age I (c. 1450–1100 BC), II (c. 1100–800 BC) and III (c. 800–500 BC) have been used. It is scarcely surprising that the historical phases of the Neo-Elamite period do not correlate precisely with the ceramic phases of the west Iranian Iron Age. Obviously the earliest Iron Age occupation of the Zagros region correlates broadly with the bulk of the Middle Elamite period, discussed in the [previous chapter](#); Iron Age II covers a period which begins prior to and lasts into the century after Neo-Elamite I; and Iron Age III subsumes the bulk of Neo-Elamite II and III. In general this will not cause us any difficulties, but it is important to be aware of, not only when reading archaeological literature, but in considering certain developments in Assyria and the Zagros which may have had an indirect influence on the Elamite area.

A modified version of a tripartite periodization will be used in the following discussion, based largely on historical considerations. Thus, Neo-Elamite I (c. 1000–744 BC) will refer to the period between the end of the main Middle Elamite occupation at Tali Malyan and the appearance of the earliest Elamite ruler of first millennium BC date in the Babylonian Chronicle, signifying the reconnection of Elam to Mesopotamian political affairs. Neo-Elamite II (743–646 BC) will refer to the century of intense interaction between Assyria and Elam, culminating in Assurbanipal's sacking of Susa. The schema proposed by Steve and followed in modified form by Malbran-Labat draws a line between the campaign against Te'umman and the next phase of Assyrian hostilities which, while defensible on linguistic grounds, is hardly satisfactory from an historical point of view. Finally, Neo-Elamite III (645–539 BC) will be used to refer to the period between Assurbanipal's last Elamite campaign and the eventual consolidation of a new empire under the Achaemenids which signalled the eclipse of the ancient kingdom of Susa and Anshan (for recent overviews see Álvarez-Mon 2012, 2013b).

NEO-ELAMITE I (c. 1000–744 BC)

Because of a dearth of sources, we can say very little about this period. At Susa, scattered remains of Neo-Elamite date turned up sporadically in the early excavations on the Apadana and the Ville Royale (de Miroschedji 1978: 213; Amiet 1967a), but it was not until soundings were undertaken in Ville Royale

II that levels attributable to the earliest Neo-Elamite phase were clearly revealed. These, however, consisted only of fragmentary mudbrick walls and surfaces (de Miroschedji 1978, 1981b, 1981c; Carter and Stolper 1984: 182) in levels 9 and 8. The fact that these levels contained examples of tall Middle Elamite goblets should probably not be interpreted as an indication of ceramic continuity, for the pieces in question could well be out of context (Pons 1994: 48). Rather, the overriding impression is of a ceramic assemblage, characterized by bowls and jars with convex bases, bottles and wavy-line-incised vessels (Carter and Stolper 1984: 184), which is distinct from that of the preceding Middle Elamite III phase (thus de Miroschedji 1978: 227) and gives scant indication of continuity.

In Fars, the documentation is even scantier. The Kur River basin shows no signs of sedentary occupation between the late Middle Elamite and the Achaemenid periods (Sumner 1988b: 314), while the situation was more promising in the Mamasani region, where possible Neo-Elamite occupation was attested at eleven sites and Qaleh wares were found in association with Elamite ceramics in several instances (McCall 2013a: 202). Qal'e Tal-e Kabud, a hilltop fortress some 73 km south of Shiraz on the road to Jahrom, has been attributed to the Iron Age on the basis of surface sherds (Kleiss 1995), but it is difficult to assign a more precise date within the Neo-Elamite period. Similarly, some of the many cairn burials found throughout Fars (Boucharlat 1989) may date to the Neo-Elamite I period, but far too few have been excavated and far too little diagnostic material has been recovered to seriously entertain the possibility.

It is to this early period that the so-called Elamite Dynasty in Babylonia can be assigned. In fact, the dynasty consisted of a single ruler, Mar-biti-apla-usur (984–979 BC) who, in spite of his Akkadian name, was called 'remote (?) descendant of Elam' in the Dynastic Chronicle (Brinkman 1968: 165). Apart from his existence, we have practically no other knowledge of him. The fact that four bronze arrowheads inscribed with his name and the title 'king of the world' wound up in a well-known Iranian collection of antiquities (Dossin 1962: 160), many of which were said to come from Luristan, is no reason for either supposing that Mar-biti-apla-usur's remote affiliation with Elam was significant or that he had dealings with groups in western Iran.

From this point on we have no written sources on Elam, either internal or external, for more than 150 years. The next information available consists of a reference to a contingent of Elamite troops which, in company with Kassite, Aramaean and Chaldaean units, helped the Babylonian king Marduk-balassu-iqbi (–813 BC) liberate Dur-Papsukkal (location unknown; see Fuchs 2011: 233, n. 21), a royal city near Der (modern Tell 'Aqar at Badra in eastern Iraq; on Der and its region see Postgate and Mattila 2004: 240–51) in the east Tigridian area, when it was besieged by Shamshi-Adad V (823–811 BC) (Brinkman 1968: 209; Fuchs 2011: 234). This episode, although tersely reported, nonetheless serves to illustrate

two important points. First, Shamshi-Adad V's immediate predecessors, Assurnasirpal II (883–859 BC) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC), had each conducted campaigns into the northern Zagros and east Tigridian zone, attacking regions such as Allabria, Andia, Ellipi, Mada, Mannea, Namri, Parsua and Zamua (Levine 1973, 1974; Reade 1978; Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 45–6; Chamaza 1994; Medvedskaya 2000). Although we have no indigenous Iranian sources which throw light on Assyrian aggression, we are fairly well informed from the Assyrian side by their royal inscriptions. Even though the theatre of war was often far removed from Susiana, it is likely that Assyrian expansion was seen as a threat by the Elamites. The second point which arises from this observation is that, in attempting to thwart Assyria's expansionist tendencies, the Elamites were perfectly prepared to collaborate with their former arch-rivals, the Babylonians. In sending troops to help Marduk-balassu-iqbi, the Elamites set a precedent which they would follow for most of the Neo-Elamite period.

At least two texts from Nimrud throw light on this otherwise poorly documented period. A text dating to 784 BC, and hence falling near the end of the reign of Adad-nirari III (810–783 BC), mentions the presence of an Elamite ambassador at the Assyrian court, and demonstrates that the Assyrian army both manufactured and used the 'Elamite' bow at this time (Dalley and Postgate 1984: 256, no. 145; Zadok 1994: 47; Zutterman 2003: 139–40).

NEO-ELAMITE II (743–646 BC)

According to the Babylonian Chronicle, a king named Ummanigash (Huban-nikash I), son of Umbadara (Huban-tahra), came to the Elamite throne in 743 BC and reigned until 717 BC (Cameron 1936: 157; Brinkman 1968: 234). Most of his reign therefore overlapped with that of the Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 BC). Although considered the first Neo-Elamite king, Huban-nikash I was never acknowledged as 'the founder of a dynasty' (Henkelman 2003c: 254) by the author of the Babylonian Chronicle. Despite the fact that he targeted none of his forays against Elam per se, Tiglath-Pileser campaigned twice against the Aramaean tribes of southern Babylonia and on one occasion pursued them as far as the Uqnu ('blue') river, the eastern arm of the Tigris, in Khuzistan (Gerardi 1987: 5; for the location see Fuchs 1994; Potts 2005b: 167). The second campaign of 737 BC took him into Media (Diakonoff 1991: 15ff.) on the Iranian plateau (the ancient capital, Ekbatana, is modern Hamadan, but Media's extent is difficult to determine at this date). A stele commemorating this campaign was found during the mid-1960s 'somewhere in western Iran, perhaps Luristan' (Levine 1972: 11).

Although none of his Elamite texts have survived, Huban-nikash I is again attested in 720 BC when he led his troops victoriously in battle against Sargon II (721–705 BC) in the region of Der, an attack in which Merodach-Baladan II of

Bit-Jakin ('house' [or tribe] of Jakin) in Chaldaea (southernmost Babylonia), who had put together an alliance in an attempt to throw off the yoke of Assyrian authority following Shalmaneser V's death (Brinkman 1965, 1968: 245), attempted to support his Elamite ally but failed to reach the battlefield (Postgate and Mattila 2004: 237). As Brinkman observed, 'Thus Babylonia and Elam were enemies in the late second millennium, but later united in opposition to Assyria in the early first millennium. With the weakening of the Babylonian monarchy, the Babylonian army also declined as an effective force; whereas Babylonian kings under the Second Isin Dynasty and occasionally in the ninth century could muster Babylonian military forces, by the late eighth century there is little trace of a Babylonian army and eventually – under Merodach-Baladan – the Elamites bore the brunt of campaigning on behalf of Babylonia' (Brinkman 1968: 317). In fact, the incident provides an interesting lesson in historiography for, as Stolper stressed, 'Sargon's official account boasts of overwhelming triumph; Merodach-Baladan's building inscription claims credit for expulsion of the Assyrians; and the Babylonian Chronicle, the least prejudiced source, credits Huban-nikash I both with the initiative and with unqualified success, adding that Merodach-Baladan's forces arrived too late to participate' (Carter and Stolper 1984: 45). The battle, however, seems to have produced no clear-cut result, and even if the Elamite army was victorious, the Assyrians were able to maintain their forward position at Der, in effect achieving a 'defensive victory' (Gerardi 1987: 7; Tadmor 1958: 38; cf. Fuchs 2011: 319–20). As Levine noted, this was vital for the pursuit of Assyrian policy in the Zagros, and may have been enough of an achievement for Sargon to claim victory in the action. In Levine's opinion, Elam 'was the expansionist state, and its attempts to advance beyond Der made its victory a pyrrhic one at best. A few miles of mountain talis [sic] and a handful of villages can hardly have been Humbanigash's objective, but it is all he managed to achieve' (Levine 1982: 51, n. 70).

The Babylonian Chronicle tells us that, upon his death, Huban-nikash I was succeeded by Ishtar-hundu, otherwise known to the Elamites as Shutruk-Nahhunte II (c. 717–699 BC; not to be confused with Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada, c. 645–620 BC; see Lambert 1967; Vallat 1995b, 2011b: 191; Waters 2001: 474–5; Tavernier 2004: 7–22; Shayegan 2011: 275, n. cm). With Shutruk-Nahhunte we once more have indigenous Elamite sources. Four different brick inscriptions of his are known from Susa (EKI 71–4). In one text, Shutruk-Nahhunte II describes the reinstallation (reconsecration?) of the statues of Hutelutush-Inshushinak, Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar and Huban-mena before the cult image of Inshushinak in his *kukunnum* at Susa, and calls himself the son of Huban-mena (Montagne and Grillot-Susini 1996: 33). Whether this is the same Huban-mena whose image he mentions in the text itself is uncertain, though possible. At any rate, the text shows clearly that Shutruk-Nahhunte II was not a son of his predecessor, Huban-nikash I.

Another of Shutruk-Nahhunte's Susa texts speaks of his manufacture of glazed brick, alleging (incorrectly) that none of his predecessors had achieved this (Malbran-Labat 1995: 131). Shutruk-Nahhunte's bricks all come from a small, square temple, excavated between 1898 and 1901, which was once decorated in green glazed brick depicting griffons, horses, lions, winged scorpions and vegetal motifs (Amiet 1967a: 27; Nunn 1988: 157). A second project, either the construction of a new temple or the rebuilding of an old one, was dedicated to the deity Ishnikarab (Malbran-Labat 1995: 134). It has been suggested (Vallat 1995b) that Shutruk-Nahhunte II, rather than Shutruk-Nahhunte I, was responsible for the construction of one or more unnamed buildings at Deh-e Now, where three fragments of glazed wall plaques and pommels have been found, the best preserved examples of which simply say, '... that which the king Shutruk-Nahhunte built' (Steve 1987: 29).

Other evidence for occupation at Susa in this period comes mainly from de Miroschedji's excavations in Ville Royale II levels 7 and 6, which, however, were disturbed by later graves (Carter and Stolper 1984: 182). Several forms, including the tall 'Elamite goblet', the vat, and the band-rim jar, all of which were present in Neo-Elamite I times, are no longer found, and Carter interpreted these changes, along with 'disjunctions in the stratigraphy', as signs of a disruption between the Neo-Elamite I and II ceramic/stratigraphic phases (Carter 1994b: 73). Scattered occupation is also attested elsewhere on the site, and burials are known from the Ville Royale and the Apadana (Carter and Stolper 1984: 183).

Following the battle of Der in 720 BC, Sargon II spent the next decade actively engaged on the borders of Egypt and in Israel, Syria, Urartu and the upper Zagros (Tadmor 1958: 94–6; a stele of Sargon's commemorating his sixth campaign against areas in northwestern [e.g. Mannea] and central-western Iran [e.g. Media] in 716 BC was discovered at Najafehabad c. 15 km northeast of Kangavar in 1965; see Levine 1972: 25ff.; Reade 1995: 39; Radner 2013: 444), apparently too occupied to pay much attention to Merodach-Baladan in Babylonia. In 710 BC, however, Sargon again turned his attention southward, alleging that Marduk, having seen the wicked deeds of the Chaldaean chieftain, had ordered him 'to take the sceptre and throne of his kingship away from him [Merodach-Baladan]' (Fuchs 1994: 327). Inscribed on the walls of his palace at Khorsabad, ancient Dur-Sharrukin, Sargon's annals tell the tale of the king's twelfth year, naturally from an Assyrian perspective. In his edition of Sargon's Khorsabad texts, A. Fuchs carefully reconstructed the entire campaign as a series of seven major episodes (Fuchs 1994: 399–405) which differ slightly (Table 8.1) from the chronological order in which the events are related in the Khorsabad Annals (see also Olmstead 1923: 251ff.; Brinkman 1964: 19ff.; 1965: 163ff.).

The ultimate goal of the campaign was the capture of Babylon, Merodach-Baladan's royal residence, but to achieve this Sargon set out on a rather elliptical

TABLE 8.1. *Summary of Sargon II's Elamite campaign*

Event		Khorsabad annals
		reference, line
1.	Sargon sent troops to Bit-Dakkuri, ostensibly to cut the route between Babylon and Merodach-Baladan's homeland of Bit-Jakin; the troops camped in the ruined city of Dur-Ladini	305
2.	hearing of Sargon's planned invasion, Merodach-Baladan reinforced his fortresses and gathered his forces; he put the entire Gambulu tribe in the city of Dur-Athara with 600 cavalry and 4,000 soldiers, raised the height of the city walls, and flooded the moat around the city	266–9
3.	Sargon besieged and took Dur-Athara, deporting its 18,430 inhabitants and all their livestock; Sargon renamed the city Dur-Nabu, and received eight shaikhs of the Gambulu who lived by the Uqnu, and who brought presents to the Assyrian king; Sargon installed one of his eunuchs as governor, and created a new province out of six districts and forty-four fortified cities; thereupon he dammed the Tublijas river in order to force the surrender of the Ru'ua, Hindaru, Jadburu and Puqudu sections of the Gambulu tribe who had fled to the marshy areas of the Uqnu river; the shaikhs of these tribes eventually gave up, bringing tribute and gifts; as for those who refused to surrender, their towns were razed, their gardens destroyed, and finally, after sending troops into the marshes, these too gave up Merodach-Baladan meanwhile left Babylon, heading for Jadburu, bringing with him a bed, throne, table and washbasin of silver, as well as jewellery which he gave as a 'bribe' to Shutruk-Nahhunte in the hope of securing his help against Sargon; the Elamite king took the gifts, but would not join Merodach-Baladan; hearing this, Merodach-Baladan gathered his forces and, leaving Jadburu, retreated to Iqbi-Bel	271–94 305–10
4.	Sargon seized control of Sam'una and Bab-Duri, two towns of the region Jadburu which Shutruk-Nahhunte had fortified, capturing their commanders and 7,520 Elamite soldiers, as well as 12,062 of the local inhabitants and their livestock; a whole series of shaikhs from the district came to pay homage to Sargon	295–301

TABLE 8.1. (continued)

Event	Khorsabad annals	
	reference, line	
5.	Sargon's army took control of Lahiru and other cities of the region Jadburu, as well as Ahilimmu and Pillatu on the banks of the river Naditu 'in Elam', successfully driving a wedge between the Elamites and Merodach-Baladan	301
6.	turning northward again towards Der, the Assyrian army advanced through Rashi, the inhabitants of which, fearing Sargon's attack, retreated to the city of Bit-Imbi, while their ruler, Shutruk-Nahhunte, sought refuge in the mountains	302-4
7.	Sargon made no attempt to besiege Bit-Imbi but, having effectively neutralized Elam and any potential Elamite-Chaldaeian manoeuvres, left the area, crossing the Euphrates and heading for Dur-Ladini, where he had already stationed troops	304-5

Note: After Fuchs 1994.

course designed to neutralize the Chaldaeian's eastern, Aramaean tribal allies, hinder any potential cooperation with Shutruk-Nahhunte II, and isolate Merodach-Baladan's tribal seat of Dur-Jakin. This bespeaks a great deal of caution on Sargon's part, for with the Assyro-Babylonian frontier of the day running through Dur-Kurigalzu near modern Baghdad, a frontal assault on Babylon might seem the more logical approach to us. The fact that Sargon did not choose this direct option suggests that he feared a repeat of the battle of Der, for, even if the Babylonian army was itself fairly weak (see Brinkman 1965), Elamite reinforcements might always be sent quickly to the defence of Babylon. Thus, eliminating this possibility from the outset seems to have been foremost in Sargon's mind. The story of the campaign of Sargon's twelfth year is really the story of Sargon achieving this tactical goal. Having accomplished this, Sargon did not tarry long and passed up the opportunity of attacking the Elamites at Bit-Imbi in order to move quickly to his forward camp in the ruined city of Dur-Ladini, where he received a delegation of priests and citizens from Babylon and Borsippa who entreated the king to enter Babylon. This he did, unopposed, for Merodach-Baladan had retreated to Iqbi-Bel in his native Bit-Jakin. Thus ended Sargon's twelfth year.

It is obvious that the Chaldaeian-Elamite alliance quickly began to fracture if not entirely to break down, and Shutruk-Nahhunte II must have been mindful of the fact that this alliance had brought down the full weight of the Assyrian military machine on lands and towns which were dangerously close to Susa

itself. Even if we cannot believe everything Sargon tells us, nothing suggests that any effective Elamite offensive operations took place, only defensive ones. The story of Sargon's thirteenth year shows us the Assyrian king once more making preparations for an offensive against Merodach-Baladan, who this time evacuated the inhabitants of neighbouring towns such as Ur, Kishsik and Nemed-Laguda to his tribal capital Dur-Jakin. Merodach-Baladan reinforced the city wall and dug a 100 m wide, 9 m deep moat *c.* 60 m from it which he flooded with water diverted from the Euphrates (Powell 1982). These defensive measures, according to Sargon, were of no consequence, and he captured the city, putting to death most of its soldiers and seizing immense quantities of booty, but Merodach-Baladan, although injured in the hand by an arrow, 'slipped through the gate of the city like a mongoose' (Fuchs 1994: 334; Brinkman 1964: 21). Where he went we do not know, but in order to block any approach by the 'Elamite enemy', Sargon had Nabu-damiq-ilani build a fortress in the city of Sagbat (not to be confused with Bit-Sagbat, in Media, Fuchs 1994: 456) and, when not defeating the Chaldaeans and Aramaeans, the Assyrian king 'let the inhabitants of Elam (enjoy) the bitter taste of his weapons' (Fuchs 1994: 336, Anm. 385).

A year later Shutruk-Nahhunte II was once more involved in Assyrian politics. This was prompted by the death of Dalta, king of Ellipi, a 'half-Iranized kingdom' (Diakonoff 1991: 16; Waters 2013: 483; Zadok 2013: 411, noted that 'several members of the ruling family of Ellipi bore Kassite names') bordering both Elam and Media which is thought to have been coterminous with modern Luristan and the area south of Kermanshah (Levine 1974: 104–6; Reade 1978: 141; Chamaza 1994: 103; Medvedskaya 1999; Álvarez-Mon 2010b: 195–6; on Luristan in the Iron Age see Overlaet 2013). An enemy of Assyria's in the first or second year of Sargon's reign, Dalta had switched his allegiance, paid tribute in Sargon's eighth year, and was himself rescued by Assyrian troops from an attempted *coup d'état* the following year (Schawe 1927: 23; Fuchs 1994: 432). Dalta apparently died without children, and a power struggle erupted between his nephews, Nibe and I/Ashpabara, described as 'sister's sons' of Dalta (Fuchs 2003: 130). While Nibe turned to Shutruk-Nahhunte II for support, I/Ashpabara appealed to Sargon. According to Sargon's annals, the Elamite king sent 4,500 bowmen to aid Nibe, who had taken refuge in the fortress of Murubisu/Marubishtu (Streck 1916: CCCXLIV; Schawe 1927: 49, n. 159; Dubovský 2013: 455). The Assyrian army sent to I/Ashpabara's aid was, however, victorious, and Sargon 'filled the entire (land of) Elam with paralyzing fear' (Fuchs 1994: 339, Anm. 422–3). Once more Shutruk-Nahhunte II's attempt to check the growth of Assyrian influence seems to have been both costly and ineffectual.

Following his death in 705 BC, Sargon was succeeded by his son Sennacherib (Tadmor 1958: 98). The otherwise scarcely attested Marduk-zakir-shumi seized

power in Babylon (Brinkman 1965: 24; Frahm 1997: 9), but in 703 BC he was easily deposed by Merodach-Baladan. Sennacherib immediately organized a campaign to unseat his father's old rival, while Merodach-Baladan summoned the aid of the Aramaean and Chaldaean tribes of the south and, most importantly, the Elamites. According to the account of Sennacherib's first campaign, 'Merodach-Baladan, king of Kardu[niash . . .] a rebel plotting treachery, a criminal abhorring justice, turned to Shutruk-Nahhunte, king of El[am, for help] and bestowed upon him gold, silver, (and) precious stones and asked him for support. As help for him (i.e. Merodach-Baladan), he (Shutruk-Nahhunte) sent to Sumer and Akkad Imbappa, the general, . . . Tannanu, the *tashlishu*-official, ten *rab-kisri* commanders, together with Nergal-nasir, the Sutilian chieftain, fearless in battle, eighty thousand bowmen . . . (and) horses with them' (Brinkman 1965: 164–5). Like the contingent sent to help Dalta of Ellipi, the troops sent to Merodach-Baladan were overwhelmingly archers, a mainstay of Elamite warfare (Brinkman 1986: 203).

One wonders why Shutruk-Nahhunte II chose to proffer aid, even for a price, at this point. Perhaps he had less respect for Sennacherib's military prowess than for Sargon's. Perhaps he preferred any fighting to take place on Babylonian soil, well away from his own western borderlands. In Brinkman's view, 'it would be more accurate to say that the services of the Elamite army and of various high Elamite officials were purchased rather than that mercenaries were hired' (Brinkman 1964: 25, n. 139), but this does not explain *why* Shutruk-Nahhunte II agreed to the request. As on all previous occasions, Merodach-Baladan stayed well out of the main theatre of war, engaging only in a skirmish with an advance party of the Assyrian army near Kish before fleeing and leaving the Elamite forces to face the major Assyrian contingent near Kutha (Brinkman 1964: 165, 1965: 25; Levine 1982: 36). Once more Merodach-Baladan fled into the marshes, while what was left of Shutruk-Nahhunte II's forces presumably retreated, leaving the way clear for Sennacherib to enter Babylon, just as his father had done several years earlier.

Sennacherib chose not to immediately pursue the Chaldaean chieftain but became involved once more in the Zagros, where, interestingly, I/Ashpabara of Ellipi, whom Sargon had set on the throne, undoubtedly out of no love for the Ellipian but as a counterpoise to Elamite ambitions in that arena, had turned against him (Levine 1982: 38; Frahm 1997: 10). It was not until 700 BC that Sennacherib moved against Merodach-Baladan. His invasion of Bit-Jakin, however, only prompted Merodach-Baladan to flee to the city of Nagite, described as being on an island but quite possibly located in 'swampy land in the region of Elam reached by crossing the Persian Gulf' (Brinkman 1964: 27), taking with him both the cult statues of his cities ('the gods of his whole land in their shrines', Luckenbill 1924: 35) and the bones of his ancestors ('the bones of his fathers, [who lived] before him, [which] he gathered from their coffins',

Luckenbill 1924: 85), lest they be defiled or destroyed (Brinkman 1964: 27; Cassin 1982: 365 and n. 49).

Thereafter Merodach-Baladan is heard of no more. In concluding his description of Merodach-Baladan's flight to Nagite, Sennacherib simply says, 'and in that place he died' (Luckenbill 1924: 85–6). In the aftermath of these events, according to the Babylonian Chronicle (ii 32–4), Shutruk-Nahhunte II was deposed by Hallushu, 'his brother', who reigned as king of Elam (Grayson 1975: 77; Luckenbill 1924: 158) from 699 to 693 BC (Tavernier 2004: 39). Whether this coup was prompted by the unpopularity of Shutruk-Nahhunte II's support of Merodach-Baladan and the consequent suffering inflicted on the Elamites at Assyrian hands, we cannot say. In the past it was customary to identify Hallushu of the Babylonian Chronicle with a king variously called Hallushu-Inshushinak (thus Cameron 1936: 163; Hinz 1972–5: 61; Carter and Stolper 1984: 47), Hallutash-Inshushinak (König 1965: 168, n. 10; Steve 1987: 50–1, 1992: 22), or Hallutush-Inshushinak (Malbran-Labat 1995: 129), son of Huban-tahra, who is known from a dedication to Inshushinak found at Susa (Waters 2013: 481). In more recent scholarship Hallushu and Hallutush-Inshushinak (the correct form; see Tavernier 2014) have been considered two different rulers – Waters suggested that any attempt to identify one with the other is attended by 'immense difficulty' (Waters 2013: 481) – and Hallutush-Inshushinak is now dated to the period after Assurbanipal's destruction of Susa (Vallat 1995b), perhaps c. 620–585 BC (Tavernier 2004: 36).

Another contradiction emerges between the Chronicle, which accords Hallushu a reign of six years (iii 8), and a Neo-Babylonian legal text discovered at Nippur which is dated to Hallushu's fifteenth year (Brinkman and Kennedy 1983: 60–1; Weisberg 1984; see also Stolper 1986: 239). Attempting to resolve this problem, Weisberg suggested that the two 'brothers' might have ruled simultaneously, with Shutruk-Nahhunte II the paramount 'king of Elam' and Hallushu a 'king' of some smaller portion of Khuzistan for at least nine years prior to being recognized by the Babylonian scribes who composed the Chronicle as paramount king. This solution was adopted by P. de Miroschedji, who suggested that, during the Neo-Elamite period, a *cursus honorum* existed in which 'kings' passed from sovereignty over Susa and Hidalu (in which order he does not specify) to that of Madaktu, a capital city about which we shall hear more in discussing events during the reign of Kutir-Nahhunte II. Such a sequence of offices, de Miroschedji believed, mirrored the much earlier sequence *sukkal* of Susa, *sukkal* of Elam and Shimashki, and finally *sukkalmah* (de Miroschedji 1986: 218). This view was challenged by Quintana, however, who suggested a bipartite apportionment of rule between the king of Elam, with royal seats at both Susa and Madaktu, and a secondary 'king of Hidalu' (Quintana 1996d) who may have functioned as a sort of military governor over this eastern Elamite border region (Fuchs 2003: 135 considered him a kind of 'Markgraf'; Winckler 1891: 319, n. 1, considered

Hidalu a separate kingdom). If this were already the case in the time of Shutruk-Nahhunte II, then one would have to imagine that he occupied the paramount position, while Hallushu functioned as king of Hidalu. Henkelman has emphasized, however, that such reconstructions are devoid of supporting data (Henkelman 2003c: 254–5).

In 694 BC Sennacherib decided ‘to root out the Chaldean refugees’ of Bit-Jakin who had fled with Merodach-Baladan to Elam (Levine 1982: 41). According to the Oriental Institute prism inscription (Frahm 1997: 102–3), Sennacherib crossed the sea in ‘Hittite ships’, conquered Nagite, Hilmu, Billatu and Hupapanu, ‘provinces of Elam’, deported the inhabitants of Bit-Jakin ‘and the people of the king of Elam’ to Assyria, and destroyed their cities before crushing Shuzubu the Babylonian (i.e. MUshezib-Marduk, see later discussion), who had rebelled, with Elamite help, against the authority of Sennacherib’s son Assur-nadin-shumi (Luckenbill 1924: 39). The Babylonian Chronicle (ii 38–44), however, tells a rather different tale, for after recounting Sennacherib’s conquests in the south, it says, ‘Thereupon, Hallushu, king of Elam, came against Akkad, entered Sippar toward the end of the month of Tashritu, and slew the inhabitants. Shamash did not leave Ebabbara. Assur-nadin-shumi was captured and carried off to Elam. . . . The king of Elam placed Nergal-Ushezib on the throne in Babylon and invaded (or defeated) Assyria’ (see also the discussion in Mayer 1995: 367). Levine suggested that Hallushu was prompted to launch an attack on northern Babylonia (i.e. Akkad and Sippar) by the fact that these areas were vulnerable so long as Sennacherib and his forces were tied up in the far south (Levine 1982: 43). From a letter later written to Sennacherib’s youngest son and eventual successor, Esarhaddon, we also know that Sennacherib’s eldest son, Assur-nadin-shumi, was captured by some of the rebellious Babylonians and turned over to Hallushu, after which he was taken away to Elam (Parpola 1972; Brinkman 1973: 92).

The fact that at least three extant texts were dated to Hallushu’s reign (years 1 and 15, but the date of the third text is missing; see Stolper 1986: 235; for the text from year 15, recording the adoption of a girl with a Babylonian name, excavated at Nippur but issued at Sumuntunash, see Weisberg 2003: 13–14, text 1; Zadok 2011: 128) shows that, despite being omitted from Kinglist A (Brinkman 1976: 433), Hallushu’s control over Babylonia was real. Were it not for the problematic reference to year 15 of Hallushu’s reign, the one text dated to his first year would sit well with the fact that, towards the end of 694 BC, Nergal-Ushezib assumed the throne of Babylon (cf. the discussion in Henkelman 2003c: 255–6). As Levine suggested, there may be some truth in both the Assyrian and the Babylonian points of view, the former alleging that Nergal-Ushezib (not to be confused with Shuzubu the Babylonian, i.e. MUshezib-Marduk, in Sennacherib’s annals) had seized power ‘during an uprising in the land’, and the latter asserting that he was ‘placed . . . on the throne in Babylon’ by the king of Elam (Levine 1982: 43; Brinkman 1995).

According to the Babylonian Chronicle (ii 46–iii 2), in the spring of 693 BC, Nergal-Ushezib seized control of Nippur, evidently in a bid to widen his sphere of influence beyond Babylon, but several months later the Assyrians launched a counterattack, seizing Uruk (which probably indicates that by then it had come under Nergal-Ushezib's control) and prompting Nergal-Ushezib to seek refuge with the Elamites. Nergal-Ushezib replied by attacking 'the Assyrians in the province of Nippur' (again presumably lost by then to the Assyrian army), but he was 'captured in open battle and carried off to Assyria' (iii 4–5). Sennacherib's own Nebi Yunus inscription is more graphic, claiming that his soldiers 'threw him [i.e. Nergal-Ushezib] fettered into a cage and brought him before me. I tied him up in the middle city-gate of Nineveh, like a pig' (Luckenbill 1924: 87–8), while in the Oriental Institute prism text, the Assyrian monarch says, 'I seized him alive with my (own) hands, I threw him into bonds and fetters of iron and brought him to Assyria' (Luckenbill 1924: 39).

Scarcely two weeks after this battle, if the Babylonian Chronicle can be believed, 'his people rebelled against Hallushu, king of Elam, imprisoned and slew him' (iii 7–8). In an unexpected manner, however, Hallushu's image lived on in Assyria. We know from several of Sennacherib's inscriptions (e.g. the Chicago Prism VI.10; see Frahm 1997: 21) that he mutilated his Elamite captives by cutting their lips (or moustaches? see George 1996). In a text from the reign of Sennacherib's grandson Assurbanipal (Frahm 1997: 21–2), the Assyrian king reports that he performed the same act of mutilation on a statue of Hallushu – one of thirty-two statues of Elamite kings brought back from Susa and other Elamite cities – which is said to have stood in Sennacherib's Southwest Palace at Nineveh, possibly at the entrance to Room XXXIII in which Assurbanipal's own Elamite campaigns were commemorated.

According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Hallushu was succeeded by 'Kudur', in whom we recognize the 'Kudur-nahundu' of Sennacherib's annals (Luckenbill 1924: 40–1), that is, Kutir-Nahhunte II. As we have no original inscriptions of this king from Elamite territory, we know nothing of his antecedents and family relations. The Babylonian Chronicle does not specifically implicate Kutir-Nahhunte II in the rebellion against and assassination of Hallushu, his predecessor, attributing it to 'his people'. The causes of this *coup d'état* are also withheld, but one could well imagine that pro-Babylonian Elamite foreign policy, so costly and seemingly unproductive with respect to Assyria, was a perennial justification for overthrowing any ruler who pursued such a line. In Hallushu's case, his actions seem to have indeed set the stage for a major riposte from Sennacherib. Undoubtedly the Assyrian ruler sensed the time was right for a strike against Susiana in the aftermath of Hallushu's death and the capture of Nergal-Ushezib, particularly given the instability which these events must have caused in Elam itself. Possibly beginning within weeks

of his victory over the Babylonian pretender, Sennacherib ‘descended against Elam, devastated the land from Rashi to Bit-Burnaki [var. Bit-Bunakku] and carried off its spoil’, according to the Babylonian Chronicle (iii 10–11). In his annals Sennacherib says he marched against ‘the strong cities, his treasure-houses, and the small cities of the environs, as far as the pass of (or entrance to) Bit-Burnaki, I besieged, I captured, I carried off their spoil, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire’ (Luckenbill 1924: 88).

According to Sennacherib, his advance into Elam prompted Kutir-Nahhunte II to organize the evacuation of his people into ‘strongholds’, while he himself ‘forsook Madaktu, his royal city, and turned his face toward Haidala [Hidalu] which is in the midst of the mountains’. Sennacherib marched to Madaktu, but foul weather halted the chase. By now it was autumn, ‘severe weather (cold) set in, uninterrupted rains came on, and snow. I was afraid of the swollen mountain streams and turned back and took the road to Assyria’ (Luckenbill 1924: 88). Assuming that the Assyrian campaign was launched from Der, long an important staging post for forays into the region, de Miroschedji proposed that Bit-Burnaki should be located around Deh Luran, to the north of Susa. Assuming that it is identical with Badakê (Diodorus Siculus XIX.19), a place mentioned in connection with wars of the successors following Alexander the Great’s death, Madaktu (Figure 8.1) has sometimes been identified with Tepe Patak, a 6 ha site between the Karkheh and Duwairij rivers close to the modern road between Andimeshk and Deh Luran (de Miroschedji 1986: 215). Not all scholars, however, accept this view, and its precise location remains a mystery (Vallat 1993a: 162; Potts 1999a, 2005b; Wright and Neely 2010: 111). As for Haidala or Hidalu/i, this city is mentioned in slightly later Neo-Elamite texts from Susa, but it is most frequently attested in the Achaemenid fortification texts from Persepolis, according to which it was roughly a seven days’ journey southeast of Susa (Vallat 1993a: 96). De Miroschedji suggested that this would accord well with a location roughly halfway between Susa and Persepolis, probably between Ram Hormuz and Behbahan (de Miroschedji 1986: 217; Carter 1994b, 2007: 147), but this location cannot be corroborated by any locational evidence (Potts 2009b: 291; Waters 2013: 483; contra Koch 1986: 142–3 and Abb. 1).

Sennacherib’s reference to Madaktu as Kutir-Nahhunte II’s ‘royal city’ may explain why no inscriptions attributable to the king have yet been found at Susa, since this may not have been his residence at all. Following the removal of Hallushu from power, Kutir-Nahhunte II may have preferred to live outside of Susa, perhaps fearful of the fates which had befallen his immediate predecessors.

Before the year 693 BC was out, Sennacherib’s old nemesis Shuzubu the Babylonian, or MUshezib-Marduk as the Babylonian Chronicle calls him, ‘ascended the throne in Babylon’ (iii 12), but by the spring of 692 BC ‘Kudur, king of Elam, was seized during an uprising and killed. Ten months he reigned in Elam. Menanu ascended the throne in Elam’ (iii 14–15). Menanu,

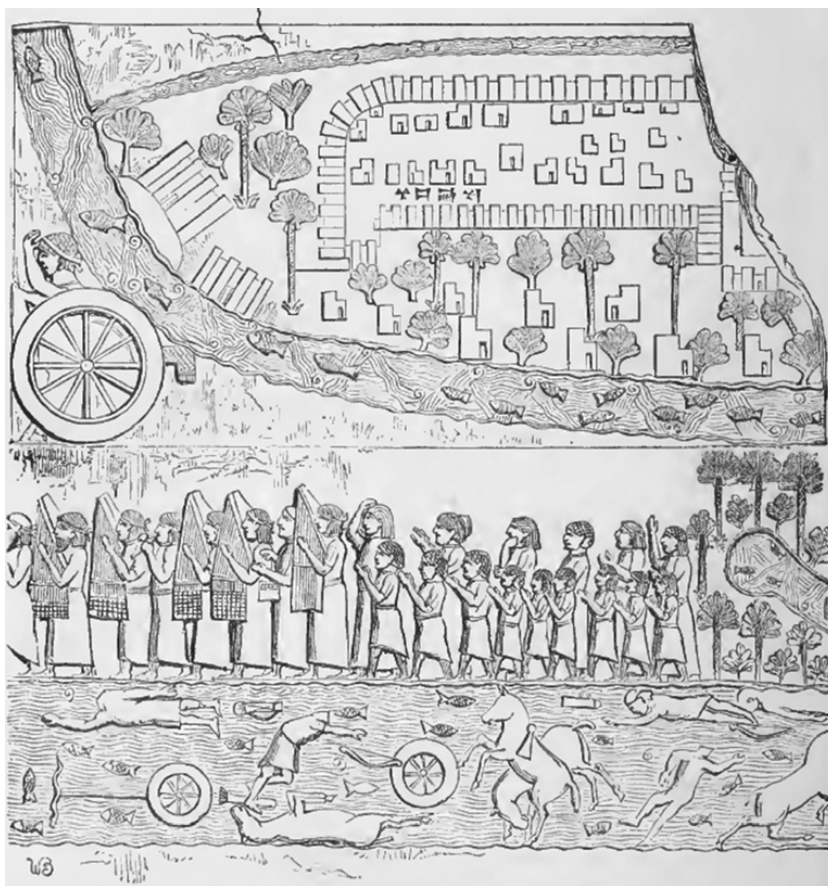


Figure 8.1. Depiction of the city of Madaktu from slab 6, lower register, Room XXXIII in Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, bearing Assurbanipal's epigraph, KUR *ma-dak-te* 'land of Madaktu' (after Loftus 1857b: 428).

Elamite Huban-menana (III) or 'Umman-menanu' in Sennacherib's inscriptions (Luckenbill 1924: 42, 47), reigned from 692 to 689 BC (Tavernier 2004: 39). According to Sennacherib, Huban-menana 'gathered to himself a large body of confederates – (the men) of Parsua, Anzan, Pasiru, Ellipi, the whole of Chaldaea, and all the Aramaeans. These, with the king of Babylon, drew near *en masse*, and set upon me, offering battle. (Trusting) in the might of Assur, my lord, I fought with them in the plain of Halulê' (Luckenbill 1924: 88). This offensive, which almost certainly took place in 691 BC, differed from those of the previous century in that the expeditionary force included Ellipi, Assyria's buffer state in the Zagros, as well as Parsua(sh). This name has generated endless speculation. In essence, the question is whether Elam's ally in this instance was the same Parsua(sh) in the north-central Zagros (the name of which may be retained by Paswē, near Solduz; see Minorsky 1957: 79) referred to from the mid-ninth to the late eighth century BC in the royal inscriptions of

Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad V, Adad-nirari III, Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II (Waters 1999a: 100ff.; Zadok 2002: 99ff.), or a more southerly Parsua, closer to Elam and Anz/shan, from which the names Parsa/Persis and P/Fars are derived (Waters 2004: 94). Some scholars have stated categorically that Sennacherib's Parsua 'has nothing to do with Parsua in the Zagros' (Zadok 2001; cf. Rubio 2006: 33, n. 2) and instead refers to a place in Fars (Henkelman 2011a: 600; Waters 2011b: 286), while others believe just the opposite (Rollinger 1999: 122). Similarly, experts are divided on the question of whether, beginning with the earliest attestation of Iranian speakers on the Iranian plateau in the ninth century BC, there were always two distinct places by this name; whether the more southerly one came into being only as a result of a migration of 'Persians' from the north-central Zagros locale (Waters 2005: 527–8); or indeed whether a more southerly Parsua emerged via a process of ethnogenesis involving Persian- and Elamite-speaking populations that had crystallized by the time of Assurbanipal (Rollinger 1999: 126–7; cf. Henkelman 2003a).

Equally intriguing is the reference to Anzan, all but forgotten in the earlier Neo-Assyrian sources which deal with Elam (Potts 2005b, 2011a; Henkelman 2011a: 596ff.) and an area for which, archaeologically speaking, little material evidence exists in the Neo-Elamite period. P. Briant suggested that the omission of Anshan in the Neo-Elamite titlature following Shutruk-Nahhunte II might be an indication that Anshan had been lost by the kings of Susa to an emerging highland power, namely the Persians, who would become truly visible in the reign of Assurbanipal, and that the contribution of contingents from Anzan to Huban-menana III's forces was already an indication of the growing strength of the new polity (Briant 1984: 82). In fact, this argument is flawed since we now know that Shutruk-Nahhunte II was not the last Elamite to use the title 'king of Anshan and Susa', but rather Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, the rival of Huban-menana's son, Shutur-Nahhunte, against whom he campaigned (Vallat 2006a; cf. Tavernier 2004: 10, 22, who placed his reign c. 530–520 BC). Hallutush-Inshushinak, the only other Neo-Elamite king of the pre-Halule period attested by original inscriptions at Susa, used a variant of this title as well (Malbran-Labat 1995: 136; Tavernier 2004: 10). As Henkelman argued, however, the fact that Anzan is listed as one of the participants in the force which fought at Halule should not be taken as an indicator of the emerging independence of a kingdom of Anshan, whether or not Persian, no longer linked to that of Susa/Madaktu (Henkelman 2011a: 600, n. 65), particularly if the Anshanites at Halule were mercenaries (Henkelman 2003a: 76). As for Briant's suggestion that 'Persian' participation in the coalition was paid for by Elamite recognition of Persian territorial sovereignty over Fars (Briant 1984: 82), or Ghirshman's belief that the 'Persians' at Halule were cavalry units (Ghirshman 1973: 214–15), these are simply speculations, and Henkelman has stressed that while 'the label "Parsua" may perhaps refer to groups *including* Iranians', it 'cannot with any certainty be taken to refer always to "Iranians" in

an exclusive way' for even 'an Iranian origin of the name is uncertain' (Henkelman 2003a: 76).

Halule was somewhere on the Tigris, but its location is unknown (Brinkman 1973: 93, n. 25; Zadok 1985b: 30). If Paul Haupt was justified in comparing Halule with Arabic *Haulāye* and Syriac *Hālê*, then it may have been located north of Baghdad, in the area bounded by the points where the Diyala and Adheim (Nahr Al Uzaym) rivers debouche into the Tigris (Haupt 1886: 542). V. Scheil also suggested that at least one of the late Neo-Elamite texts from Susa had been dispatched from Hululi, which he compared with Halule (Scheil 1910: 570). Like the battle of Der in 720 BC, the battle of Halule is one for which conflicting accounts exist (see Melville 2014: 533–4 for a good overview with earlier lit.). The Babylonian Chronicle says that 'Menanu mustered the armies of Elam and Akkad, made an attack upon Assyria at Halule and defeated Assyria' (iii 16–18). Sennacherib's accounts of the encounter vary. In his Nebi Yunus inscription he says, 'I defeated them, cutting down with the sword 150,000 of their warriors', naming Nabu-shum-ishkun, son of Merodach-Baladan, amongst those whom he captured alive. As for the protagonists, 'the king of Babylon and the king of Elam, the chilling terror of my battle overcame them, they let their dung go into their chariots, they ran off alone, and fled their land' (Luckenbill 1924: 89). The Oriental Institute prism gives much more detail, for in addition to naming the Iranian members of the coalition, it specifies the Chaldaean and Aramaean districts involved, and describes different episodes of the battle graphically, including Sennacherib's slaying of Humbanundasha (Huban-Untash), the Elamite field commander (*nāgīru*), a figure attested in a number of Assyrian letters (Klauber 1910: 68–9), whom Sennacherib acknowledged as 'a trustworthy man' (Luckenbill 1924: 45). It is important to note, however, that the prism accounts mythologize the battle, making direct allusions to *Enuma Elish*, the Babylonian creation myth (Oppenheim 1964: 253; Weissert 1997; cf. Melville 2014).

In fact, there may be some truth in both versions of the battle. Certainly Assyria was not defeated with any finality, because Sennacherib was able to start the siege of Babylon in an effort to root out MUšhezib-Marduk by the spring of 690 BC (Brinkman 1973: 93; Levine 1982: 49). At great cost, the Babylonians withstood the siege until the autumn of 689 BC. As a legal text in the Yale Babylonian Collection relates, 'In the time of MUšhezib-Marduk, king of Babylonia, the land was gripped by siege, famine, hunger, want, and hard times. Everything was changed and reduced to nothing. . . . The city gates were barred, and a person could not go out in any of the four directions. The corpses of men, with no one to bury them, filled the squares of Babylon' (Brinkman 1973: 93). In the middle of the siege came news that Humban-nimena had suffered a stroke and died (Ashrafian 2010). As the Babylonian Chronicle says, 'In the fourth year of MUšhezib-Marduk, on the fifteenth of the month Nisan [January], Menanu, king of Elam, suffered a stroke, his jaw was locked (mouth

seized) so that he could not speak. ... On the seventh of the month Adar [December], Menanu, king of Elam, died' (iii 19–25). In the interval, Babylon fell to Sennacherib, who razed it (Brinkman 1973: 94).

According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Menanu/Huban-menena was succeeded on the Elamite throne by Humbahaldashu (iii 27), or Huban-haltash I (for the name, see Zadok 1976a: 63; for his family and descendants, see Fuchs 2003: 136ff.; Waters 2006a, 2006b: 500ff.), who reigned from 689 to 681 BC. This occurred at a time when 'there was no king in Babylon' (i.e. after the destruction of Babylon), when, for eight years, Sennacherib was content to let the land 'languish' (Brinkman 1973: 95). According to the Chronicle, Huban-haltash I reigned until 'he was seized with fever and died from the attack' (iii 30–1). He was succeeded by Huban-haltash II (Waters 2006b: 499ff. suggested he was a homonymous brother of Huban-haltash I; Fuchs 2003: 136 suggested he was a son; other possibilities exist given that the signs in the Chronicle expressing their filiation are damaged), who reigned from 681 to 675 BC, but neither king is known from any original, Elamite inscriptions.

For reasons which are not entirely clear, following the abduction (and presumably execution) of his eldest son, Assur-nadin-shumi, Sennacherib chose his youngest son, Esarhaddon, as heir presumptive, bypassing three older children in the process (see the discussion in Porter 1993: 16ff.). Not surprisingly this aroused the jealousy and opposition of Esarhaddon's elder siblings, one of whom, Arda-Mulishshi, murdered his father as a result in January of 680 BC (Parpola 1980: 174). By this time Esarhaddon was in hiding, but the murder was followed by a power struggle between the other brothers (Porter 1993: 24). An apparently sizeable faction was still loyal to Esarhaddon, however, who returned to the outskirts of Nineveh, dispatched his brothers in battle (sending them fleeing to Urartu) and assumed the Assyrian throne in February/March of the same year. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Esarhaddon apparently used a Median contingent as bodyguards (Liverani 1995; Scurlock 2012). He may have felt insecure in Assyria amidst the followers of his rebellious brothers.

Before the year was out, Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir, a son of Merodach-Baladan and governor of the Sealand, seizing on what must have been fairly unsettled conditions, besieged Ur and, pursuing a tried-and-true policy used often before, attempted to lure Huban-haltash II into a new *entente* by sending him lavish gifts (Weidner 1954–6; Waters 1999b: 474ff.). Following the relief of Ur by an Assyrian army, Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir fled to the Elamite king, who promptly imprisoned and executed him, according to the Babylonian Chronicle (iii 39–42), while his brother Na'id-Marduk (another brother was named Huban-nikash, perhaps reflecting an otherwise unattested Elamite wife taken at some point by Merodach-Baladan; see Waters 2002a) abandoned Elam for the court of Esarhaddon, begging for mercy. In return for a hefty annual tribute, Esarhaddon installed Na'id-Marduk as the new governor of the

Sealand, effectively ending decades of Assyrian strife with Bit-Jakin and winning an ally in the fight to stay Elamite interference in what Assyria undoubtedly saw as its ‘internal affairs’ (Porter 1993: 34).

The new influence won by Assyria in the Sealand may have prompted Huban-haltash II to attempt a counter-move designed to undo that new relationship, although the evidence is by no means clear. A letter to Esarhaddon (ABL 1114), apparently written by some elders of the Sealand, reports the arrival of an Elamite envoy alleging that Na'id-Marduk was dead (one wonders where he was at the time) and proposing that they accept his brother, Nabu-ushallim (a son of Merodach-Baladan), as their leader (Porter 1993: 35, n. 75). Another letter (ABL 576) repeats this claim, reiterating the loyalty of the writers and expressing their belief that they do not think their leader is dead. Finally, a third letter (ABL 1131) to Esarhaddon announces that Nabu-ushallim had invaded the Sealand aided by Elamite warriors (Dietrich 1970: 24–5; Porter 1993: 35, n. 75). Whether this should be construed as ‘official’ Elamite policy and intended subversion by Huban-haltash II or simply as a reflection of a power struggle between the sons of Merodach-Baladan, one of whom had support if not necessarily royal sanction from the Elamite side, is difficult to say. Brinkman believed that Huban-haltash II ‘resisted Babylonian attempts to involve him in anti-Assyrian resistance in Esarhaddon’s early years’ (Brinkman 1991: 44).

How is one to explain the fact that, according to the Babylonian Chronicle (iv 9–10), Huban-haltash II sacked Sippar in 675 BC? Scholars have been inclined to view the attack on Sippar either as a part of new disturbances which were linked to the deportation of the chief of the Bit-Dakkuri and the governor of Nippur in the same year, or else as a scribal error on the part of the chronicler who inserted events here which had occurred twenty years earlier in the time of Assur-nadin-shumi, the sign sequence of whose name (AN.SÁR-MU-MU) differed only slightly from that of Esarhaddon’s (AN.SÁR-ŠEŠ-MU) (Brinkman 1990: 92; 1991: 44). As Brinkman noted, ‘this stands out as an isolated event, the only apparent disruption in a quarter-century of otherwise good relations between Assyria and Elam’ (Brinkman 1991: 44). Nevertheless, these disturbances may have prompted Esarhaddon to fortify his border with Elam (Borger 1956: 53).

According to the Babylonian Chronicle Huban-haltash II ‘died in his palace without becoming ill’ (iv 11–12) and was succeeded by his brother Urtak (contra Dietrich 1970: 37, the letter ABL 839, sent by Nabu-bel-shumate to Assurbanipal while the writer was still loyal to the Assyrian king, which speaks about a king of Elam who suffered a stroke, cannot refer to Huban-haltash II; see Brinkman 1978: 308, n. 27; Malbran-Labat 1975: 13, n. 25; it may refer to Te'umman; see Mattila 1987: 30), whose Elamite name was probably Urtagu (Zadok 1976a: 63). This occurred in the sixth year of Esarhaddon’s reign and was soon followed by a treaty between the Assyrian and Elamite kings (Borger

1956: 19) involving the return of some plundered cult statues. In Esarhaddon's seventh year (c. 674 BC; see Gerardi 1987: 12–13), according to the Babylonian Chronicle, 'Ishtar of Agade and the gods of Agade left Elam and entered Agade . . .' (iv 17–18; Brinkman 1990: 88; 1991: 44).

Urtak reigned from 675 to 664 BC (Fuchs 2003: 136; Tavernier 2004: 39; Waters 2013: Tab. 24.1) but is not attested in original Elamite inscriptions. He was thus in power when Esarhaddon died in 669 BC and during the early years of his son and successor, Assurbanipal, grain was sent to Elam to relieve a famine which, according to Assurbanipal (ABL 295), was so bad that 'there wasn't even a dog to eat' (restoration acc. to Malbran-Labat 1982: 250). In addition, Elamite refugees were allowed to settle in Assyria until such time as the harvest improved in Elam (Piepkorn 1933: 54). Assurbanipal was explicit in attributing this gesture of aid to Urtak's treaty with his father Esarhaddon (Nassouhi 1924–5: 103). Nevertheless, in 664 BC Urtak attacked Babylonia (for the date see Gerardi 1987: 129), apparently at the instigation of an anti-Assyrian trio consisting of Bel-iqisha, chief of the Gambulu tribe; Nabu-shum-eresh, governor of Nippur; and Marduk-shum-ibni, an Elamite official in Urtak's administration. After receiving news of the Elamite invasion and verifying it by sending his own messenger to Babylonia, Assurbanipal says, 'In my eighth campaign, I marched against Urtak, king of Elam, who did not heed the treaty of (my) father, my sire, who did not guard the friendship' (Gerardi 1987: 122). Assurbanipal's account of the events which followed is brief, noting only that the forces of Urtak retreated from their position near Babylon and were defeated near the border of Elam. Later, Urtak himself died and, according to Edition B of Assurbanipal's annals, 'Assur. . ., (and) Ishtar. . ., his royal dynasty they removed. The dominion of the land they gave to another; afterwards Te-Umman, image of a *gallû* demon, sat on the throne of Urtak' (Gerardi 1987: 133), whereupon the remaining members of both Urtak's family and those of his predecessor, Huban-haltash II, fled to Assyria (Gerardi 1987: 123–4; Brinkman 1991: 52; for the dynamics of Assurbanipal's entire conquest of Elam, see Dubovsky 2013). If this is the same event referred to in the Shamash-shum-ukin Chronicle, according to which 'the Elamite prince fled [to] Assyria' on the 12th of Tammuz in the fourth year of Shamash-shum-ukin's regency over Babylonia, then it can be placed around June–July 664 BC (Millard 1964: 19; Gerardi 1987: 128).

Te'umman reigned from sometime in 664 to 653 BC (Henkelman 2013b). Although many scholars, beginning with G.G. Cameron, have identified him with Tepti-Huban-Inshushinak, known from four separate brick inscriptions attested at Susa which inform us of his work on the Inshushinak and Pinigir temples there (Malbran-Labat 1995: 138–40), this position has been viewed with scepticism or rejected by many authorities, and Tepti-Huban-Inshushinak is now considered a very late Neo-Elamite ruler who reigned shortly before the coming of Cyrus the Great (Vallat 1995b; Waters 2001: 477, 2006a: 65–8;

Henkelman 2003c: 256; Tavernier 2004: 37). Whatever the rhetoric of Assurbanipal's version of divine intervention in Te'umman's rise to power, it seems certain that he came from a family which was not that of one of the immediately previous Elamite rulers. This is confirmed, moreover, by Te'umman's own inscriptions, according to which his father was named Shilhak-Inshushinak (II), and was apparently unrelated to either Urtak or Huban-haltash II. But while the families of these two Elamite kings may have fled to Assyria, others stayed behind, including Ishtar-nandi (i.e. Shutruk-Nahhunte, king of Hidalu) and Umbakidinu (i.e. Huban-kidin).

A decade was to pass before Assurbanipal and Te'umman were to meet on the battlefield, but in the interval there was no shortage of diplomatic contact between them, for as Assurbanipal says in Edition B of his annals, Te'umman 'repeatedly sent his nobles for the extradition of those people who fled to me, who submitted to me. I did not order their extradition because of the insolent messages that he continually sent, monthly, by the hand of Umbadara and Nabu-damiq' (Gerardi 1987: 135–6; for the history, see Mayer 1995: 403ff.). In this context Assurbanipal names 'Ummanigash [Huban-nikash II], Ummanappa, Tammарitu [of Hidalu, to distinguish him from Tammарitu of Elam and a third Tammарitu; see Waters 1999c; Henkelman 2012c], the sons of Urtak, king of Elam, (and) Kudurru (and) Paru sons of Ummanaldash, brother of Urtak, king of Elam', along with 'sixty of the royal family, countless bowmen, free Elamites', all of whom, fearing for their lives, 'fled from the murderous intent of Te-Umman and took hold of my royal feet' (Millard 1964: 19; Streck 1916/II: 109). In 653 BC (for the date, see Gerardi 1987: 145) Te'umman began raising an army with which to attack Assurbanipal who, in Edition B of his seventh campaign, quotes Te'umman as saying, 'I shall not give up until I come and make war on him', attributing this bellicose behaviour to Ishtar, who 'had confounded his reason' (Gerardi 1987: 136). In response, Assurbanipal himself set off with an army from Der towards Elam. Te'umman had apparently already started to move up the road from Susa towards Der and on to Assyria and had reached Bit-Imbi but fell back at the approach of the Assyrians. In a pitched battle at Til-Tuba, on the banks of the Ulai river, he was killed along with his nephew Tammарitu (of Elam; for the family genealogy see Fuchs 2003: 136) and decapitated (on the Til-Tuba relief see Watanabe 2006, 2008, 2014). As Assurbanipal says, 'I cut off the head of Te-Umman, their king, the boaster, who plotted evil. Countless of his heroes I killed' (Gerardi 1987: 138). The decapitation of Te'umman (Bonatz 2004; Bahrani 2004, 2008: 41) is most likely referred to in a slightly later historical omen which drew its subject matter from Assurbanipal's Elamite campaigns as well (Starr 1985: 60, 65 l. 15).

Assurbanipal decorated Room XXXIII in the Southwest Palace (i.e. Sennacherib's palace, which Assurbanipal continued to use) and Room I in his own North Palace at Nineveh (Reade 1976: 99ff.; Gerardi 1987: 139ff.).

with a cycle of roughly ten compositions depicting the campaign against Te'umman. These were arranged in two registers of five compositions each, some of which consisted of more than one episode strung together in cartoon-strip fashion (Kaelin 1999; Watanabe 2006, 2008, 2014: 348–50; Collins 2014: 631–4). While the lower reliefs depicted the actual battle scenes, the upper reliefs illustrated the celebrations in Assyria which followed (Reade 1983: 61). These scenes (Tables 8.2 and 8.3) were often accompanied by epigraphs which can be likened to captions accompanying the illustrations. Originally, the scenes were arranged around either side of the entrance to Room XXXIII, slabs 1 to 3 on one side, 4 to 6 on the other (Gerardi 1987: 139). Other scenes in Room H of the North Palace, normally considered to be representations of Nineveh itself, have been identified by some scholars as images of Susa and its environs (Borchardt and Bleibtreu 2011: 488–98, referring to reliefs BM ANE 124938 and 124939).

The difference between the scantily armed Elamites, whose only weapon appears to have been the bow, and the heavily armoured Assyrian cavalrymen, wearing helmets and upper body armour (see Born and Seidl 1995) and wielding both long lances and bows, is striking and underscores the technical superiority of the Assyrian army over its Elamite foe (see Saggs 1963; Reade 1972; Mayer 1995: 419–82; Córdoba 1997: 7–8), not least because of its use of iron weaponry (Pigott 1984: 626; Nadali 2005: 223ff.). In contrast to the Assyrians with their protective tunics of lamellar armour (Thordeman 1939: 277; Salonen 1965: 100–8; Dezsö 2004, 2006), the Elamites wore only a short-sleeved tunic, generally shorter in front than in back; a headband; and an arrow quiver on their backs, held in place by straps run over the shoulders and fastened to a baldric in front (Tallis 2010: 310–11). Generally they were depicted barefoot (Reade 1972: 107; Strommenger 1994: Taf. 1c–d, IIa–b). Only the members of Te'umman's royal house wore rounded helmets with earflaps and a single feather extending backwards (Hrouda 1994: 54, Abb. 3). Otherwise, the only equipment employed by Elamites appears to have been their carts (Figure 8.2), 'open back and front ... usually drawn by mules – exceptionally by bovids or horses' which functioned 'chiefly in the role of troop transports, moving at speed and carrying four men' (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 101). The wheels of these carts were notable for their unusual number of spokes, sometimes as many as sixteen (Littauer, Crouwel and Hauptmann 1991: 357; Hrouda 1994: 53).

As noted earlier, Te'umman was decapitated on the field of battle by an Assyrian soldier. Lest knowledge of the fate of Te'umman somehow escape his allies, Assurbanipal attacked Dunanu, chief of the Gambulu, who had supported Te'umman, on his way back to Nineveh from Susiana. After capturing Dunanu, Assurbanipal had Te'umman's head hung around Dunanu's neck and thus was the ruler of Gambulu made to enter Nineveh, along with the Elamite prisoners of war. Te'umman's head was then suspended by a ring from a tree in

TABLE 8.2. *Epigraphs elucidating the depictions of Assurbanipal's triumph over Te'umman in Room XXXIII of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh*

Slab	Register	Depiction	Epigraph ¹
1	lower	above chariot, heading left, carrying Te'umman's head	Head of Te'um[man king of Elam], which in the midst of bat[tle] a common soldier in my army [cut off]. To (give me) the good ne[ws], they hastily dispatched (it) to Assy[ria].
2	lower	above officer on the ground	Urtak, in-law of Te'umman, who was wounded by an arrow, but did not die, to sever his own head, he called to an Assyrian thus: 'come, cut off my head. Bring (it) before the king your lord and make a good name (for yourself).'
3	lower	midst of battle scene	Te'umman, in desperation, said to his son, 'take up the bow!'
3		above Elamite being beheaded	Te'umman, king of Elam, who in fierce battle was wounded, Tammarithu, his eldest son, took him by the hand and to save (their) lives they fled. They hid in the midst of a forest. With the encouragement of Assur and Istar I killed them. Their heads I cut off in front of each other.
4	upper	above two men being flayed	[PN1] and [PN2] spoke great insults against Assur, my creator, Their tongues I ripped out, their flesh I flayed
5	lower	above figure being led by the hand by an Assyrian soldier	[Umman]igash, the fugitive, servant who submitted to me at my command, joyfully into the midst of Madaktu and Susa I caused my <i>sutreshi</i> , whom I sent, to enter and he set him on the throne of Te'umman, whom my hands conquered.
6	upper	above royal chariot	I, Assurbanipal, the king of the world, king of Assyria, with the encouragement of Assur and Ishtar my lords, my enemies I conquered. I attained whatever I wished. Rusa, king of Urartu, heard of the strength of Assur, my lord, and fear of my dominion overcame him; he sent his nobles to ask my health. In the midst of Arba-ili Nabu-damiq and Umbadara, nobles of Elam, with writing boards ² with messages of insolence I made (them) stand before them.
6	lower	in the midst of an illustration of a city	land of Madaktu

Notes:

¹ Translations are from Gerardi 1987: 274–9.² For writing boards at Susa, see Rutz 2006: 64.

TABLE 8.3. *Synopsis of the content of Assurbanipal's Elamite room (XXXIII) in Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh*

Register	Slab 1	Slab 2	Slab 3	Slab 4	Slab 5	Slab 6
upper	fragmentary, two Elamite captives grinding bones	not pre- served	two files of Elamite captives being deported	procession of Assyrians moving towards flaying and decapi- tation of Gambulians		Assurbanipal in his chariot
lower	Assyrian army attacking the Elamites, decapitation of Te'umman	battle (cont.)	battle (cont.)	Ulai river with floating corpses	as Slab 4 and Assyrian soldiers, chariots, cavalry meeting Elamite delegation, installa- tion of Ummanigash	as Slab 4 and prostrate delegation before Assyrian officer stand- ing in front of Madaktu

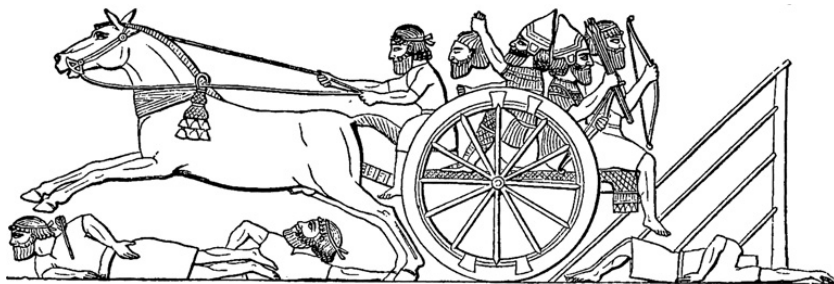


Figure 8.2. ‘Assyrian warriors in a cart captured from the Elamites’ (after Layard 1882: 246).

Assurbanipal’s garden, as illustrated on a well-known relief in the British Museum (Reade 1976: 104; 1983: 68; Nylander 1999; Bahrani 2004, 2008: 22–55). In addition, the two envoys who had delivered Te’umman’s haughty requests for the extradition of the Elamite princes were made to watch as Te’umman’s skin was paraded through the city. While one of them tore in anguish at his beard, the other committed suicide (Streck 1916: 125).

The removal of Te’umman paved the way for a major, if unrealized re-orientation of Elamite-Assyrian relations in that Assurbanipal was now in a position to turn his hostile neighbour into a client state. This he attempted to do by installing two of the refugee princes whom he had been harbouring – and for whose return Te’umman had long been clamouring – as ‘kings’ in Elam. As noted previously, Assurbanipal had given refuge to ‘Ummanigash, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, the sons of Urtak, king of Elam’ as well as to their cousins, ‘Kudurru (and) Paru sons of Ummanaldash, brother of Urtak, king of Elam’. By virtue of the fact that he is mentioned first, Ummanigash [Huban-nikash II] was presumably the eldest of Urtak’s three sons, and this would explain why he was installed as king at Madaktu, while his brother Tammaritu was made king at Hidalu (Millard 1964: 19; on the two Tammaritus and their genealogy, see Fuchs 2003: 134–7). Did this reflect a co-regency, a geographical splitting of the Elamite realm, or something else? We do not know (Henkelman 2003c: 253). Whether Ummanappa, presumably older than Tammaritu, had in the meantime died or defected, we do not know, but something must account for his having been passed over in favour of Tammaritu, seemingly the youngest son of Urtak, whom Assurbanipal calls Ummanigash’s ‘third brother’ (Streck 1916: 27).

As noted in Table 8.3, the installation of Ummanigash (i.e. Huban-nikash II) was illustrated in the cycle of reliefs depicting the second Elamite campaign (Nadali 2007: 59). The loyalty of the newly appointed vassal had, however, already been called into question by Assurbanipal’s brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, who had written to the Assyrian king warning him that the Elamite prince might prove treacherous (Millard 1964: 19 and n. 24; see also Streck 1916: 127). Treacherous he

indeed proved to be, but not solely of his own doing. Rather, Shamash-shum-ukin, dissatisfied with what he perceived to be his second-class role as regent of Babylonia while his brother occupied the throne of Assyria, plotted a rebellion against Assurbanipal and, to prepare the way, entered into alliances with other potential enemies of Assyria, including Ummanigash, the Elamite of whom he had himself been suspicious as a prince and whose help he now sought as a king (Millard 1964: 19, 24). Assurbanipal recounts the treachery of his brother who, in spite of all that had been given to him – troops, horses, chariots, cities, fields, grapevines (!) and people – incited the population of Babylonia to rebel against Assyrian overlordship (Streck 1916: 29). ‘Also Ummanigash, the refugee, who had seized my royal feet, whom I had placed on the throne of Elam’ (Streck 1916: 31) joined league with Shamash-shum-ukin, ‘Ummanigash for whom I had done many favours, made king of Elam, who was not mindful of the good relations; he did not keep the oath of the great gods; he accepted a bribe from the messengers of Shamash-shum-ukin, faithless brother my enemy’ (Gerardi 1987: 158).

In 652 BC Ummanigash sent troops to join the rebellious forces of Shamash-shum-ukin, enlisting further support as they made their way through southern Babylonia. Included in the expedition was a son of Te’umman’s, one Undashi (i.e. Untash), who had not perished with his father at Til-Tuba, and to whom Ummanigash is said by Assurbanipal to have spoken as follows: ‘Go! Exact vengeance from Assyria for your father, your sire’ (Gerardi 1987: 159). The expeditionary force met an Assyrian army coming south from the Tigris crossing at Mangisi and fought a battle at Hiritu, a fortress in the Diyala region (Millard 1964: 25, n. 52; cf. Grayson 1975: 257, who locates it ‘in the extreme south of Babylonia . . . near the Elamite border’ or Frame 1992: 291, who places it in northern Babylonia, ‘in the province of Sippar’). The Elamite-Babylonian army was defeated, and the Elamite generals, Nesu and Attametu, along with Te’umman’s son, Undashi, were all killed and their heads brought to Assurbanipal, who sent an envoy to Ummanigash. The Elamite, however, neither replied nor released the messenger (Gerardi 1987: 159).

Shortly thereafter Ummanigash was dethroned and murdered in yet another *coup d’état* by one Tammaritu who, in an Assyrian text dedicated to the god Nergal, is called ‘heir of Ummanigash, brother of his father’ (Streck 1916: 181; Gerardi 1987: 178–9). This makes it clear that Ummanigash, Assurbanipal’s ex-client king of Elam, was Tammaritu’s uncle, not his brother, and hence the Tammaritu (II) who overthrew Ummanigash was not the Tammaritu (I), brother of Ummanigash, who had been installed as king of Hidalu by Assurbanipal. One wonders if the father of Tammaritu was none other than Ummanappa, the brother of Ummanigash who had been a fugitive at the court of Assurbanipal but had not been installed in either Madaktu or Hidalu after the rout of Te’umman’s army. At any rate, Tammaritu II could not have objected to his predecessor’s support of the

Babylonian insurgents, for he himself soon led troops into the field in support of Shamash-shum-ukin, where, however, he was overthrown by an Elamite general named Indabibi, who turned on him in the midst of the battle, sending Tammaritu, his brothers and eighty-five supporters fleeing to Nineveh (Streck 1916: 35; Malbran-Labat 1975: 27), where he has been recognized in a relief that stood in the throne room (Room M) of the North Palace (Reade 1998: 230 and Fig. 7; Novotny and Watanabe 2008: 119 and Fig. 7). This must have occurred in 650 or early 649 BC (for the date, see Gerardi 1987: 176; Frame 1992: 293).

From this period dates the correspondence between Assurbanipal and his general Bel-ibni, stationed in the Sealand. As his letters make clear, Bel-ibni was charged with containing the rebellious Nabu-bel-shumate, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan who had early on allied himself with Shamash-shum-ukin (Brinkman 1991: 56–7). The difficulty of dating Bel-ibni's letters has led to differing interpretations of the precise sequence of events, but it is clear that the Sealand was both a place of refuge for Nabu-bel-shumate and a breeding ground for anti-Assyrian resistance in which the Elamites usually took part. From Bel-ibni's correspondence with Assurbanipal we can glean many details otherwise unmentioned in the Assyrian annals. For example, we learn that Indabibi killed one of Tammaritu II's brothers during the battle in which he revolted (ABL 521), and that Tammaritu and his entourage fled in the first instance to Bel-ibni, who sent them on to Assurbanipal (ABL 284). We hear of a famine amongst the Elamites on the border with the Sealand; and we learn that Nabu-bel-shumate was able to mobilize 250 men of the Gurashimmu tribe to harass the Assyrian general's forces. We also see that Bel-ibni deployed 400 archers in squadrons of 100 who crossed the head of the Persian Gulf to Elam, massacred members of the tribes of Hilim and Pillatu, a border town in the region (ABL 520), and seized 500 to 600 head of cattle before returning (ABL 1000; see also Malbran-Labat 1982: 78). Bel-ibni organized other raids on Elamite territory, passing through the marshes by boat and, in one action, involving 600 archers and 50 cavalrymen, capturing 1,500 head of cattle belonging to the Elamite king and the prince of Pillatu. An important letter (BM 132980) sent by Assurbanipal to the 'elders of Elam' emphasized in blunt terms that Elamite support for Nabu-bel-shumate was the sole *casus belli* animating the Assyrian king. After telling the Elamite elders that there was nothing of any worth to Assyria in Elam – no precious stones, horses, mules, silver or gold – Assurbanipal flatly stated, 'Send to me Nabû-bêl-šumāti and those with him, and then I myself will send to you your gods and make peace. However, if you delay or do not comply, by Aššur and my gods, I swear that under the aegis of the gods I will make your future become your past' (Waters 2002b: 82). These 'elders of Elam' appear to have functioned much as the city elders of Mesopotamian cities had for centuries, constituting an institution that coexisted with that of the king

and, on occasion, took decisions independent of the royal power (Potts 2013b: 120–1; cf. Tavernier 2013b: 367–8).

Perhaps because he realized that Shamash-shum-ukin's position was becoming untenable and because he could perceive no advantage for Elam in continuing its support for Assurbanipal's rebellious brother, Indabibi decided to treat for peace with Assurbanipal (Cogan and Tadmor 1981: 233). He released a number of Assyrian prisoners and sent an ambassador to Nineveh with a view to concluding a treaty (Streck 1916: 131), but there were others who were not released, prompting Assurbanipal to send back a message with Indabibi's envoy enjoining him to release these or risk the destruction of Susa, Madaktu and Hidalu and experience the fate of Te'umman (Streck 1916: 1431). For whatever reasons, the messenger never arrived, Assurbanipal marched against Elam, and hearing yet again of the approach of an Assyrian army, 'the people of Elam revolted [against] Indabibi and [killed him. Ummanaldash, son] of Attametu, [took] his throne' (Gerardi 1987: 161).

Ummanaldash (i.e. Huban-haltash III) is not known from original Elamite inscriptions, and while it has generally been assumed that his father Attametu was the Attahamiti-Inshushinak known from Susa (thus e.g. Malbran-Labat 1975: 28, n. 68; Gerardi 1987: 222, n. 93; against this view see Vallat 1995b), the grammar of the latter's inscriptions would suggest that this was not the case (see later discussion).

Beginning in midsummer 650 BC, Babylon was under siege, but by midsummer 648 BC, at great cost of human life, the city had been taken and Shamash-shum-ukin had died in a fire (Streck 1916: 37; Millard 1964: 29). Thus relieved of one running sore, Assurbanipal was able to address his Elamite problem. The situation in Elam was anything but stable. In a letter (ABL 280) concerned mainly with his troops' raids into Elamite territory, Bel-ibni reported to Assurbanipal that 'Ummanigash, son of Amedirra, has fomented a revolt against Ummanaldash. From the Hudhud river to the town of Hadanu, (the people) have rallied to him. Ummanaldash has gathered his troops. Right now, they've taken up a position on the river facing each other' (Malbran-Labat 1975: 29–30; Gerardi 1987: 226, n. 141). A second letter (ABL 462) from Bel-ibni reports that 'all of the inhabitants of Elam have revolted against their king Ummanaldash', who, fearing to fall into the revolutionaries' hands, took refuge in the mountains. In this atmosphere of chaos and internal revolution, Assurbanipal decided it was timely to launch yet another campaign against Elam.

The Assyrian king marched to Bit-Imbi – described in the annals as 'the fulcrum of Elam, which bars (i.e. protects) Elam like a great wall' (Streck 1916: 43) – conquered the city (Cogan and Tadmor 1981: 234) and deported all of its surviving inhabitants, including Imbappa, the Elamite commandant (var. chief archer) and brother-in-law of Ummanaldash, king of Elam, as well as the 'palace wife' and sons of Te'umman, to Assyria. Assurbanipal had

with him ‘Tammaritu, the king of Elam, who had fled from Indabibi, his servant, and seized my feet’ (Streck 1916: 43). Hearing of the invasion, Ummanaldash is said to have fled to the mountains from his residence at Madaktu, whereupon Umbahabua seized the throne, established himself at Bubilu (Dubovský 2013: 454), but soon fled as well ‘and like a fish, sought the depths of distant waters’. All opposition gone, Assurbanipal says he led Tammaritu II ‘into Susa and made him king’ (Streck 1916: 45). Tammaritu’s vassaldom, however, must have been short-lived, for the very next sentence in the annals reports his objection to the Assyrian plundering of his country, whereupon he was promptly removed from the throne and deported for a second time. In a rage, Assurbanipal proceeded to destroy twenty-nine Elamite cities during his journey back to Assyria, including Madaktu and Susa (Streck 1916: 47).

Although the annals present this episode as if it were solely due to Assurbanipal’s intervention, the parallelisms between the cities mentioned early in the account and those listed in a letter by Bel-ibni as having been taken by his troops suggest that both Assyrian forces, striking from the north-west and the southwest, may have been involved in the action (Gerardi 1987: 188). While Assurbanipal’s army was obviously more concerned with routing Ummanaldash and installing Tammaritu II, Bel-ibni seems to have been mainly intent on harassing the Elamites along their western border in the hope of capturing Nabu-bel-shumate.

In fact, Assurbanipal’s fourth Elamite campaign ended in an equivocal manner. Tammaritu II had been installed and then removed from office, but no substitute had taken in his place. Thus, in spite of the destruction of over two dozen cities and the seizure of quantities of booty, Assurbanipal’s army left Elam to Ummanaldash, who was able to return from his hiding place and resume rule over Madaktu and anywhere else that was loyal to him. In mid-647 BC a campaign was launched against Ummanaldash, however, probably within months of an aborted Assyrian attempt to re-install Tammaritu II (for the date see Gerardi 1987: 208). Assurbanipal’s army once more took the road to Bit-Imbi, and once again Ummanaldash, hearing that two of his frontier towns had fallen, fled from Madaktu to Dur-Untash (Streck 1916: 49), usually considered identical to Al Untash Napirisha or Choga Zanbil. Although the ceramic evidence from Choga Zanbil suggested that the city was not re-occupied after Nebuchadnezzar I’s conquest (Pons 1994), the architectural evidence, as noted earlier, bespeaks occupation in the eighth and seventh centuries BC (Mofidi-Nasrabadi 2014b: 385). This strengthens the identification of Neo-Elamite Dur-Untash with Middle Elamite Al Untash Napirisha.

Using the river as a line of defence, Ummanaldash crossed the Idide river and prepared his forces for battle (Streck 1916: 49). City after city fell to Assurbanipal’s forces – the capture of Hamanu was depicted in Room F of the ‘Susiana room’ in the North Palace (Reade 1964: 3–4; Gunter 1982: 105

and Pls. Va–b) – sending Ummanaldash once more into flight towards the mountains. At this point the Assyrian forces pressed eastward as far as the border of Hidalu (Schawe 1927: 36–7), and along the coast of the upper Persian Gulf to Pashime, destroying cities and towns, smashing some cult statues and seizing others as booty, and laying waste to an enormous area sixty double-hours (c. 600+ km) in extent, before heading back to Susa. Here Assurbanipal entered the Elamite palaces (for their possible identification see Vallat 1999a); opened their treasuries (or what was left of them); seized booty taken by earlier Elamite kings from Sumer, Akkad and Babylonia; and took everything previously given by Shamash-shum-ukin to buy Elamite allegiance, jewellery, clothing, chariots, horses, gold and silver plate (Streck 1916: 53). All of the gods and goddesses of Elam, along with their treasures, their possessions, their ritual paraphernalia, and their priesthood, as well as statues of kings made of gold, silver, bronze and limestone were seized and taken back to Assyria as booty. The graves of earlier Elamite kings were opened and destroyed (de Mecquenem believed he found some beneath the Apadana of Darius I; see Scheil 1914: 223; cf. Grillot-Susini 2001: 141), and the monarchs' bones were also transported to Assyria. The destruction lasted one month and twenty-five days (Streck 1916: 57). The absence of any physical remains of these palaces may be attributed, Vallat suggested, not to Assurbanipal's destruction – particularly as the Assyrian king wrote only of looting, not destroying them – but to the builders of Darius I's palace who cleared away the earlier palatial architecture (which may have dated back to the *sukkalmah* period) in order to prepare the ground for the Achaemenid palace (Vallat 1999a: 41).

Assurbanipal specifically says that he destroyed the ziggurat of Susa and broke off its 'horns' of shining bronze (Streck 1916: 53; for the destruction of the ziggurat see also Grillot-Susini 2001: 141; Potts 2010b: 56ff.). The reference to the horns of the ziggurat at Susa is particularly interesting in light of a number of literary allusions to horns and religious architecture. One of Shilhak-Inshushinak's stele texts refers to the casting of horns for a place of sacrifice (König 1965: 106, §46.15), while a horned building appears on a Late Uruk-style seal impression from Susa, discussed in Chapter 3 (Pl. 3.1; see also Potts 1990a). Moreover, the manufacture of gold horns is mentioned in one of the Middle Elamite texts from Tal-i Malyan (Stolper 1984: 68–9). Finally, the 'ziggurat relief' in Room I of Assurbanipal's palace at Nineveh depicts a four-stage temple tower or ziggurat at Susa with projecting horns (Dombart 1929; Reade 1964: Pl. IVa; 1976: 101 and Taf. 25; Borchardt and Bleibtreu 2011: 496–8; but see also Unger 1938: 353, who located the structure in question at Babylon).

As Assurbanipal says, 'In a month of days I levelled the whole of Elam, I deprived its fields of the sound of human voices, the tread of cattle and sheep, the refrain of joyous harvest songs. I turned it into a pasture for wild asses, gazelles, and all manner of wild animals' (Brinkman 1991: 59). Amongst the

treasures recovered by the Assyrians at Susa was a statue of Nanaya of Uruk said to have been seized by the Elamites 1,635 (var. 1,535, 1,630) years earlier (Winckler 1905: 48; Streck 1916: 59; van Koppen 2013: 380). And yet, despite the destruction and plundering involved in this campaign, Assurbanipal once again failed to capture Ummanaldash, who returned to his ruined city of Madaktu where he received a messenger from the Assyrian king demanding the extradition of his arch-rival Nabu-bel-shumate. Hearing of this request, the Chaldaean rebel and his shield bearer killed each other, apparently preferring this to flaying and decapitation at the hands of the Assyrians, and Ummanaldash, fearing the wrath of Assurbanipal, packed the body of Nabu-bel-shumate in salt along with the head of his shield bearer and entrusted these to the Assyrian messenger. On their arrival at Nineveh, Assurbanipal had Nabu-bel-shumate's head cut off and hung around the neck of Pa'e, an ally of his rebel brother's, who is said to have ruled Elam simultaneously with Ummanaldash before fleeing to Assyria along with the inhabitants of numerous Elamite towns and cities. These found themselves promptly pressed into service in the Assyrian army (Streck 1916: 63). In 645 BC, following Assurbanipal's victories over the Arabs (Gerardi 1992), Pa'e, Ummanaldash and Tammartu were humiliated before the Assyrians by being forced to draw Assurbanipal's carriage in a celebration staged at Nineveh (Frame 1992: 208).

This marked the end of Assurbanipal's violent campaigns against his Elamite and Chaldaean foes. His brother had perished, his Chaldaean enemy had been delivered to him, and he had laid waste to most of Khuzistan, stopping short at Hidalu. According to a fragmentary letter (ABL 1007 +), a ^{LÚ}SAG (a high-ranking officer) was placed in charge of the villages of Arashu (conquered during Assurbanipal's eighth campaign; see the discussion in Hämeen-Anttila 1987: 14, 16) and Bit-Burnakka, while another was given responsibility for Hilim and the Pillatu tribe, and a 'governor (?) of the officers' was sent to Susa (Malbran-Labat 1982: 132; Gerardi 1987: 256).

Notable by its absence in all of the foregoing accounts of Assurbanipal's campaigns has been any mention of Anshan. The silence of the historical sources is matched by a paucity of archaeological material as well. Virtually the only locus at Tal-i Malyan which can be dated to the first half of the first millennium is burial 47 in area DD43, the shallow pit grave of an individual buried with personal jewellery and three ceramic vessels (Carter 1994b: 66 and Fig. 3; 1996: 47 and Fig. 45). As Carter emphasized, however, 'these ceramics show no relation to either Neo-Elamite I or II pottery known from Susa', and the date of the burial is based mainly on generalized parallels between a faience cylinder seal which was strung along with seven beads to form a necklace on the deceased and the Iron Age glyptic of Marlik in northern Iran.

As we have seen, Madaktu figures prominently in the Assyrian annals, less so Hidalu and, in the climax of the Assyrian-Elamite confrontation, Susa. The long lists of toponyms enumerated by Assurbanipal make it clear that Khuzistan

was densely populated at this time, and surveys in the Ram Hormuz plain, roughly halfway between Anshan and Susa, have identified a number of sites with early first millennium occupation (Wright and Carter 2003), the largest of which were Tol-e Bormi (18 ha) and Tal-i Ghazir (7.5 ha), where Neo-Elamite ceramics and small finds were discovered in soundings by D. McCown (Carter 1994b: 68ff.). Evidence of settlement in central Khuzistan appears to have been sparse, however, with little continuity from the Middle Elamite period, and equally little between the Neo-Elamite I and II ceramic phases (Carter 1994b: 73).

According to the latest edition (Edition A, from c. 643 BC) of Assurbanipal’s annals, at the conclusion of his last Elamite campaign, two Iranian leaders – Kurash, king of Parsumash, and Pizlume, king of Hudimiri – sent tribute to Assurbanipal upon hearing of his decisive victory over Elam (Weidner 1931–2), and Kurash even sent his son Arukku to Nineveh ‘to do obeisance’ (Frame 1992: 209 and n. 86). This episode has spawned a considerable amount of controversy concerning the identity of Kurash and the location of his kingdom. Ever since Weidner’s publication of the fragment of Assurbanipal’s annals mentioning Kurash, it has been conventional to identify him with Cyrus I, ancestor of the better known Cyrus II, founder of the Persian empire (e.g. Cameron 1936: 204; Eilers 1964: 181; 1974: 3; Dandamaev 1977; Briant 1984: 83; Bollweg 1988; Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 54; Grayson 1991: 155; Shahbazi 1993: 516; Stronach 1997: 39, hesitantly). Given the long reigns implied if one relies on the later genealogical information contained in the Cyrus Cylinder and the inscription of Darius at Bisotun (Table 8.4), Weidner’s view has been challenged as chronologically impossible by de Miroschedji (de Miroschedji 1985: 283–5; cf. Briant 1996: 28; Vallat 1997h: 424). As Shahbazi argued, however, it is perfectly possible for Cyrus I, the alleged

TABLE 8.4. *Early Achaemenid genealogy according to Herodotus, the Bisotun inscription, the Cyrus Cylinder and P. de Miroschedji*

Herodotus VII 11	Bisotun §2	Cyrus Cylinder	de Miroschedji 1985
Achaemenes	Achaemenes		
Teispes (I)		Teispes (I)	Teispes (I), c. 635–610 BC
Cambyses (I)			
Cyrus (I)		Cyrus (I)	Cyrus (I), c. 610–585 BC
Teispes (II)	Teispes (II)		
Ariaramnes	Ariaramnes		
Arsames	Arsames	Cambyses (I)	Cambyses (I), c. 585–559 BC
Hystaspes	Hystaspes	Cyrus (II)	Cyrus (II), 559–530 BC
		Cambyses (II)	
Darius (I)	Darius (I)		
Xerxes			

Kurash king of Parsumash, to have reigned in the 640s BC, and his grandson Cyrus II to have been born *c.* 600 BC and to have died *c.* 530 BC (Shahbazi 1993: 516). Admittedly, as the name Kurash is attested in Neo-Babylonian sources from Babylon and in late Neo-Elamite texts from Susa, there is no reason to assume that the name was unique to the family of Cyrus the Great (Zadok 1976a: 63 and n. 12). F.C. Andreas argued strongly, in fact, that the name is Elamite (Andreas 1904: 94; Hüsing 1908c: 320; Henkelman 2003a: 86–7; Potts 2005a).

As for Parsumash, it is important not to conflate this with Parsua (Zadok 2001), as has been done so often in the past (e.g. Levine 1973: 106, n. 35; Dandamaev 1977: 41; Reade 1978: 139; de Miroschedji 1985: 277; Young 2003). G. Windfuhr suggested that both Parsua and Parsumash represent the names of groups/regions ultimately derived from the east Iranian region *Parthawa* (< **Parsu/awa*) whence the later Parthians (see Chapter 10) hailed (Windfuhr 1974: 466–7; see also Diakonoff 1991: 14). Parsua of the Neo-Assyrian sources should perhaps be located east of Senandaj (Reade 1978: 139) or in the Mahidasht (Windfuhr 1974: 467; see Zadok 2001 for a review of all the arguments), whereas Parsumash, which later changed under Persian influence to Old Persian *Parsa* (see also Greek *Persis*), must have been coterminous with some portion of Fars (Windfuhr 1974: 467; Reade 1995: 41; Waters 2011b: 286).

One final point in connection with Assyrian aggression against Elam concerns the matter of deportation. As we have seen, the residents of Elamite cities and towns were deported on numerous occasions during the seventh century, and one may well wonder just how these aliens were absorbed into their new environments. We know from a combination of royal inscriptions and letters that the Assyrians deported Elamites to Nimrud in Assyria, Samaria in Israel (referred to in Ezra 4: 9–10; see Frame 1992: 203), and even as far as Egypt (Oded 1979: 29, 30, 61). Moreover, both Assurbanipal and Esarhaddon drafted large numbers of Elamite captives into their armies (Oded 1979: 52–3 with refs.). The discovery of four late Neo-Assyrian texts at Tell Shaikh Hamad (ancient Dur-Katlimmu), on the lower Khabur river in Syria, sheds unexpected light on this question. Two texts, dating to 602 BC and 600 BC (for the dates see Brinkman 1993b: 135), mention estates at a place ‘bordering the land of the Elamites’ called Magdalu (Postgate 1993: 117–18). J.N. Postgate suggested that these Elamites were ‘presumably deportees from about half a century before’ (Postgate 1993: 110; see also Zadok 1995a). Their presence in Syria would suggest that, after reaching Assyria, many Elamites (Zadok 1995c) may have been sent to populate and develop agriculturally yet more distant locales.

NEO-ELAMITE III (645–539 BC)

In recent years a small amount of pre-Achaemenid glyptic, combined with a number of undated texts from both Susa and elsewhere, have been used as the

basis of an historical reconstruction according to which Susa and Elam experienced a revival in the period following Assurbanipal's last Elamite campaign. Before examining this evidence, let us consider the few points of historical and chronological integrity which have survived from this period.

It has been suggested that in the aftermath of Assurbanipal's conquest of Susa, Susiana, if not all of Elam, became an Assyrian province until the fall of the Assyrian empire and the destruction of Nineveh in 612 BC. G.G. Cameron adduced several texts in support of this theory, including a 'schedule' from Nineveh listing agricultural lands, their location and owners, which may refer to a place called Susanu, hesitantly associated by Cameron with Susa (Cameron 1936: 211). Apart from the fact that this reading is by no means certain, all of the districts dealt with in the text in question seem to lie in northern Mesopotamia (Fales 1973: 5–6, 74). Another text adduced by Cameron was a list of officials at the court of Nineveh including an individual whose name is broken, [...].gi, describing him as *shaknu* (i.e. governor or prefect) of the Elamites (Fales and Postgate 1992: 10, no. 5). But it is not possible to use this text as an indication of a post-647 BC Assyrian administrator in Elam, for the text's date is broken, and according to its most recent editors, it could date to the reign of either Assurbanipal or Esarhaddon (Fales and Postgate 1992: xix).

Following the destruction of Susa, therefore, the next fixed point in the history of Elam occurred in 625 BC. Both Assurbanipal and the mysterious Kandalanu, whom the Assyrian king had installed as 'king of Babylon' following the death of Shamash-shum-ukin (Frame 1992: 191ff. and App. F for a discussion of the problems surrounding the identity of Kandalanu; see also Zawadzki 1988: 57ff.; Oates 1991: 170–1), had died in 627 BC, and during the next two years the Babylonians, led by Nabopolassar, possibly another Chaldaean from the Sealand who may have been a general originally commissioned by Assurbanipal (Brinkman 1984: 110, n. 551; Wiseman 1984: 5–6; Frame 1992: 211), renewed their armed struggle against Assyria. In 626 BC Nabopolassar was proclaimed 'king of Babylon', and according to the Nabopolassar Chronicle, following his defeat of an Assyrian army, and still within his accession year, 'Nabopolassar returned to Susa the gods of Susa whom the Assyrians had carried off and settled in Uruk' (Grayson 1975: 88; see also Wiseman 1956: 51). This might suggest 'that the Babylonian ruler considered the authority present' at Susa 'a possible ally' (Henkelman 2003a: 75, n. 6).

The significance of this statement is unclear. Wiseman suggested that the gesture 'was but a proper acknowledgement of help received from Elam, for it appears that when Nabopolassar captured Erech [Uruk] sometime before 626 BC, the Elamites had taken its temple library to their country for safe-keeping' (Wiseman 1956: 9). This view was based on Wiseman's interpretation of the colophon of an Akkadian ritual text (AO 6451) which describes bread-making at the Anu temple in Uruk. The colophon concludes, 'tablets which

Nabopolassar, king of the Sealand, carried off as plunder from the city of Uruk; but now Kidinanu, a citizen of Uruk, a *mashmashu*-priest [exorcist] of Anu and Antu . . . looked at these tablets in the land of Elam, copied them in the reign of the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, and brought (his copies) back to the city of Uruk' (Pritchard 1969: 345; Zadok 2011: 123, n. 3). Nabopolassar's defeat of an Assyrian and Nippurean army at Uruk is mentioned in Chronicle 2 ('Chronicle concerning the early years of Nabopolassar') (Grayson 1975: 88) and probably occurred just prior to his defeat of the Assyrians (Zawadzki 1988: 30). If we combine the evidence of the ritual text's colophon with that of the Chronicle, then one would have to suggest that, having seized the temple library at Uruk, Nabopolassar took it all the way to Elam, where he deposited it, but this seems a curious turn of events and one for which there is absolutely no corroborating evidence. Moreover, Wiseman later changed his mind about the veracity of the colophon, arguing 'there is no evidence that Nabopolassar even had to attack Uruk, let alone plunder it' (Wiseman 1984: 6). Be that as it may, even if we remain unsure of how the tablets copied by the Uruk priest in the Seleucid era reached Elam – by which Susa is presumably meant – the fact remains that Nabopolassar's restitution of divine statues originally seized by the Assyrians has been interpreted by Elamite scholars as evidence of the existence of a new, revived government at Susa by 625 BC since it presumes the presence there of authorities competent to receive the returned goods (Amiet 1973b: 24; also de Miroschedji 1982: 62). Stolper suggested that Nabopolassar was desirous of establishing 'a new entente with Elam' because he had not yet subdued Assyrian forces in the northern part of Babylonia and was, in time-honoured fashion, seeking 'Elamite support for his insurrection' (Carter and Stolper 1984: 53).

In discussing the revolt of Der from Assyrian control which, according to the Chronicle, occurred in 623/2 BC, Wiseman spoke of 'the new status of Elam which had also regained its independence of Assyria by this time' (Wiseman 1956: 10), while Zadok suggested that 'Elam might have been an ally of Babylonia during Nabopolassar's reign . . . when both countries had a common enemy, namely Assyria' (Zadok 1979b: 171). If, however, such an alliance ever existed, then why is it never said that the Elamites participated in the final destruction of the Assyrian empire (contra the assumption of their involvement in Nylander 1999), alongside the Babylonians under Nabopolassar and the Medes under Cyaxares? Surely if Nabopolassar had persuaded the Elamites to aid him in any substantial way, the Elamites would not have missed the opportunity to return to Nineveh in 612 BC, not as deportees and humiliated prisoners, but as conquerors. And how would one reconcile a Babylonian-Elamite *entente* with the rising power of Media, and the hint of an Elamite-Median alliance against Babylon (on which see Zawadzki 1988: 133–43; Moukarzel 2014: 144, n. 60; for the problem of Median-Elamite relations in general, see Winckler 1905: 54; Zadok 2011; Waters 2011a: 246 ff.) prophesied in Isaiah 21:2, where we read, 'A grievous vision is declared unto me; the

treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth. Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media; all the sighing thereof have I made to cease'? These are difficult questions to answer, but they must be posed lest we uncritically assume that a single reference to Susa in the Chronicle denotes a new alliance on a par with those of the period prior to 646 BC.

Nabopolassar died in the summer of 605 BC and was succeeded by his son, Nebuchadnezzar II. According to Chronicle 5, which concerns the early years of Nebuchadnezzar II's reign, Babylonian forces clashed with those of a foreign king along the Tigris in 596 BC (Wiseman 1956: 72; Grayson 1975: 102). Wiseman originally suggested that the broken geographical name associated with the king who 'took fright and fear overcame him so he we[nt] home' could be restored as Elam, but he later wavered, calling his suggested restoration 'possible though doubtful' (Wiseman 1984: 34; cf. 1991: 233). Indeed, the capacity of Elam to attack Babylonia at this date was called into question by Zawadzki (1988: 140), who pointed to the prophecy in Jeremiah 49:34–9, which suggests that Elam lost its independence early in the reign of Zedekiah of Judah (597–586 BC) and reads as follows: ³⁴The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, saying, ³⁵Thus saith the Lord of hosts; Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. ³⁶And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them toward all those winds; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come. ³⁷For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life: and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord; and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them: ³⁸And I will set my throne in Elam, and will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord. ³⁹But it shall come to pass in the latter days, that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith the Lord'.

Even if the prophecy was written after the events 'forecast' had taken place, it is important for it implicitly contrasts Elam's loss of power and 'captivity' with a prior state of independence (for more on the situation reflected in Jeremiah, see Diakonoff 2000). Is such a state perhaps to be associated with the brief interval of time between the death of Assurbanipal and the early years of Nebuchadnezzar II? Considering the part played by the thousands of Elamite bowmen mentioned in the Assyrian annals during the seventh century, the reference to the 'bow of Elam' as 'the chief of their might' is particularly apposite.

Some scholars have assumed that the encounter referred to in the Chronicle preceded an all-out conquest of Elam by Nebuchadnezzar II (e.g. König 1931: 23; Weidner 1939: 929; Zadok 1976a: 61), a view which was bolstered early in the twentieth century by the discovery of a number of objects (Langdon 1905–6; 1912: 44; Thureau-Dangin 1912: 24–5) bearing the name of Nebuchadnezzar II, as well as inscribed bricks (Scheil 1927: 47–8) with the king's name, at Susa (Table 8.5). Scheil was of the opinion that, whereas inscribed objects, such as

TABLE 8.5. *Objects inscribed by Neo-Babylonian kings from Susa and Persepolis*

King	Object	Provenience	Text	Reference
Nebuchadnezzar II	alabaster vessel	Susa	‘palace of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who walks forth with the support of Nabu and Marduk, his lords, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon’	Langdon 1912: 207
	onyx eye-stone	Persepolis treasury room 41	‘to (the goddess) Sarpanitum, his lady Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, for his life, presented (this)’	Schmidt 1957: 58
	eye-stone fragment	Persepolis treasury room 33	‘... Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon ...’	Schmidt 1957: 58, n. 89
	chalcedony bead	Persepolis treasury room 33	fragment of the name ‘Nebuchadnezzar’	Schmidt 1957: 58
	limestone paver	Susa	‘palace of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon’	Langdon 1905–6: 147
	3 baked bricks	Susa	‘Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, provider for Esagil and Ezida, first/chief son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon’	Scheil 1927: 47–8
Amel-Marduk	2 stone vessel fragments	Susa	‘1 <i>sutu</i> 6 1/2 NINDA, of the palace of Amel-Marduk’	Scheil 1904: xxiii
	alabaster vessel	Susa	‘3 GAR 1/3 [<i>qa</i>] palace of Amel-Marduk, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon’	Thureau-Dangin 1912: 24; Scheil 1913: 60
Neriglissar	stone vessel fragment	Susa	‘2 <i>qa</i> 1/2 NINDA, Neriglissar king of Babylon’	Scheil 1908: 96

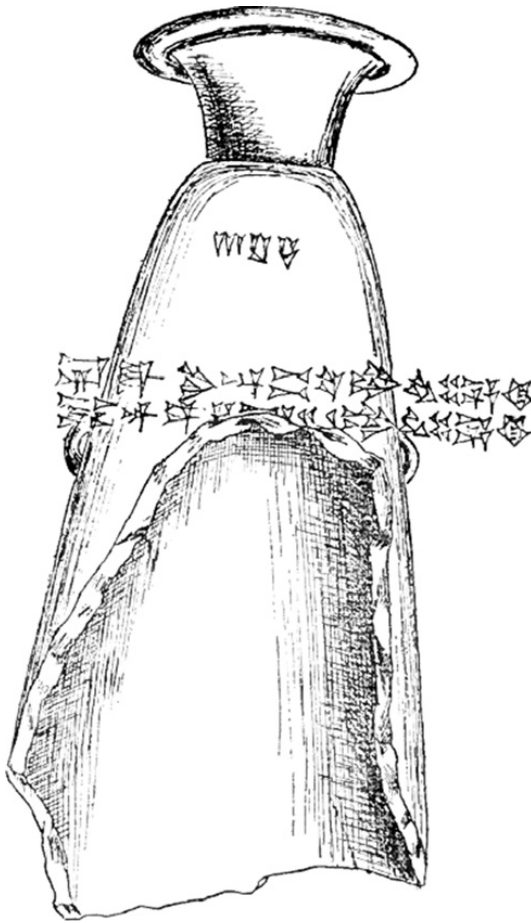


Figure 8.3. Alabastron from Susa with an inscription of Amel-Marduk reading ‘3 GAR 1/3 [qa] palace of Amel-Marduk, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon’ (after Scheil 1913: 60).

the stone vessels and weights with the names of Nebuchadnezzar II and his successors, Amel-Marduk (562–560 BC) (Figure 8.3) and Neriglissar (560–556 BC), could have reached Susa at any time, this was much less likely with bricks, which were probably made close to the buildings in which they were eventually used (Scheil 1927: 47; see also Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 59). Although this sounds like a reasonable assumption, Zawadzki pointed to the discovery of an inscribed brick of Nebuchadnezzar’s at Persepolis, a site not founded until the Achaemenid period. This demonstrates that the presence of an inscribed brick at an archaeological site does not perforce imply building activity there by the king named (Zawadzki 1988: 142, citing Schmidt 1953: 144, 179). Similarly, the inscribed Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian eye-stones, seals and beads recovered in the Persepolis treasury (Schmidt 1957: 57ff.) must have arrived long after they were manufactured.

In fact, although inconclusive, there is some evidence to suggest that Nebuchadnezzar did not erect a building at Susa. The Susa bricks all bear the very simplest formula giving the king's name and title, an epithet and his filiation – 'Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, provider for Esagil and Ezida, first/chief son of Nabopolassar' (Berger 1973 : 22). Bricks bearing this standard formula are known from Babylon, Borsippa, Eridu, Hillah, Kish, Sippar, Seleucia and Tell Nasrat Pasha near Baghdad (Berger 1973: 180, 185–6, 195–6). Far more common, however, are inscribed bricks actually naming specific buildings, examples of which are known from Babylon, Borsippa, Ur and Uruk (Berger 1973: 105–7). One might suggest, therefore, that the Susa bricks, with their generic inscriptions, could have come from almost anywhere Nebuchadnezzar was active as a builder, whereas only an inscribed brick naming a specific building can be accepted as ironclad proof of such activity at Susa.

A fragmentary basalt stele from Babylon of Nabonidus (556–539 BC), the last king of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, mentions (col. III 43) 'Ishtar, the lady of Elam, the princess who dwells in Susa' (Pritchard 1969: 309; Schaudig 2001: 524) in connection with building works carried out by one of his predecessors, almost certainly Nebuchadnezzar (Beaulieu 1989: 20–2). The context is somewhat cryptic, and surely the text does not justify the inference made by Berger that Nebuchadnezzar had himself built a temple to Ishtar at Susa (Berger 1973: 104). As recognized long ago, it is just possible that the long 'captivity' of Ishtar at Susa mentioned by Assurbanipal (see previous discussion) when he 'liberated' her (statue) caused Ishtar of Uruk to receive the epithet 'lady of Elam' (Langdon 1912: 277, n. 1). Even an inscribed limestone paver, the inscription of which says that it came from the 'palace of Nebuchadnezzar', is thought by Berger to have been 'deported' to Susa from a Babylonian site because its curious concave surfaces made it something of a curio (Berger 1973: 25). In sum, there is no reliable evidence to speak of for Neo-Babylonian building activity at Susa.

Wiseman suggested that during the post-Assyrian era the Medes acted as a check against Elam's growth, rendering Babylonian annexation of Elam unnecessary (Wiseman 1956: 36). Nevertheless, Weidner was of the view that a ration list from Babylon dating to 592/1 BC, mentioning oil rations for no fewer than 713 Elamites, reflected the presence of an Elamite military unit in the service of Nebuchadnezzar along the lines of the Elamite units in Assurbanipal's army mentioned earlier (Weidner 1939: 929; see also Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 59; Moukarzel 2014: 144). In Zadok's opinion, a Babylonian named Nabû-le', mentioned in the same text and identified as an 'officer (^{LÚ}SAG) in charge of Elamites', may have been their commander (Zadok 1976a: 62, 2011: 124). Moreover, Dandamaev and Lukonin pointed to the lamentation for Egypt in Ezekiel 32:24 mentioning 'Elam and all her multitude round about her [i.e. Egypt's] grave, all of them slain, fallen by the

sword', suggesting that the Babylonian conquest of Elam had occurred between the time of Jeremiah's prophecy *c.* 597/6 BC and 584 BC to which Ezekiel may be dated (Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 59). Dandamaev and Lukonin also suggested that Babylonian control over Elam was lost late in the reign of Nabonidus (556–539 BC), when it was wrested from him by Astyages, king of the Medes (Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989: 61). Zawadzki stressed the lack of evidence of Babylonian control over Elam, but suggested that Elam may have been subjugated by the Medes as early as 584 BC, when Astyages succeeded his deceased father (Zawadzki 1988: 143). In such a case, if one were to follow Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Elam lost its independence not to Babylonia but to Media. Zadok, however, considers 'the notion of Median control of Elam ... unacceptable' (Zadok 2011: 124). The few texts from Babylonia which date to the mid-sixth century and which mention Elamites, such as a promissory note from 541/40 BC concerning an Elamite debtor at Babylon (Zadok 1976a: 62–4); a reference to 800 Elamite guards and 14 Elamite house-builders in the Babylonian palace during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (Pedersén 2005: 270); and a handful of other attestations to Elamites employed in the temple of Shamash at Sippar as gardeners and canal inspectors or as cattlemen in the Eanna temple at Uruk rather suggest 'a special political relationship between Elam and the Neo-Babylonian empire' (Zadok 2011: 124, 127) that was close and mutually beneficial but not subservient.

Any historical reconstructions based on such sparse data are, of course, speculative but they do not contradict the views of scholars such as Amiet, de Miroschedji, Steve and Vallat, who all suggested that a Neo-Elamite renaissance occurred in the wake of Assurbanipal's destruction of Susa. In epigraphic terms, such a renaissance dates to the phase defined by Steve as Neo-Elamite IIIA (*c.* 653–605 BC). In historical terms, IIIA represents the period extending from the capture and death of Te'umman through the reign of Nabopolassar – thus overlapping the period both before and after Assurbanipal's sack of Susa – while IIIB equates to the period from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II through the defeat of Nabonidus and the ascension of Cyrus the Great. Steve's separation of IIIA and IIIB was based on the evolution of the Neo-Elamite syllabary, not on Mesopotamian historical chronology. Vallat modified the chronology somewhat, using the sack of Susa as the *terminus post quem* for Neo-Elamite IIIA (646–585 BC).

The only excavated object assigned by Steve to the Neo-Elamite IIIA phase is a bronze plaque from Persepolis with an enigmatic and still unpublished inscription, interpreted variously as a record of a memorial or dedication, possibly involving lands or estates, which concludes by naming seven deities, viz. Shashum, Napirisha, Dilbat, Laliya, Nahhunte, Shati and Nanna (Cameron 1957; assigned to IIIB, however, by Vallat 1996c; for a comprehensive treatment see Basello 2013 with earlier bibliography). Apart from this, the other material attributed to this phase (Steve 1992: 22) consists of

five cylinder seals of unknown provenience (Amiet 1973b: 29; Bollweg 1988; Garrison and Root 1996: 7). Iconographically speaking, these five seals reflect three different styles which may be called ‘Assyrianizing’, ‘Elamo-Persian’, and ‘Neo-Babylonianizing’. One seal, in Neo-Assyrian style, depicts a deity in his winged disk above a stylized tree. The latter is flanked by two fish-men (Akk. *kulullû*), each of which is surmounted by a genie. The legend on this seal is too damaged to permit a reading. Another seal shows a very Assyrian-looking goddess wearing a feathered tiara who rests one foot on the back of a reclining lion. The Elamite legend identifies the seal as the property of ‘Parsirra, son of Kurlush’ (Amiet 1973b: 29). Because he believed these names to be Persian, Amiet proposed that the seals be called ‘Elamo-Persian’ (Amiet 1994c: 63–4). In fact, Parsirra is ‘apparently an Elamite gentilic form meaning “Persian”’ (cf. Henkelman 2011a: 604, n. 80; Tavernier 2011: 194), while Kurlush, ‘a name that occurs in the Persepolis Fortification texts ... may be Iranian’ (M.W. Stolper, pers. comm.). Importantly, Kurlush was also the name of the father of Kidin-Hutran, whose richly furnished bronze bathtub coffin was discovered near Arjan (see later discussion). A figure holding two fish in his or her hands is shown on yet another seal in this group. This unusual gesture is otherwise attested only in Neo-Assyrian glyptic, although in a different fashion (Amiet 1973b: 18). The fragmentary Elamite legend reads ‘I ... na, son of Hupanna’ (cf. the name Hupannana/u attested in the later Persepolis fortification tablets; Henkelman 2011b: 154). Finally, two seals show evidence of strong Neo-Babylonian influence. One of these shows two rampant horned dragons on either side of the upright, triangular-headed spade of Marduk. The legend reads ‘Huban-kitin, son of king Shutur-Nahhunte’ (Amiet 1967a: 45, 1973b: 29). The muscular animals recall Babylonian glyptic from the time of Nebuchadnezzar II and are in many respects comparable to the glazed brick dragons on the processional way and Ishtar gate of Babylon, while the ornate spade recalls that found on a seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection attributed to the late Neo-Babylonian period (Amiet 1967a: 44). The final seal of this group is similar in style to the preceding example, only this time two rampant bulls are depicted and the spade of Marduk is absent. Its legend reads ‘Kitepatin, son of Pinriri’ (Amiet 1973b: 29; Porada 1971: 34).

Undoubtedly, the seal of ‘Huban-kitin, son of king Shutur-Nahhunte’ has generated the most discussion over the years. From the beginning of scholarship on this piece, Amiet and M. Lambert were clear about the distinction between Shutruk-Nahhunte II (717–699 BC), the contemporary of Merodach-Baladan II and Sargon II, and the Shutur-Nahhunte of this seal. For Lambert, the reign of Shutur-Nahhunte, otherwise unattested at Susa by epigraphic finds, should be situated in the brief interval following the destruction of Nineveh and the conquest of Susiana by Nebuchadnezzar II, after which, in his view, Susa became a Babylonian dominion (Lambert 1967: 51).

In this Amiet and Lambert were followed by Vallat (1996d: 393), who attributed to Shutur-Nahhunte the two stone horns from Susa, each over a metre in length, which are described as ‘horns of alabaster’ in the text engraved upon them. These adorned the temple of Pinigir (Vallat 1990b, 1995b). By contrast, some scholars have identified Shutur-Nahhunte, the father of Huban-kitin, with Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada, the overlord of Hanni who resided at Kul-e Farah (Álvarez-Mon 2013b: 468; Henkelman 2012b: 372; and see the later discussion). One of Urtak’s grandchildren, referred to by Assurbanipal as Umbakidini (Borger 1996: 317), was in reality another Huban-kitin (Waters 2006a: 62).

In Vallat’s opinion (Vallat 1996d: 393), Shutur-Nahhunte was succeeded by Hallutush-Inshushinak, a king known only from inscribed bricks which commemorate his rebuilding of the temple of Inshushinak (Malbran-Labat 1995: 136–7) and a fragmentary glazed knob which may have come from the same structure (Steve 1987: 50–1). There he calls himself ‘son of Huban-tahra, enlarger of the kingdom of Anshan and Susa’. Vallat further suggested that Hallutush-Inshushinak was succeeded by Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, with whom we can associate some limestone stele fragments found at Susa (Plate 8.1, Figure 8.4) which identify him as ‘Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, son of Hutran-tepti, king of Anshan and Susa’ and speak of his work on a project begun by a king Halkatash in the time of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak’s father (König 1965: 173, n. 5, §86). In one of the fragments Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak says that he ‘loved’ or perhaps chose Susa (König 1965: 174, §87). As for his own father, Hutran-tepti, he is otherwise unattested in Assyrian records, while Halkatash, one of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak’s predecessors, was tentatively identified by König with one of the earlier Elamite kings named Huban-haltash (König 1965: 173, n. 5), possibly Huban-haltash III/Ummanaldashi of Assurbanipal’s reign (Álvarez-Mon 2013b: 464; see Tavernier 2004: 26 for a full discussion of the possibilities).

Archaeologically and epigraphically, evidence assignable to Neo-Elamite IIIB is much more abundant, both at Susa and elsewhere. Excavations at the turn of the century on the Acropole at Susa suggest that, however badly damaged the area was by Assurbanipal’s soldiers, the area must have been resettled within a few decades of the Assyrian onslaught. In 1901 a cache of 298 economic texts (Scheil 1907) was discovered on the Acropole, in proximity to but slightly higher than (Amiet 1973b: 4, n. 1) the small temple to Inshushinak built by Shutruk-Nahhunte II (Amiet 1967a: 27–9) discussed earlier. Later, an additional text belonging to the same group was discovered, bringing the total to 299 (Scheil 1911: 89ff.; for a re-edition, see Yusifov 1963). Most of these texts ‘deal with textiles, leather items, and tools, weapons, utensils, and vessels of bronze, iron, silver, and gold’ (Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 268). A number of points about these texts deserve brief mention.

To begin with, Vallat suggested that the Huban-kitin mentioned in one of these texts (MDP 9: no. 5) may well be the same Huban-kitin identified as the



Plate 8.1. Restored stele of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Sb 16, 93.5 × 65.6 cm) from Susa (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

son of Shutur-Nahhunte on one of the cylinder seals described previously (Vallat 1995b, 1996d: 389). He also suggests that the Ummanunu (for the name as an Elamite hypocoristicon [i.e. nickname], attested also at Persepolis, see Zadok 1983: 97, 100 and n. 138) mentioned in MDP 9: no. 165 is the Ummanini (reading uncertain) named as the father of Shilhak-Inshushinak II on an inscribed bronze door socket (König 1965: §78) from Susa which was made for use in a temple dedicated to the goddess Dilbat. Further, if this is correct, then it situates not only Shilhak-Inshushinak II in time, but also his son, Tepti-Huban-Insushnak (*not* Inshushinak), known from a series of inscribed bricks and several stele fragments found in the early excavations at Susa (König 1965: §§79–85; Henkelman 2013a). In two of his texts,

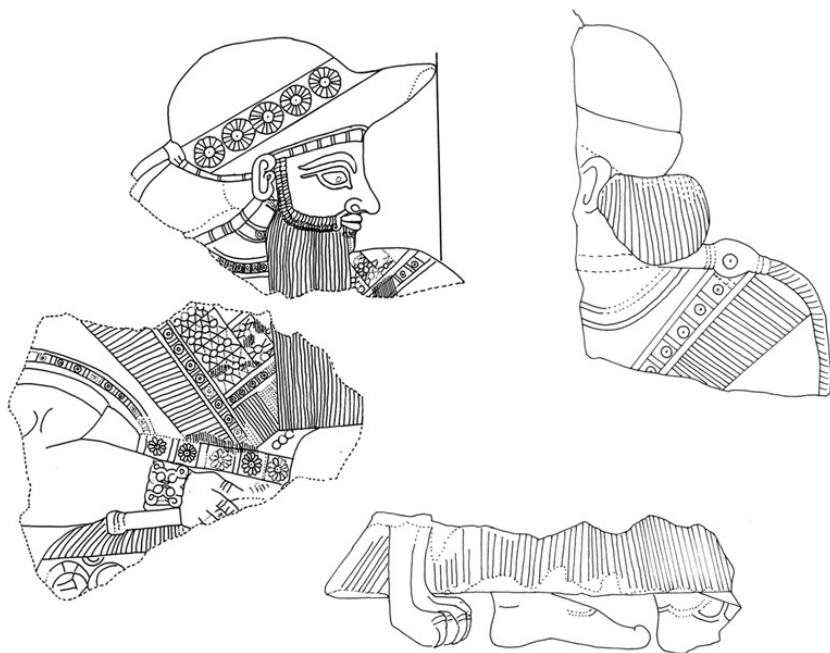


Figure 8.4. Depiction of the figures on the stele of Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak (Sb 16) from Susa (drawing: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

Tepti-Huban-Inshushinak refers to campaigns against the lands/peoples of Balahute and Lallar (König 1965: §§79, 80). Although neither has been located conclusively, both have been located generally in the region of Luristan or the lower Zagros ranges below the region of the Lower Zab (Vallat 1993a: 33, 155 with prev. lit.; but note the reservations of Fuchs 2003: 132).

This sort of military activity, combined with the building or rebuilding of shrines to Inshushinak, Pinigir and possibly Umu (unless a model like the Middle Elamite *sit shamshi* is referred to in the Acropole text Scheil 1907: no. 49, l. 11, rather than a true ‘ziggurat’; see Vallat 1988c) at Susa (e.g. König 1965: §§80, 82–4), is certainly suggestive of an Elamite renaissance and political autonomy free from Babylonian interference. In addition to the references to hostile relations with Balahute and Lallar, the Acropole texts also mention many other people and toponyms, including Unsak, who may have been the king of Samati with the same name, discussed later (an Elamite name; but his father *Gitiya- had an Iranian name; see Tavernier 2011: 242; Vallat 1992; cf. 2002, 2008; Aperghis 1997: 282); his associate Lalintash (Vallat 2000a); Zari (MDP 9: nos. 48, 71, 178; note Henkelman 2003c: 257 suggests Zari ‘could theoretically have been an Aramaic or Chaldaean tribe’); Huhnur (Vallat 1993a: 101–2); Ayapir (modern Izeh-Malamir) (Vallat 1993a: 26–7); and Parsirra (Vallat 1993a: 209–11). Vallat suggested that whereas some of these names, such as Parsirra, Huhnur, and Ayapir, are preceded by the determinative AŠ,

used to designate geographical names in Elamite, others are preceded by the determinative BE, used to qualify personal names, followed by a patronym (i.e. BE-name-patronym). In line with the practice of name-giving amongst the tribes of southern Mesopotamia during the post-Kassite period, Vallat suggested that names preceded by BE might refer to nomadic tribes (Vallat 1992; on BE, see Vallat 1997e: 260). About 10 per cent of the personal names in the Acropole texts are Iranian or Iranian-related, for example, Bama, Irmakka, Kitikka, Pirna, Unukaka and possibly Kunaramika (Zadok 1984a:388; Hinz 1987: 128; Tavernier 2002, 2007b, 2011) and ^{BE}*pár-sip*, ‘Persians’, are also mentioned (Vallat 1993a: 210; Henkelman 2003a: 211; Waters 2011b: 287). Foreign peoples were present at Susa too, including Egyptians, over a dozen of whom are mentioned in two marriage contracts (Zadok 1992: 145–6).

The Acropole texts are also important in that more than a third of them bear cylinder seal impressions which have been the basis for the definition of a stylistic group by Amiet (1973b: 6ff.). Based on the inscriptions on these seals, Steve has assigned four of the Acropole seals to his Neo-Elamite IIIB phase (Steve 1992: 22). One of these shows a seal impression attested on more than 100 tablets. This is a Babylonian scene consisting of two winged genii flanking an ornamental tree surmounted by a solar disk, with a prayer invoking Marduk and Nabu in Babylonian on the right. A pair of rearing lions decorate another seal which once belonged to an individual whose name began Huban- . . . , while the seal of one Kitdada shows a mounted bowman in pursuit of an equid. The cuneiform signs of the text are placed in an almost random manner throughout the open spaces, above and below the figures. Amiet pointed to the presence of generally comparable galloping riders on two sealed jar stoppers from Nineveh (Herbordt 1992: Taf. 31.1–2), noting further that the suggestion of a date for them in the reign of Assurbanipal was based on purely circumstantial evidence (Amiet 1994c: 63). Finally, a robed figure shown feeding a quadruped adorns yet another seal used on an Acropole text. In 1909, during soundings on the Apadana mound beneath the palace of Darius, R. de Mecquenem recovered seven more tablets which Scheil immediately compared to those found on the Acropole (Scheil 1911: 89), but whether this area, too, was re-occupied prior to the reign of Darius I is open to question since neither stratigraphic nor architectural evidence of Neo-Elamite occupation has been published and there seems to be a gap in the Apadana sequence between the middle of the second millennium and the Achaemenid period (Steve and Gasche 1990: 28). Based on the Elamite text of the seal used on one of these texts (Scheil 1911: no. 302), Steve assigned it to the Acropole group defined by Amiet. The scene on the seal shows a winged genie or deity in a master-of-animals attitude with two quadrupeds suspended upside down from his outstretched hands. An omen text discovered by de Mecquenem (Scheil 1917) was also assigned to the Neo-Elamite IIIB phase by Vallat (1996d: 386).

After the interruption of work at Susa occasioned by World War II, R. Ghirshman resumed excavations just east of the old city in an area which the French excavators dubbed the Ville des Artisans, the largest of the mounds which Susa comprises (Stronach 1974: 244 and n. 53). There, excavations revealed a portion of a multi-roomed building, badly damaged by later Arsacid-era graves (Boucharlat and Haerinck 2011) and Islamic pits (Ghirshman 1954: 14). Although epigraphic finds here were minimal, three Elamite texts – one discovered in a large jar in Level I, one from Level II and one found near the surface – share a proper name (Tal-lak-ku-tur), certain phraseology, and orthographic peculiarities (Paper 1954) with the Acropole and Apadana texts mentioned earlier (Steve 1992: 22), as well as with twenty-five fragmentary Elamite letters found at Nineveh (Weissbach 1902; Bork 1906; Walker 1980: 79; Gorris 2013). Although it was once suggested that the Nineveh texts could have originated at Malamir and not in Assyria (Vallat 1988b, 1998), this seems highly unlikely (Reade 1992b; Dalley 1993: 143). Other onomastic and grammatical similarities suggest that the inscribed bronze plaque from Persepolis mentioned earlier (Cameron 1957); the rock inscriptions of Hanni, carved at Shikaf-e Salman near Malamir (Stolper 1987–90); and an Elamite letter from Argishti-henele (modern Armavir) in Armenia (Vallat 1997e: 268; Henkelman 2003a: 91) are all roughly contemporary. As Vallat noted in discussing the Acropole texts, the language used in these inscriptions is neither ‘classic Elamite’ nor ‘Achaemenid Elamite’ (Vallat 1996d: 386).

The precise dating of these texts, however, is problematic. Thus, whereas Weissbach assumed a *terminus ante quem* prior to 612 BC (when Nineveh was destroyed by the Median-Babylonian coalition) for the texts from Nineveh (Weissbach 1902: 170–1; see also Cameron 1936: 169; Amiet 1973b: 5), de Miroschedji argued that the Nineveh letters were the products of the royal Elamite chancellery at Susa which must have been reconstituted at the latest by 625 BC (when, as noted previously, Nabopolassar restored the cult statues of Elamite divinities to Susa) and continued to exist until the Persian conquest of 539 BC (de Miroschedji 1982: 62). It is somewhat circular, however, to suggest that the revival of an Elamite kingdom at Susa after Assurbanipal’s campaign of 646 BC provides evidence for the continued occupation of Nineveh after the Median-Babylonian destruction of 612 BC (Dalley 1993: 143). Vallat, on the other hand, dated all of this material to the Neo-Elamite IIIB period, 585–539 BC (Vallat 1996c), suggesting that Elamite would not have been used in Armenia prior to its putative conquest by Cyrus the Great (Vallat 1997e) for which, however, there is absolutely no evidence (Briant 2001: 44, n. 72).

One further find complex dated to the Neo-Elamite IIIB phase by de Miroschedji is a brick tomb (locus 693) in Ville Royale II. This was based on parallels between bronze vessels found there (de Miroschedji 1981b: Fig. 40) and those from a tomb at Arjan, near Behbahan (see later discussion). The Susa tomb also yielded two small iron pins, the heads of which had been covered with

bitumen compound and then wrapped in gold or electrum foil (de Miroshedji 1990: 184; Connan and Deschesne 1996: 371–2). These find close parallels in an Iron Age III tomb at Karkhai in Luristan (Vanden Berghe 1973: 25–9).

One Elamite town which was occupied during the late Neo-Elamite period and which may almost be considered a western borough of Susiana was Avva (var. ^{URU}A-ma-a, ^{URU}A-ma-te, ^{URU}A-ù-a; Ivvah of 2 Kings 17:24), a place located on the Uqnu river, according to Sargon II's annals. Texts written at Avva in the mid sixth century BC are known from Nippur, and although the population was probably West Semitic, judging by the onomastic evidence, the Avvites deported to Samaria by the Assyrians are known to have worshipped the Elamite deities Tartaq (Dirtaq) and Nibhaz (Ibnahaza). At least some Avvites had hybrid Aramaean-Elamite names, such as Sham-Agunu (Zadok 1977: 120–1).

LATE ELAMITE MANIFESTATIONS BETWEEN SUSIANA AND ANSHAN

The toponyms mentioned in the Acropole texts from Susa, coupled with Elamite inscriptions and inscribed objects found outside the traditional heartlands of Susiana and Fars, all point to the persistence of an Elamite cultural *koiné* throughout much of western Iran following the Assyrian conquest of Susiana and prior to the rise of the Achaemenids. We turn now to an examination of the most important of these remains.

On either side of the Izeh-Malamir plain in the lower Bakhtiyari mountains, 150 km northeast of Susa, stand two areas of rock reliefs known as Kul-e Farah and Shikaf-e Salman (Vanden Berghe 1963a, with prev. bibliog.; 1983: 111–13; de Waele 1972, 1976, 1981, 1989; Stolper 1987–90). Although H.C. Rawlinson was made aware of the existence of these reliefs (Figure 8.5) and their associated inscriptions in 1836, they were not visited until five years later by A.H. Layard. Kul-e Farah has been interpreted as an 'extramural sanctuary' which was used 'on the occasion of certain feasts' such as the New Year (Now-Ruz) celebration (de Waele 1989: 35), possibly involving 'animal sacrifices, processions with music, and symposia' (Seidl 1997: 202; cf. Malbran-Labat 2004: 46). As noted in Chapter 7, the reliefs at Kul-e Farah date to the Neo-Elamite period, more precisely to c. 625–585 BC (Álvarez-Mon 2015a: 250; 2015b). A carved panel c. 1.10–1.30 m high and 1.66 m long, Kul-e Farah I, and its counterpart Shikaf-e Salman II are dominated by the large figure of Hanni (1.18 m tall), facing right (Plates 8.2 and 8.3, Figures 8.6 and 8.7), who wears a long, embroidered garment (Álvarez-Mon 2010a), with his arms bent and hands clasped in prayer over his chest (Vanden Berghe 1963a: Pl. X). Behind him are two officials, the chief minister of the army, Shutruru, above (.38 m tall; measurements taken from de Waele 1989: 29) and his vizier or cupbearer, Shutrurura, below (.47 m tall), each of whom is identified by carved epigraphs. The former holds a bow in his left hand and carries a quiver

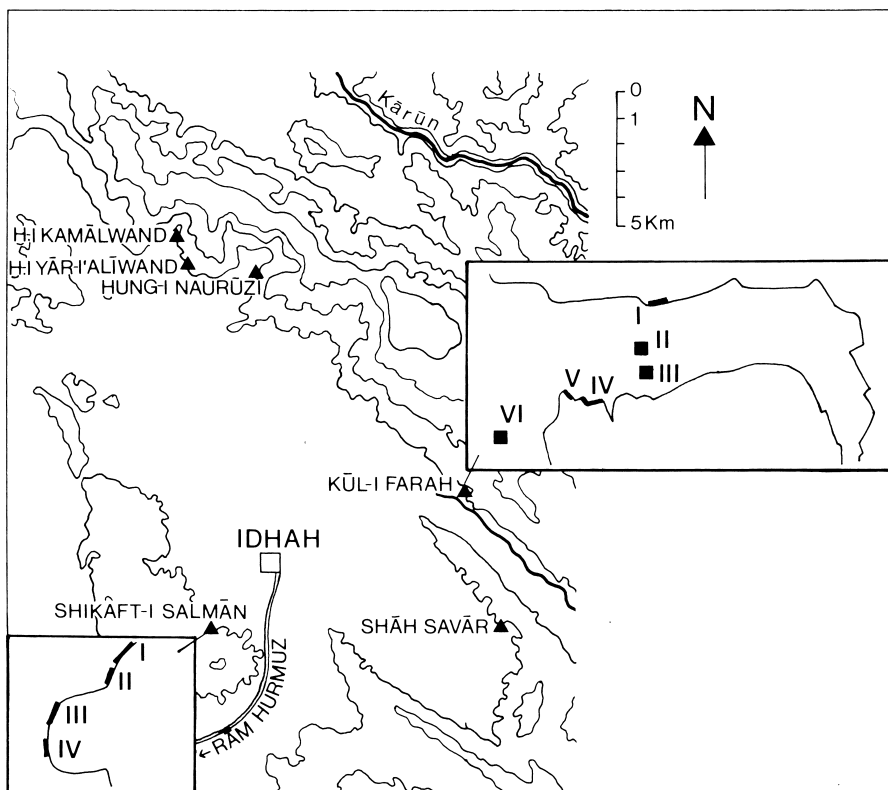


Figure 8.5. General plan of Izeh showing the locations of Kul-e Farah and Shikāft-e Salman (drawing: Erik Smekens, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

on his belt, while the latter holds his hands in an attitude of prayer much like Hanni. The right side of the panel is made up of two separate scenes. The upper one consists of three musicians wearing long garments, processing towards the right (Henkelman and Khaksar 2014). The two towards the ‘front’ of this line (i.e. to the right) each carry a harp. A triangular harp with four strings is held vertically by the first harpist, while the second carries a harp with nine strings horizontally. The two harpists are accompanied by a musician carrying a square tambourine. Below we see several ‘snapshots’ relating to a sacrifice. A priest appears to be throwing something (e.g. incense) on an altar, while two men lead a bovid forward towards him, one grasping the animal’s horns and the other prodding him from behind. Another individual accompanying a zebu bull is shown above the priest, while to the left of him are three ram carcasses and their severed heads (de Waele 1989: 30).

The upper part of Kul-e Farah I is covered with a twenty-four-line inscription (König 1965: §75; Hinz 1962), carved after the figures had been completed, while the individuals depicted are identified by short epigraphs written over their garments or just to their sides. The contents of the principal text may be

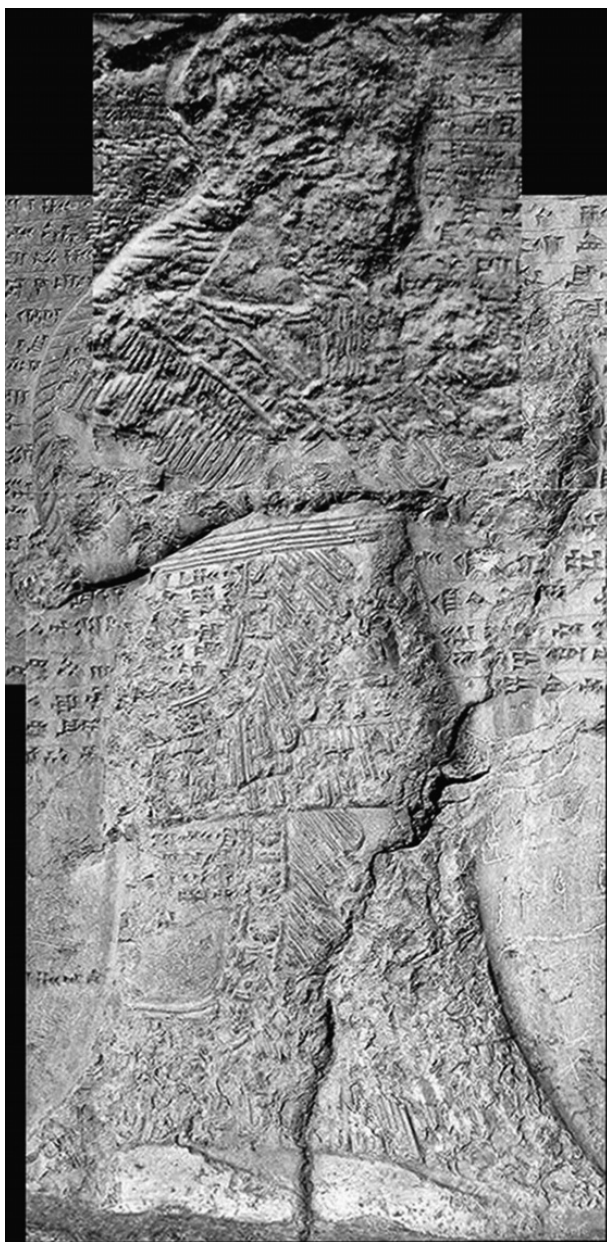


Plate 8.2. Photo of Hanni as depicted on the Kul-e Farah I relief (photo: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon).

summarized as follows. The text opens (§1–6) with an invocation of Elamite deities including Tepti, Tirutur of Shilhite (the deity to whom the Kul-e Farah sanctuary was principally dedicated), Napir, Shimut and Huban. This is followed by the author's introduction of himself in the first person (§7) as Hanni, son of Tahhi, enlarger of his realm (cf. the earlier Elamite titulary), who dedicated the relief to Tirutur (§8–9). The following passages (§10–15) are unclear but contain a

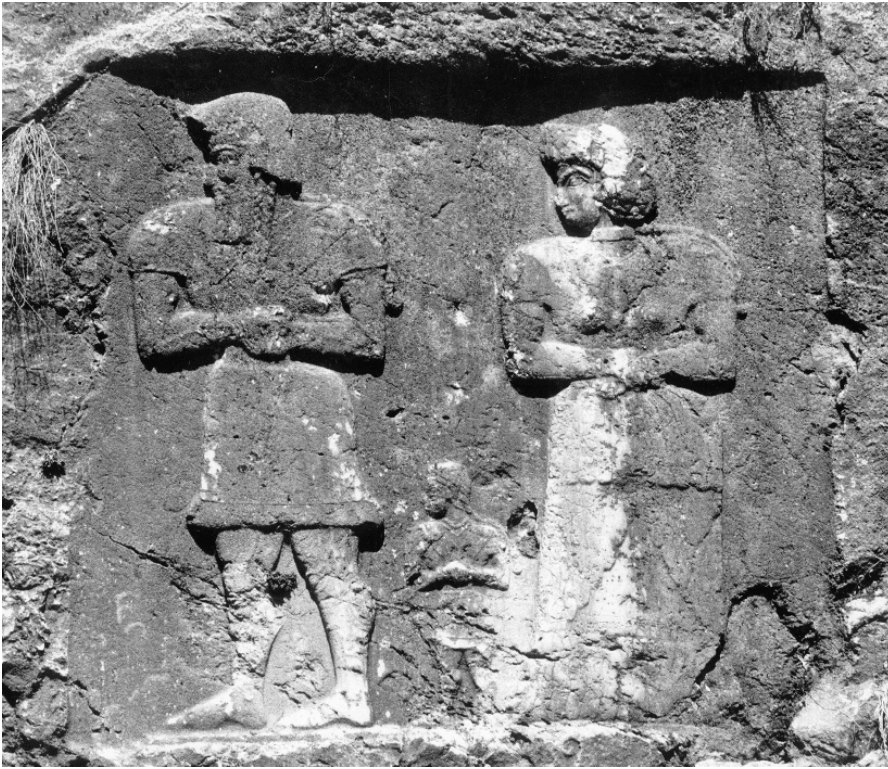


Plate 8.3. Photo of Shikāft-e Salman II showing Hanni and his family (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission to Iran, courtesy Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

reference to king Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada (§14), who may have been Hanni's patron since Hanni never refers to himself as king (Stolper 1987–90: 277). The next passages (§16–28) have generally been taken as an account of the offering ceremony depicted on the relief, but Stolper suggested they may instead summarize Hanni's exploits, which included the suppression of a revolt in Shilhite (§16–17), the capture of twenty rebellious chieftains (§18), the erection of a temple at Ayapir (§18) and the dedication of booty or prisoners resulting from the suppression of the revolt (§23–4). Mention of a second revolt (§25) followed by the capture and possible dedication of more prisoners (§27–8) seem to follow. The text concludes with a request for divine protection of the text and relief (§29, §36), and a curse on those who would seek to damage them (§30–5). Hanni's patron, Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada, is also attested in the legend of a votive inscription on a carnelian bead which was dedicated to the otherwise unknown deity 'Uirshu of the Gate of Anzan'. This suggests that the area ruled by Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada, extended into or included Anshan (Vallat 2011b: 191).

Kul-e Farah IV covers nearly 100 sq. m and depicts 141 figures, including bowmen and musicians, arranged in various registers, apparently on the occasion of a ritual or feast involving a central figure, probably a king (Álvarez-Mon 2015a: 252). On the basis of an exhaustive stylistic and iconographic analysis

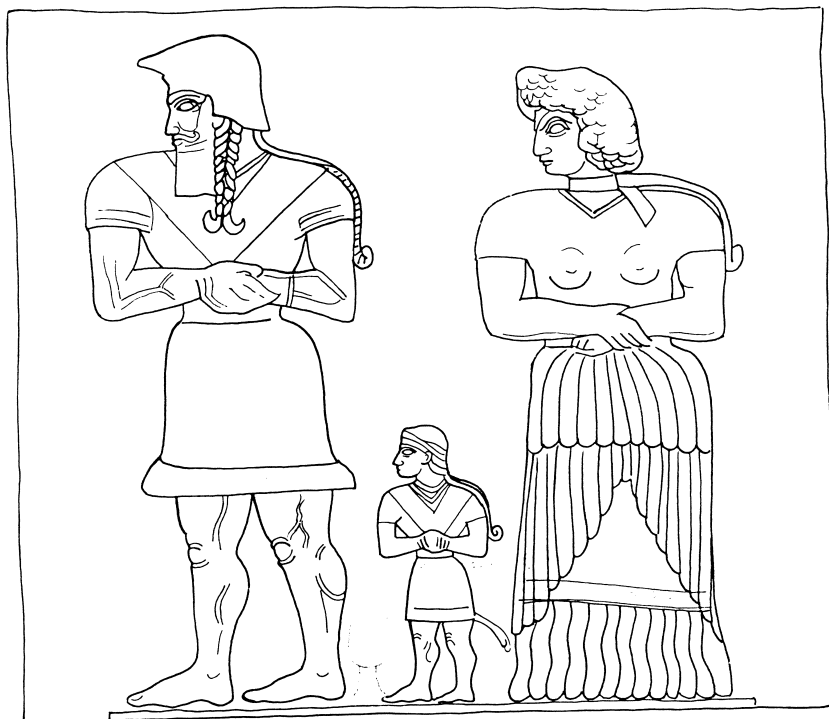


Figure 8.6. Drawing of Hanni as depicted on the Kul-e Farah I relief (drawing: Dr. Javier Álvarez-Mon)

of the relief, Álvarez-Mon has dated it to the ninth or eighth century BC and drawn comparisons with the fragmentary bronze relief from Susa, conventionally dated to the Middle Elamite period, suggesting that this piece, too, may need to be re-dated to the Neo-Elamite period (Álvarez-Mon and Basello in press). Kul-e Farah III (Plates 8.4 and 8.5) depicts a large, principal figure, supported on a platform by bearers, and three tiers of smaller figures (people? cult statues?), as well as four registers of worshippers (?) shown processing from left to right behind the larger figure. This has been dated to the post 653 BC period (Álvarez-Mon 2013c). Another isolated, large male figure with arms bent at the elbows and rounded headgear appears in Kul-e Farah II (Plate 8.6), flanked by a smaller row of processing figures.

The inscriptions accompanying the reliefs of Hanni at Shikaft-e Salman vary in both their 'form and contents' from the text at Kul-e Farah I, 'but there is much overlapping detail' (Stolper 1987–90: 278). For example, Hanni mentions his intention of creating images of not only himself but his wife Huhun and his children at Tarrisha, which some scholars take to be the ancient Elamite name of Shikaft-e Salman itself. The text at Shikaft-e Salman III also stresses the role of Masti, 'mistress of Tarrisha', as opposed to Kul-e Farah I where Tirutur of Shilhite was seemingly the most important deity invoked.



Figure 8.7. Drawing of Shikaft-e Salman II showing Hanni and his family (drawing: Erik Smekens, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

Turning now to the area of Behbehan, a stone chamber tomb of the late Neo-Elamite period was discovered at Arjan by the banks of the Marun river in 1982 (Alizadeh 1985a; Stronach 2003a, 2003b, 2005; Álvarez-Mon 2004, 2010b). In addition to a number of metal vessels with parallels in tomb 693 at Susa (Carter 1994b: 73), a bronze bowl with complex iconography arranged in multiple concentric registers (Álvarez-Mon 2004; Stronach 2004a, 2004b), an unusual bronze beaker with repoussé lion heads and engraved ostriches (Álvarez-Mon 2008), and an elaborate bronze brazier found clustered at one end of the tomb



Plate 8.4. Kul-e Farah III (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

(Stronach 1997: 41; Potts 2009a: 7 and Fig. 5), the chamber contained a bronze bathtub coffin in which a gold ‘ring’ with flaring, circular finials of uncertain function bearing the Elamite inscription ‘Kidin-Hutran, son of Kurlush’ was found (Vallat 1984b: 1; Henkelman 2003a: 77–8). The gold ring bears an engraved scene of two rearing griffins which recalls the common motif of rearing animals on Neo-Elamite III cylinder seals (Álvarez-Mon 2011). Indeed, Vallat observed that the personal name Kurlush is also attested on one of the Neo-Elamite IIIA seals discussed earlier and on four of the Neo-Elamite IIIB Acropole texts (Scheil 1907: nos. 16, 50, 127, 276), suggesting that, in view of the rarity of the name Kurlush, which is otherwise known only from a pair of much later texts found at Persepolis (Haddock 1969: 716, PF 98:3 and Fort. 6770:3; see also Mayrhofer 1973: 183), all of these references may be to one and the same individual (Vallat 1984b: 4).

In 2007 a second rich tomb, containing two bronze bathtub coffins, was found at Joobji, to the east of Ram Hormuz (Shishegar 2008, 2015). These proved to be the graves of two females, each of whom had been adorned in death with a variety of rich gold ornaments, including a bracelet inscribed with a personal name (Ani-Numa) and a disk with the name Shutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada, presumably the king to whom Hanni was subservient according to the text accompanying the Kul-e Farah I relief (Álvarez-Mon 2013b: 468) discussed previously. Several smaller, less elaborate versions of the unusual gold ring with flaring finials from Arjan were also recovered.



Plate 8.5. Detail of worshippers supporting the platform at Kul-e Farah III (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).



Plate 8.6. Kul-e Farah II (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

If we move now to the northwest of Susa into the Zagros, excavations by E.F. Schmidt in the 1930s brought to light several more cylinder seals comparable in style to those previously discussed. At Surkh Dum-i Luri a sanctuary was uncovered, and at Chigha Sabz a Bronze Age mound was sounded in which an Iron Age hoard had been buried. Each deposit yielded a cylinder seal showing a mounted rider (Van Loon 1988; Schmidt, Van Loon and Curvers 1989: Pls. 243.153 and 259c; see also Amiet 1994c: 63), generally comparable to those found on Neo-Elamite IIIB seals.

Moving to the northeast, we have a remarkable collection of hammered silver vessels and animals allegedly excavated in the 1930s in a cave near Khorramabad (Mahboubian 1995), some of which bear Elamite inscriptions. Four individuals (Ampirish, Unzi-kilik, Anni-Shilha and Unsak) are called LUGAL Sa-ma-tir_e-ra (i.e. 'king of Samati'), while several others, including Aksi-marti, Pirri, Anni-ilha (the king or another by the same name?) and Umba-dudu, appear in the Acropole texts from Susa. While some or all of these could be homonyms, the likelihood is lessened by the fact that one of the Acropole texts in which some of these names occur (Scheil 1907: no. 94) identifies the individuals in question as coming from Samati (Vallat 1996c; Henkelman 2003a: 112–19). A reference to the goddess Dilbat also provides a link with both the Kul-e Farah I inscription and the Acropole texts from Susa. Although this material comes from an area which has traditionally been assigned to 'Media', the personal names of individuals from Samati are a mix of Elamite, Iranian and non-Iranian/non-Elamite names (Tavernier 2011: 242). Hence it is not correct to consider this as an area of predominantly Elamite cultural and linguistic influence (contra Khosravi et al. 2010).

THE FATE OF THE ELAMITES

Earlier in this chapter we discussed the problematic issue of the identity of Kurash, king of Parsumash, and whether or not he can be identified with Cyrus I. Part of the problem arises from the fact that a cylinder seal used on some of the Achaemenid tablets from Persepolis (see Chapter 9) has an inscription which names its owner as 'Kurash, the Anshanite, son of Teispes' (Garrison 2011, 2014: 488–90), and this has always been taken to be Cyrus I. Are Kurash the Anshanite and Kurash, king of Parsumash, likely to be alternative names for the same individual? One point against such an assumption is the fact that the seal of Kurash shows a mounted rider very much in the style of the Neo-Elamite IIIB glyptic discussed earlier, which, if correctly dated, must be considerably later than the time of Assurbanipal, with whom Kurash of Parsumash was contemporary (de Miroschedji 1985: 286; Vallat 1996d: 392).

Be that as it may, the mere fact that Kurash, son of Teispes, identified himself in Elamite as an Anshanite, just as Cyrus the Great identified all of his ancestors in the so-called Cyrus Cylinder from Babylon as ‘kings of Anshan’ (Dandamaev 1976: 92; Schaudig 2001: 555; Finkel 2013), is an intriguing indication that the Achaemenid empire, however ‘Persian’ it may have been, in one sense evolved from the Neo-Elamite social, cultural, linguistic and perhaps even political milieu, or at least made the claim of Anshanite ancestry. Without denying the ethnic and linguistic identity of the early Persians, Amiet nevertheless suggested that the Elamites *became* Persian by a process of acculturation, a process which he referred to as the ethnogenesis of the Persians via Elamite acculturation (Amiet 1992a: 93), while Steve suggested that centuries of symbiosis in highland Fars effected a fusion of Elamite and Persian ethnic elements (Steve 1991: 7; cf. Henkelman 2003a, 2008a; Álvarez-Mon 2009a, 2010a, 2010b, 2015a, 2015b).

The rise of the Persians began in Anshan at a time when, as we have seen, numerous petty kings held sway in other parts of western Iran, including Shutur-Nahhunte and his vassal Hanni around Malamir, the kings of Samati near Khorramabad, and perhaps Ummanunu in Susiana (Vallat 1996d: 393). But one should not overestimate the power of these ‘kingdoms’. Certainly we read of no ‘conquest’ of Elam, Susa, Samati, Shilhite or Ayapir by the Persians in the same sense as we hear of the conquest of Media and the removal of gold and silver from Ekbatana to Anshan c. 550 BC (Grayson 1975: 106; Dandamaev 1976: 94). Perhaps this indicates that the Elamites and Persians were much more closely bound than otherwise thought and should not be treated as opponents. The onomastic evidence from Susa cited previously shows that Persian speakers were present there by the mid-sixth century BC, and some were present in Babylonia (Zadok 1976a: 66–7) and Assyria (Zadok 1979a: 299) as well in this period. The presence of Persians amongst the individuals mentioned in the Acropole texts, most of which deal with craft production, should warn us against accepting Herodotus’ simplistic division of Persians into nomads and agriculturalists. The symbiotic existence of Persians and Elamites, whether in Susiana or in the highlands, had acculturated the Persians to Elamite and, via the Elamites, Babylonian and Assyrian culture as much as an acculturation of Elamites was effected by their contact with the Persians (Briant 1984: 95). In this sense, the rise of the Achaemenids was more comparable to a change in political leadership via an *ethno-classe dominante* (Briant 1990: 53) in an area long accustomed to the institutions of kingship and statehood than it was to the ascendancy of a ‘new’ tribal group over an ‘exhausted’ civilization. As de Miroschedji observed, the arrival of Cyrus the Great in Susiana, which must have occurred by 540 BC, considering that Babylon was taken in 539 BC, may have appeared to a lowland Elamite as nothing more than the restoration of the old kingdom of Anshan and Susa (de Miroschedji 1985: 305). To speak of Cyrus’ arrival as a conquest (e.g. Dandamaev 1993b: 518), however, is in all likelihood wrong. The route to Babylon may have led through Susa, but Susa was already part of the Elamo-Persian world and hardly a hostile entity.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	'Elam'
1000–744 BC	Neo-Elamite I period, sporadic occupation at Susa	little or no evidence of occupation in Fars; beginnings of Assyrian aggression in western Zagros	Bazi, 'Elamite' and mixed dynasties in Babylonia; rise of Assyria in north	Elamite troops in Babylonia, envoy in Assyria suggests some political power recognized in Mesopotamia
743–646 BC	Neo-Elamite II period, Susa functions as main cult centre and capital; numerous smaller towns and cities in Khuzistan mentioned in Assyrian annals along Elamite– Babylonian frontier; Madaktu called a 'royal city' by Assyrians as well as Susa; massive Assyrian assault on Susa razed the city in 646 BC	continued Assyrian aggression in western Iran; Anshan mentioned rarely; appearance of highland leaders with Persian names (e.g. Kurash) at end of period signals growing importance of Persians perhaps linked to decline of Elam under constant Assyrian pressure	Assyrian campaigning in and eventual control over Babylonia; guerrilla war in south waged by Chaldaeans; commemoration of campaigns against Elam on Assyrian palace reliefs	Elamites in league with Chaldaeans; succession of kings based at Susa bore brunt of Assyrian aggression; attempts by Assyrians to install Elamite puppet rulers
645–539 BC	Neo-Elamite III period, restoration of Susian gods following Babylonian expulsion of Assyrians in 626 BC; Susa under Babylonian control? Median influence at Susa? appearance of Shutur-Nahhunte, late Neo-Elamite texts containing Iranian names	growing power of Medes and Persians; appearance of Elamo-Persian glyptic; rich tomb at Arjan; reliefs at Kul-e Farah, Shikaf-e Salman, petty kingdoms in highlands? Elamite influence in Luristan; fusion of Elamite and Persian ethnic elements in highlands	expulsion of Assyrians, appearance of Neo-Babylonian dynasty	Elamite revival in sixth century, use of title 'king of Anshan and Susa', toponyms in Elamite texts from Susa suggestive of multiple centres of power

CHAPTER 9

ELAM IN THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

The emergence of the Persians as a major power in western Iran must have been aided by the sustained Assyrian assault on Elam in the seventh century BC. But it is important to stress that, notwithstanding the severity of Assyrian aggression against Elam, the Elamites were neither annihilated nor reduced to a state of utter insignificance. Although historians and archaeologists long ignored the role of Elam and the Elamite population in the emergence of the better known Achaemenid Persian empire (539–331 BC), this has changed in recent years. The very facts that Cyrus the Great established his capital in the heartland of what had been Anshan (Potts 2011a), that Elamite was the language of the earliest Achaemenid inscriptions and the language of the thousands of administrative texts found at Darius' city of Persepolis, that a number of Elamite rulers tried to rebel against Persian authority and that Elamite deities continued to be worshipped in the Persian-controlled cities point to the continuation of an Elamite tradition in southwestern Iran long after Cyrus came to power (for overviews of southwestern Iran in the Achaemenid period see e.g. Henkelman 2012a and Boucharlat 2013). Nor was Susa, an important city throughout all earlier periods of Elamite history, neglected by the Achaemenids (see Briant 2010 for an overview), and it is from Susa that much of the archaeological evidence of the period comes (Ghirshman 1954b; Perrot 1981, 1985, 2010, 2013). The survival of Neo-Elamite iconography on cylinder seals used in the Achaemenid period is another phenomenon which attests to the survival and transformation of Elamite identity in the Persian period, as does the use of military equipment specifically designated 'Elamite' or 'Susian' at this time. In the late Achaemenid period, at the time of Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian empire, we see that the highlands of southwestern Iran were inhabited by a tribal group known as the Uxians, who may well mask the Elamites by another name.

INTRODUCTION

The so-called Dynastic Prophecy (II 17–21) made the following prediction concerning the fall of the Neo-Babylonian state: ‘A king of Elam will arise, the sceptre . . . [he will take?]. He will remove him (the preceding king) from his throne and [. . .]. He will take the throne and the king whom he will have removed? <from> the throne [. . .], the king of Elam will cha[nge] his place and settle him in another land’ (Beaulieu 1989: 231). The ‘king of Elam’ in question, Cyrus the Great (559–530 BC), called ‘king of Anshan’ in the Cyrus Cylinder text (Lecoq 1997: 182–3; on the significance of this titulature see e.g. Sayce 1880; Büdinger 1881; Floigl 1881: 7ff.; Potts 2005a; Henkelman 2003a: 85, 2011a) and ‘king of Parsu’ in Chronicle 7 (Grayson 1975: 107), fulfilled this prophecy in 539 BC with his conquest of Babylonia. In this chapter we shall consider what became of Elam (Figure 9.1) in the wake of this momentous alteration in the balance of power in Western Asia.

ELAM IN THE EARLY ACHAEMENID PERIOD

As discussed in the preceding chapter, there is much evidence, both archaeological and literary/epigraphic, to suggest that the rise of the Persian empire witnessed the fusion of Elamite and Persian elements already present in highland Fars. The very fact that Anshan was the source of the new polity no doubt meant that the differences between Persians and Elamites were fast becoming blurred during the course of the sixth century BC. In fact, as shown in the previous chapter, ‘Elam’ did not exist as a political unit at this date. Rather, sub-areas of what had formerly been the kingdom of Anshan and Susa, and perhaps some districts which had always lain outside the bounds of that polity, were peopled by Elamites (i.e. Elamite speakers) who were in no sense politically unified (Potts 2010c). Some residents of the area, like ‘Bagadata the Anshanite’ and ‘Rshina (Irshe/ina) the Anshanite’, even bore Iranian names (Schmitt 1978: 118; Tavernier 2007b: 132–3, 290; 2014: 297 and n. 6). This was the milieu in which Cyrus, king of Anshan, created a new state. In southwestern Iran, Cyrus was able to exploit a power vacuum where no Elamite state of any known military substance had existed since the time of Assurbanipal, for it is by no means clear that a Median empire ruled by Astyages controlled Elam (contra Petit 1990: 28; see also Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988).

After entering Babylon, one of Cyrus’ first acts, according to the so-called Cyrus Cylinder from Babylon, was the restoration of a number of plundered cult statues to the sanctuaries in which they had originally stood. One city to which cult statues were repatriated was Susa (Beaulieu 1989: 228; Lecoq 1997: 184; Schaudig 2001: 556; Finkel 2013: 6). While nothing suggests that Cyrus undertook any major building works there (Briant 1996: 98; see generally Haerinck 1997: 28; even his conquest of the city is shrouded in uncertainty; see Waters 2008; Briant 2010: 26), the continued importance of Susa cannot be

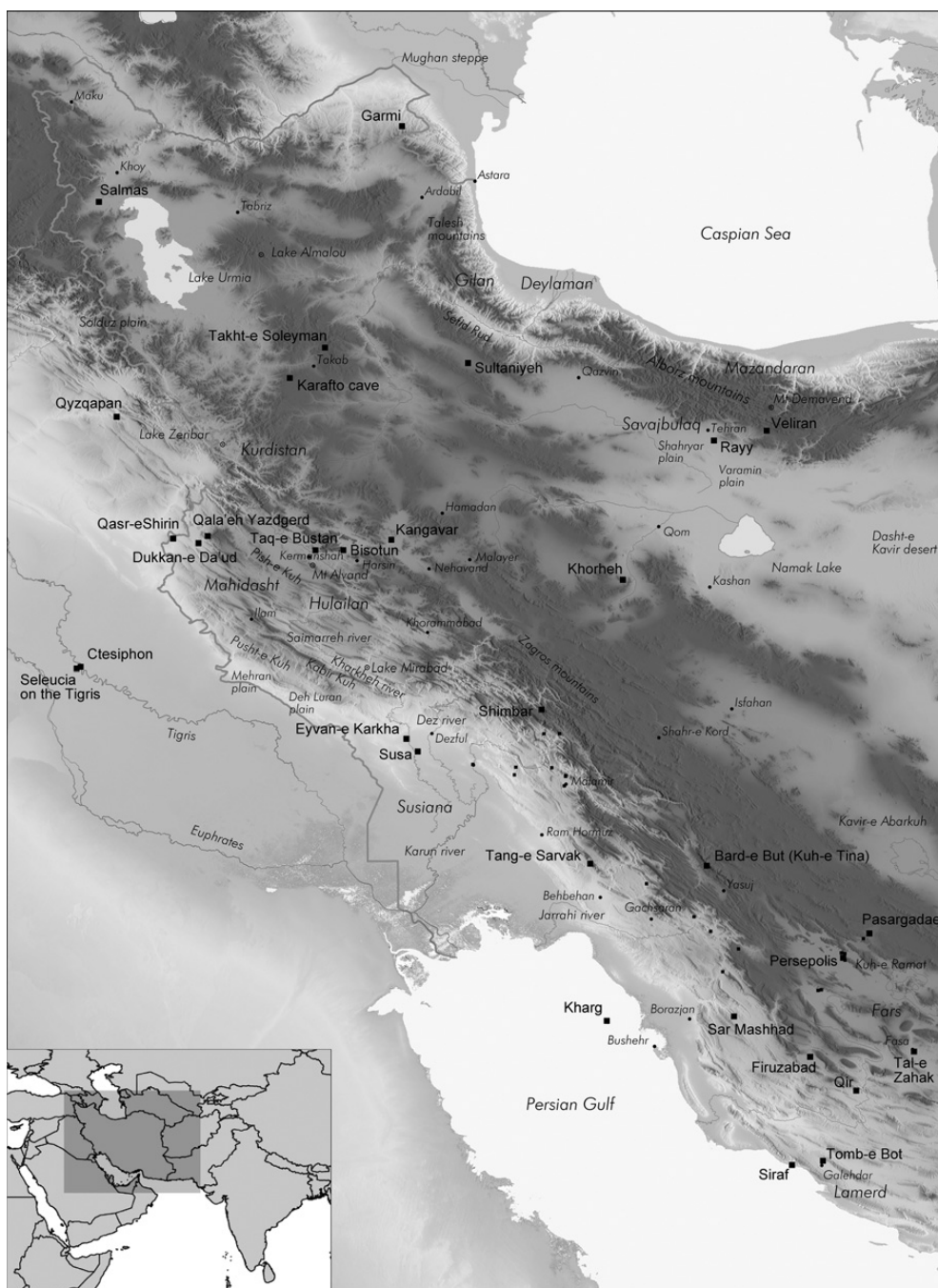


Figure 9.1. Map of southwestern Iran showing the principal sites mentioned in Chapters 9–11.

doubted, for it functioned as an administrative capital, beginning in the reign of Darius (Boucharlat 1997: 57; for a Persepolis fortification-style text from Susa, see Garrison 1996), and may have already functioned as such under Cyrus.

Indeed, Strabo says that ‘the Persians and Cyrus, after mastering the Medes, saw that their native land was situated rather on the extremities of their empire, and that Susa was farther in and nearer to Babylonia and the other tribes, and therefore established the royal seat of their empire at Susa’ (*Geog.* XV.3.2).

In his highland homeland, however, Anshan, which had been an unoccupied ruin throughout the Neo-Elamite period (Sumner 1988b: 314; Potts 2005b), hosted only a modest settlement (Potts 2011a). It is hardly surprising therefore that Cyrus founded a new geographically ‘Anshanite’ capital at Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, 1997: 42ff.) on the Murghab plain, slightly less than 40 km northeast of Tal-i Malyan (he may have built near the future site of Persepolis, depending on the date of the architecture at Tol-e Ajori; see Askari Chaverdi, Callieri and Gondet 2013; Gondet 2011: 283–90). It was at Pasargadae, Strabo tells us (*Geog.* XV.3.8), that Cyrus had vanquished his Median rival Astyages, and in the Greek geographer’s opinion this was Cyrus’ justification for locating his new capital there. But Briant (1996: 98) noted that this was not the only time the Persians fought the Medes, and instead attributed the location of Cyrus’ new capital to the importance of the Pasargadae, the chief Persian tribe according to Herodotus (I.125). This argument is fragile, however, particularly if F.C. Andreas was correct in suggesting that Herodotus’ use of Pasargadae as a tribal name was an error and should have simply read ‘Parsa’, that is, the term ‘Persian’ used by Darius I to describe himself in his grave inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam (Andreas 1904: 96; but see also Herzfeld 1908: 28; for the text, see Kent 1953: 138, DNa; Lecoq 1997: 219–21). Be that as it may, it is scarcely surprising that the establishment of a new royal seat was accompanied by the growth of settlement in the area, and even the Kur River basin, where little or no sedentary occupation had existed for centuries, was soon dotted with a series of new hamlets, villages and towns (Sumner 1988b; Gondet 2011).

Because of a dearth of settlement in Fars during the Neo-Elamite period, we cannot look to that era to find the antecedents of the monumental stone platform of Tall-i Takht on which Cyrus intended to construct his residential palace, or the tomb in which he was finally laid to rest (Plate 9.1). Nor does a wider search in Luristan or northwestern Iran provide us with any answers. Indeed, the lack of Neo-Elamite architecture in the region is really of little consequence for our understanding of Pasargadae because, as both Carl Nylander and David Stronach emphasized, the masons’ marks, marginally drafted and pecked limestone masonry and dovetail clamps, not to mention the overall design of the terrace walls, point indisputably to Lydia and Ionia as the sources of both inspiration and masons (Nylander 1970; Stronach 1978: 20–3 and his discussion of Darius’ later use of ‘Ionians and Sardians’ as stone-masons at Susa, though these ‘may well represent the populations deported to lower Babylonia and Elam from Ionia in the aftermath’ of the Ionian revolt; see MacGinnis 2014: 121; for suggestions of Urartian influence with earlier



Plate 9.1. The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

bibliography see Dan 2015). Thus, Elamite input in this new mode of imperial architecture would seem to have been singularly lacking, although traces of Elamite influence, seen in the garment worn by the winged genius on Gate R at Pasargadae (Plate 9.2), are unmistakable (Álvarez-Mon 2009a, 2010a). While it has been suggested that the tomb of Cyrus, although modelled on Lydian funerary architecture (Stronach 1978: 42), was laid out using the 52.5 cm long unit of measurement employed in the Middle Elamite ziggurat of Choga Zanbil (Trümpelmann 1976: 325), this remains speculative.

According to Herodotus (III.89), ‘During all the reign of Cyrus, and afterwards when Cambyses ruled, there were no fixed tributes, but the nations severally brought gifts to the king’. It has been said that all of the satraps known from the reigns of Cyrus and his son Cambyses bore Old Persian names (Briant 1996: 93). This is not strictly correct, however. For example, the satrap of Cilicia, who resided at Tarsus and was known by his title Syennesis, was almost certainly indigenous (Klinkott 2005: 468). Be that as it may, the ethnicity of a person cannot necessarily be determined by the etymology of his or her name. A text from the Egibi archive in Babylon which dates to the reign of Cambyses (BM 30704) mentions an Elamite (^{LU}E-la-mu-ú) who bears an etymologically Iranian name (Ni-ri-a-bi-ig-nu or *Narya-bigna), and Babylonians sometimes bore Iranian names, for example, Ba-ga-’-pa-da (*Baga-pata) the son of Nabu-zera-iqisha (Zadok 1976a: 74).

Many scholars have noted the absence of all reference to a satrap in Elam during the early years of the Achaemenid empire, and not until the reign of



Plate 9.2. The winged genius of Gate R, Pasargadae (photo: Professor Machteld Mellink, courtesy of Bryn Mawr College).

Darius III do we find a satrap of Elam/Susiana, namely Abulites (Petit 1990: Annex 2; Klinkott 2005: 429, n. 16 and Tab. 19; this is probably the Akkadian name Abu-līti, ‘the father is my power/victory’, attested in the Murashu texts from Nippur and as Apuliti in an Elamite royal inscription of Shutruru’s from Susa, EKI 74 §5; König 1965: 150; see Tavernier 2011: 242; possibly a namesake of a homonymous ancestor attested in the time of Artaxerxes II, Ctesias, *Pers.* 63; Shayegan 2007: 97). Certainly Xenophon, in his *Cyropaedia* (VIII.6.10), attributed to Cyrus an order to his satraps to hold court in their satrapies in imitation of the royal Achaemenid court (see also Petit 1990: 147). Furthermore, the *Cyropaedia* includes the following assertion: ‘And the institutions which Cyrus inaugurated as a means of securing the Kingdom permanently to himself and the Persians, as has been set forth in the foregoing narrative, these the succeeding kings have preserved unchanged even to this day’ (Hirsch 1985: 88). The idealized and didactic aspects of Xenophon’s work

are well known (Christesen 2006), however, and even if the sentiments often betray concrete knowledge of things Persian, it is hazardous to ascribe such an order to Cyrus without corroboration from either Babylonian or Greek sources (Lenfant 2011).

ELAM IN THE TIME OF DARIUS I

The reign of Ka^mbugiya (for the name see Eilers 1964: 211–13, 1974: 5), or Cambyses (530–522 BC) as he is better known (Prášek 1913; Duchesne-Guillemin 1979; Briant 1996: 60ff.), Cyrus' son and successor, was marked by the conquest of Egypt (525–522 BC), largely known to us through the filter of Herodotus. Cambyses' reign was brought to an abrupt end when, having learned of a rebellion led by Gaumata, Cambyses died, probably in Syria, by an accidentally self-inflicted sword wound (thus Herodotus) as he was on his way back to Susa (Dandamaev 1976: 108ff.; Briant 1996: 72; Heinrichs and Müller 2008: 300–1).

The rise of Darius (522–486 BC), who presents himself as the restorer of the realm of Cyrus and the slayer of Gaumata, is recounted in the first person in the king's famous, if highly tendentious, trilingual (Elamite, Akkadian [Babylonian] and Old Persian) Bisotun inscription (Plate 9.3; for the text, see Kent 1953: 116–34; Von Voigtlander 1978; Schmitt 1990a, 1990b, 1991c; Malbran-Labat 1994; Zawadzki 1996b; Lecoq 1997: 87–96, 187–214; for an extensive analysis of the episode, see Wiesehöfer 1978). Scholars have long recognized that 'the relief . . . was intended to be the centerpiece of the whole

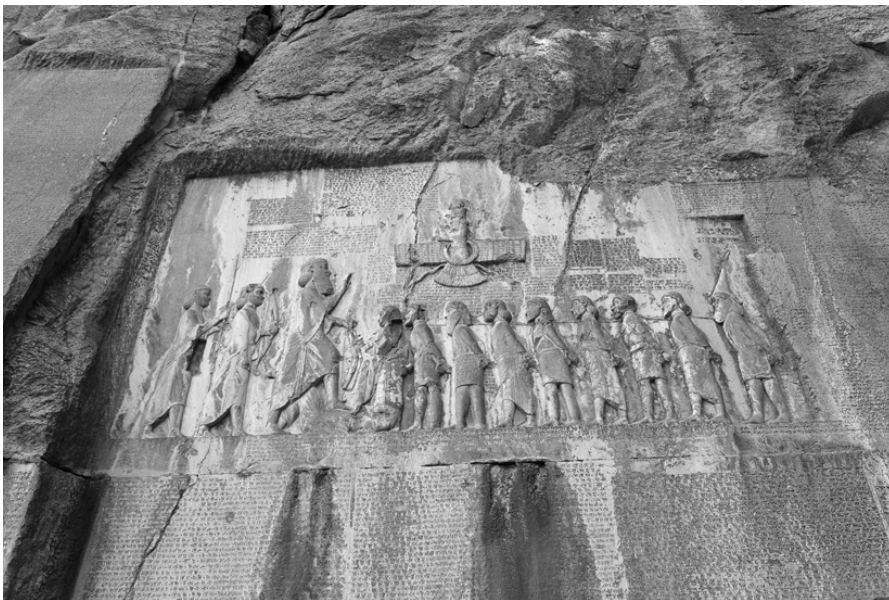


Plate 9.3. The Bisotun relief (courtesy of Dr. Wouter Henkelman).

TABLE 9.1. *Development of the Bisotun monument*

Stage	Relief	Major inscription	Minor inscription
I	entire relief minus Skunkha, Scythian wearing pointed cap on far right	none	Elamite: DBa
II		1st Elamite: §1–69	Elamite: DBb–j
III		Babylonian: §1–69	Babylonian: DBb–j
IV		Old Persian: §1–70 [Elamite: §70 = DB1]	Old Persian: DBb–j
V	addition of Skunkha	elimination of 1st Elamite; copy: 2nd Elamite	Elamite and Old Persian: DBk
VI		Old Persian: §71–76 = col. V	
VII		Old Persian: DBa	

Note: After Schmitt 1990b: Tab. 8.

monument’ and that the texts were of only secondary importance (Schmitt 1990b: 300), but it was Heinz Luschey who first realized that the Elamite texts (beginning with DBa; see Table 9.1), composed early in 519 BC (Schmitt 1990b: 301; see also Borger 1982), predated the Babylonian and Old Persian ones (Luschey 1990: 292). Briant suggested that Darius may originally have intended that his relief be seen as a continuation of the royal Elamite tradition of carving rock reliefs with associated text (Briant 1984: 93), but there is nothing surprising as such about the use of Elamite by someone whose vernacular may have been Old Persian. In contrast to F. Justi (1899: 90), G. Hüsing (1900), P. Jensen (1901: 240), J. Marquart (1907: 193–4), E. Herzfeld (1908: 60; 1910: 64) or F. Bork (1910: 578–9), who believed that the Iranians of the early seventh century BC had developed a writing system under Assyrian and Elamite influence while still located in the Zagros (i.e. prior to a putative migration into Fars), F.H. Weissbach suggested as early as 1894 (Weissbach 1894: 664–5; cf. Foy 1898: 597, 1900: 361) that the Old Persian cuneiform script did not originate until the reign of Darius, and indeed the studies of Luschey, Hinz and others have confirmed that the Old Persian text, like the Babylonian one before it, was squeezed into space around the main relief which had never been intended to hold a written accompaniment to the carved scene itself (Luschey 1968: 90ff.; Hinz 1968: 95). But most importantly, it is clear from §70 of the Old Persian text that ‘this was the first time Old Persian cuneiform was used and that the script was created expressly for this purpose’ (Schmitt 1990b: 302, 1998: 458–9; cf. Mayrhofer 1989; Bae 2003; for dissenting views see



Plate 9.4. The trilingual inscription in Palace P at Pasargadae (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

e.g. Rossi 2000 and n.d. and Baghbidi 2009 with comprehensive bibliography; on the allegedly earlier Pasargadae inscriptions attributed to Cyrus [Plate 9.4], see, in addition to the works of Weissbach, Jensen and Herzfeld cited previously, Nylander 1967; Stronach 1990b, 2000: 685–92; Waters 1996: 16; 2011b: 288, n. 14; 2014: 148–50; Vallat 2011a: 278 considers one of these [CMc] to be Neo-Elamite rather than Old Persian. In the words of Darius himself, ‘Says Darius the king: By the will of Ahura Mazda that is my script, which I made. Also, it was in Aryan, and it was placed (?) on clay tablets and parchment. Also, I made my name (?). Also, I made the lineage. And it was inscribed and was read before me. After that I sent this script everywhere into the lands. The people learned (?) (it)’ (Schmitt 1990b: 302).

The Bisotun inscription records that, after killing Gaumata on 29 September 522 BC and becoming king, Darius faced a series of rebellions throughout the lands formerly loyal to Cyrus. Nine rebellious ‘liar kings’ are depicted in the relief in the order in which they rebelled. The first region to revolt was, in fact, Elam. The names of the ringleaders in what were actually two separate Elamite revolts illustrate well the fusion of Elamite and Persian elements described earlier. The first Elamite revolt was led by one Aḫina (El. Hasina; for the name, see Edel and Mayrhofer 1971: 2; Mayrhofer 1973: 157, 8.487) who ‘rose up in Elam’, probably in mid-December 522 BC (Schmitt 1990b: 303), declared himself king and incited the Elamites to rebellion (Kent 1953: 120, DB§I.16). Zadok suggested that Aḫina may be an Elamite name (Zadok 1976b:

213), although other scholars consider it Indo-European (e.g. Schmitt 1973: 290; Mayrhofer 1973: 157; Henkelman 2003a: 184, n. 7), pointing out that Aḫina's father, Upadarma, had an Iranian, not an Elamite name (Schmitt 1973: 290). The Babylonian and Elamite versions of Darius' Bisotun inscription call Aḫina an Elamite, even though it renders his name as At-ri-na in its Median form (Lecoq 1997: 193). What significance the omission of the qualification 'Elamite' in the Old Persian version may have is unclear (Rollinger 2005: 24, n. 60).

Darius says, 'I sent (a message) to Elam. This Aḫina was led to me bound [as we see him on the Bisotun relief itself]; I slew him' (Kent 1953: 120, DB§I.17). Dandamaev argued that, unfortunately for them, the Elamites did not realize that a new rebellion was simultaneously breaking out in Babylonia. Had they maintained their resistance to Darius, they might well have won back their former independence (Dandamaev 1976: 128). Instead, they turned over their leader, who was summarily executed.

Revolts by Nidintu-Bel in Babylonia and Fravartish in Media followed that of Aḫina, and Elam again revolted, this time under 'Martiya, son of Cincaxraish – a town by name Kuganaka, in Persia – there he abode. He rose up in Elam; to the people thus he said, "I am Imanish [El. Umman-nuish; see Zadok 1984b: 12; Henkelman 2008a: 359], king in Elam"' (DB §II.22). To judge by his name alone, Martiya was a Persian (Mayrhofer 1973: 193; Schmitt 1973: 290, 1998: 449; Lecoq 1997: 195), although one cannot exclude the possibility that an Elamite of this period may have borne an Old Persian name. The name of his father remains, as ever, etymologically mysterious (Schmitt 1990a: 22). The locus of Martiya's rebellion is also something of a mystery. Darius says that Martiya lived at Kuganaka (Kukanakka) in Persia, a town whose name is Iranian (Tavernier 2007b: 72; cf. Tavernier 2006), attested at least thirteen times in the Persepolis fortification texts (Vallat 1993a: 142). On the other hand, the text says that he revolted 'in Elam'. Because Darius' army was near, 'Thereupon the Elamites were afraid of me; they seized that Martiya who was their chief, and slew him' (DB §II.23). Thus ended a second rebellion against Darius involving Elam.

Finally, during the second or third year of Darius' reign, the Elamites again revolted against the Great King (DB §71). This time they were led by 'a man, an Elamite by the name of Atamaita', probably a shortened form of the Elamite name Ata-hamiti-Inshushinak (see Table 9.6 and Mayrhofer 1973: 131). Darius again sent an army against them, led by the Persian Gaubaruva. After engaging the Elamites in battle, Atamaita was captured, brought before Darius and killed. 'Thereafter, the people [the Elamites] became mine', Darius tells us.

As Briant noted, it is difficult to assess the severity of the Elamite revolts against Darius, although the fact that in each case the leader was handed over to the Persian king by his Elamite brethren would not suggest that these revolutions had broad support (Briant 1996: 132). For their troubles, both Aḫina and



Plate 9.5. Sar-i Pol I (photo: Gian Pietro Basello, courtesy of DARIOSH Project).

Martiya were immortalized in the bas-relief at Bisotun around which Darius' long account of his rise to power is written. Like their fellow insurgents, the Elamites are shown with a rope around their necks and their hands bound behind their backs, standing before the larger figure of Darius, who raises his right hand in what appears to be a sign of beneficence (Choksy 1990: 31).

It has long been recognized (e.g. Sarre and Herzfeld 1910: 189; Herzfeld 1920: 16; Porada 1965: 143; Root 1979: 198–201) that the scene at Bisotun recalls that of the relief known as Sar-i Pol I (or Sarpol-i Zohab), located near Qasr-i Shirin, not far from Bisotun. This relief (Plate 9.5) depicts the victory and investiture of Anubanini, king of the Lullubi during the Isin-Larsa period (de Morgan and Scheil 1893; Hrouda 1976; Vanden Berghe 1983: Fig. 1). Like Anubanini, Darius stands on one of his captives. In place of a hovering Inanna/Ishtar, Ahuramazda rises above the Bisotun relief in his winged sun-disk. Whereas the enemies of the Lullubi king are each shown naked and with their hands bound behind their backs, the opponents of Darius face him clothed, yet bound at the hands and linked by a rope around their necks. These minor differences notwithstanding, there is such a remarkable similarity between the reliefs that it seems likely Darius and his sculptors must have seen Sar-i Pol I.

The first phase of Darius' career was marked by the suppression of all rebels and the conquest of new regions to the east and west. This behind him, he crowned his achievements with an act of administrative and fiscal reform c. 518 BC which solidified the institution of the satrap, the 'protector of power/kingdom/kingship', already nascent under Cyrus and Cambyses (Briant 1992a: 32; Klinkott 2005). Sekunda pointed out that 'although both Herodotus and Thucydides use the term "satrapy" they do not use "satrap"', and it is apparently in the *Persica* by Ctesias of Cnidos, court physician to Artaxerxes II, that *satrap* first occurs in a Greek source (Sekunda 1988: 72; see also Petit 1990: 18). Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Elam was administered within the satrapal system from the time of Darius onward, when the word 'satrap' appears as an Old Persian loanword in Elamite (M.W. Stolper, pers. comm.). Herodotus (III.89) says that, after winning his kingdom, Darius 'proceeded to establish twenty governments of the kind which the Persians call satrapies, assigning to each its governor, and fixing the tribute which was to be paid him by the several nations'. Josephus (*Ant.* XI.33) refers to 'the governors of Media, the satraps of Persia and the toparchs of the countries from India to Ethiopia, and the generals of the one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies' in the time of Darius I (see also Tarn 1930: 134), but whether we should attach much importance to this is doubtful. Briant stressed the importance of the fact that, according to Herodotus, Darius was not necessarily the author of the tax or tribute system but rather the first to *fix* the amount to be paid (Briant 1996: 80–1). From this one might infer that the system predated Darius. According to Herodotus, 'Susa, and the other parts of Kissia, paid three hundred talents. This was the eighth satrapy'. Kissia will be discussed later when we turn to the question of Elamite ethnicity in the Achaemenid period.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION IN ELAM UNDER DARIUS

As Perrot stressed, and subsequent work by Henkelman, Tavernier and others has confirmed, Elam and the Elamites played an important role in the reorganization of the Achaemenid empire effected by Darius the Great (Perrot 1981: 79–80). Let us examine these new administrative developments in their Elamite context.

The administrative organization of Persian rule is best revealed by the roughly 2,100 published tablets written in Elamite (out of a total of c. 20,000–25,000 excavated; Jones and Stolper 2008: 42) and 700 written in Aramaic (Azzoni and Dusinberre 2014: 1; Azzoni 2008: 253) from E. Herzfeld's excavations in the fortification at Persepolis, the ceremonial and administrative centre founded by Darius I (Hallock 1969, 1977; Henkelman 2008a, 2012a, 2013c). These texts span the thirteenth to the twenty-eighth year of Darius' reign (509–494 BC), although most of them date to years 22 and 23. The fact that the vast majority of the Persepolis administrative texts were written in Elamite rather

than Old Persian (a single Old Persian administrative text was found, along with one in Greek and another in Phrygian; Stolper and Tavernier 2007), thereby transmitting to us important Elamite vocabulary from this era (see Hinz 1973: 70–104; Mayrhofer 1973; Tavernier 2007b), is significant testimony of the importance of the Elamite cultural, linguistic and scribal/archival legacy in the Achaemenid era (Henkelman 2008a, 2012a, 2013c; Basello 2011; on the procedure of dictating orders and converting these into writing, see e.g. Gershevitch 1987; Rubio 2006; Tavernier 2008; Jones and Stolper 2008). Statistically speaking, moreover, roughly 10 per cent of the c. 2,000 personal names in the Persepolis treasury and fortification texts published as of 1973 can be etymologized as Elamite (Mayrhofer 1973: 310; Tavernier 2007b).

Persepolis functioned as a central archive for the satrapies of Persis (Fars, ancient Anshan) and possibly Elam (although it is not impossible that another major archive existed at Susa; Stolper, pers. comm.; Garrison 1996) in which copies of ‘primary memoranda . . . written, sealed and accumulated at stations in the regions around Persepolis’ were ‘compiled into secondary records’, sometimes accompanied by the original letter orders that had been sent from Persepolis to the places where they were to be acted upon (Jones and Stolper 2008: 36). Whereas the so-called fortification texts are concerned exclusively with agricultural produce (movement of goods and livestock, rations, receipts, etc.), the later ‘treasury texts’, which date to the period 492–458 BC (Cameron 1948), are concerned solely with payments made in silver (Naster 1989). Other types of disbursements (e.g. of textiles, clothing or weaponry) are not represented by specific groups of texts but may have existed (Koch 1990: 217). Darius instituted a series of fixed tributary sums, payable in various forms of *naturalia* (e.g. livestock, barley or oil; see Koch 1989: 121) or in precious metals (Stolper, pers. comm.) for each satrapy of the empire (Briant 1992a: 33), and a variety of officials were charged with booking the receipt of that tax or tribute (Plate 9.6) in the Persepolis bureaucracy (Koch 1989: 122ff.; Henkelman 2008a, 2012a, 2013c). Work projects of various sorts involved the importation of labourers and craftsmen from all over the empire and their stationing in many smaller centres where the need for such manpower arose (Uchitel 1991; Tolini 2008; on the Persepolis area in general at this time see Boucharlat 2003, 2013; Henkelman 2012a, 2013c). Undoubtedly this had an impact on the ethnic make-up of Persis and Elam generally, for the number of workers in such teams often ran into the hundreds (e.g. 547 Egyptian workers mentioned in PF 1557; see Koch 1993: 9; Zadok 1992: 146). Conversely, Elamite workers, some of whom were probably engaged on a seasonal basis, are attested in Babylonia, such as those who received rations from the temple of Shamash at Sippar (Zadok 2011: 129 with refs.).

The satrapy of Elam is named more often than any other satrapy attested in the Persepolis fortification texts (Koch 1993: 8). The residence of the satrap was at Susa, and it was here that Darius built a palace in which he often stayed

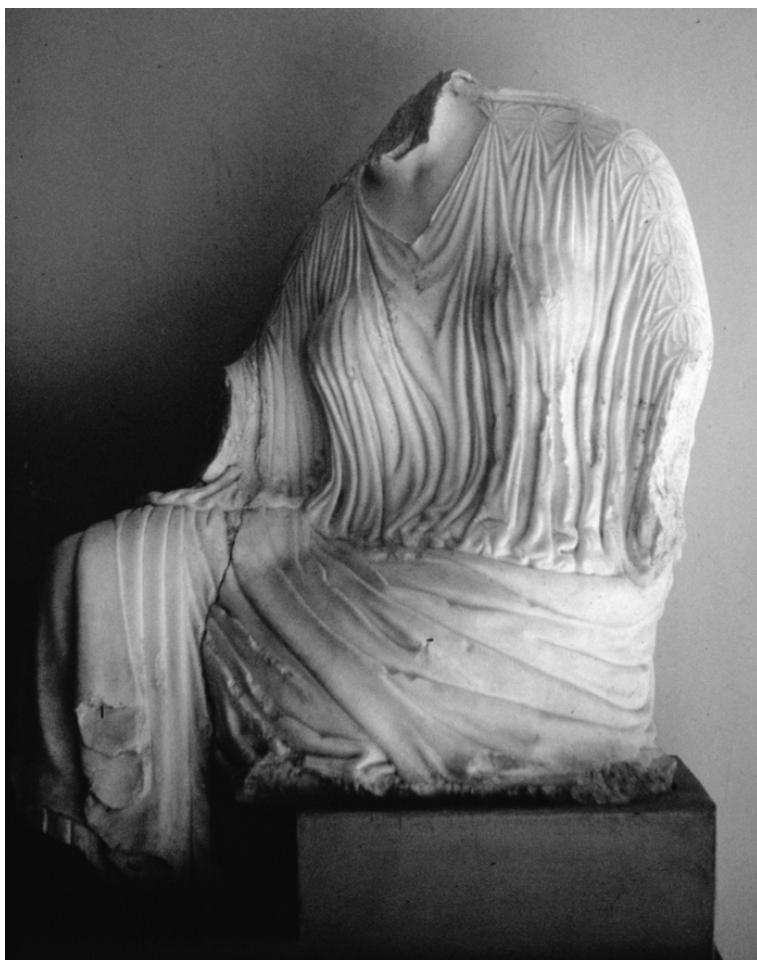


Plate 9.6. The statue of ‘Penelope’ from Corridor 31 in the Persepolis Treasury (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

(Perrot 1981, 1985, 2010). Hence, Susa figures in a large number of texts (for full references see Vallat 1993a: 265–7) which were generated by a variety of different types of transactions (Table 9.2), including documents recording travel to, from and through Susa (from Bactria and India in the east to Sardis in the west; Briant 2010: Tab. 1), as does Elam in the wider sense of Khuzistan (Table 9.3). Naturally, the king’s presence ensured heavy traffic along the Persepolis–Susa highway (Koch 1986; Arfaee 1999; Potts 2009b; Askari Chaverdi et al. 2010; Askari Chaverdi, Potts and Petrie 2014) and the frequent attestation of toponyms in Elam in the fortification archive, most of which, unfortunately, cannot be identified (Hinz 1973: 77–80; Sumner 1986b; Koch 1990: 156–216; Aperghis 1999; Arfaee 1999, 2008; Potts 2007, 2009a, 2009b). Susa was, moreover, the eastern terminus of the so-called Royal Road which connected it with Sardis in

TABLE 9.2. *Selection of Persepolis fortification texts of various types mentioning Susa*

Text	Hallock's type	Date	Summary
57	A. transportation of commodities	22nd year	4 sheep (?) taken as tax from Maturban to Susa
88	B. delivery of commodities	22nd year	46 <i>kurrima</i> [measure of volume equal to 9.7 l (Hinz and Koch 1987/I: 531)] of flour delivered at Susa
318	D. general receipts	23rd year	65 BAR [dry measure equal to 10 QA or the equivalent of the <i>kurrima</i>] of barley loaves received at Susa
737	J. royal provisions	22nd year	236 <i>marrish</i> [liquid measure roughly equal to the <i>kurrima</i> and BAR] of wine expended on behalf of Irdabama at Susa
1246	P. daily rations	missing	flour for woodworker, his companions and servants from Susa
1355	Q. travel rations	28th year	flour for travellers from Persepolis to Susa
1752	S1. regular rations for animals	25th year	flour for fowls at Susa
1781	S3. travel rations for animals	missing	grain for horses travelling to Susa
2056	miscellaneous: rations for a group	28th year	grain for men, horses and mules travelling from Areia to Susa

TABLE 9.3. *Selection of Persepolis fortification texts of various types mentioning Elam*

Text	Type	Date	Summary
1497	travel ration	22nd year	flour received by Mishshena and 50 workers; M. travelled from Persepolis to Elam
1565	"	missing	wine given to 100 workers who went to Elam (from Persepolis?)
1575	"	21st year	barley and other cereal products received by 26 workers who went to Elam (from Persepolis?)
1577	ration text	missing	dates given to 108 workers who went to Elam (from Persepolis?)
1780	travel ration for animals	missing	wine received by Sada the horseman who fed (?) it to 11 horses; 'He went from Anshan (and) from Elam' (meaning?)
1858	letter	missing	Mirinzana to Marduka regarding the pending arrival of an official who will 'make the accounts' 'in the area of Elam'

Lydia (Sumner 1986b: 17; Briant 1991, 1992b; Herrenschiidt 1993a, 1993b). This direct connection with Asia Minor, combined with the historical precedent of Cambyses' use of Greek soldiery, certainly accounted for the ongoing presence of ethnic Greeks in both military and non-military roles at sites like Susa (Seibt 1977). Furthermore, it may have provided the context for the spread of limited amounts of Attic red-figured pottery to Susa in the early fifth century. Although E. Pottier suggested that the Greek vessel fragments found at Susa by de Morgan (Figure 9.2) might be the remnants of trophies brought back from the Persian Wars (Pottier 1902, 1903, 1909), C. Clairmont believed this material was brought 'not by traders, but either by Persians or more likely by Greeks who lived at the Persian court working for the Persian kings' (Clairmont 1957: 90; cf. Martinez-Sève 2002: 36).

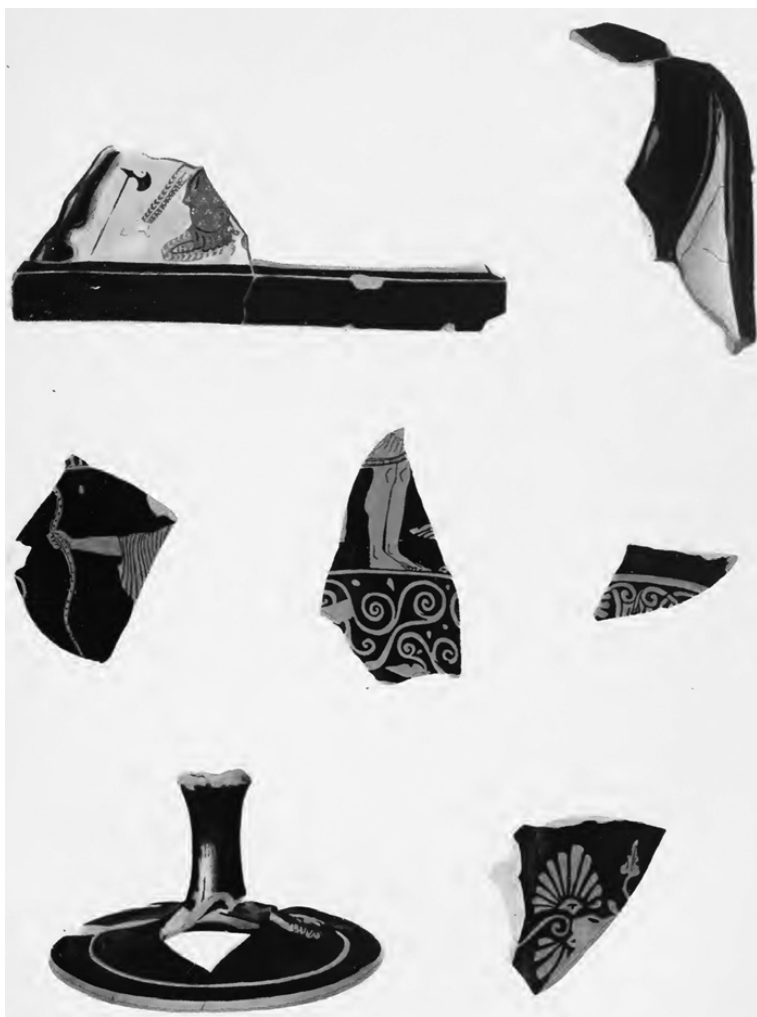


Figure 9.2. Greek pottery from Susa (after de Morgan, Jéquier and Lampre 1900: Pl. 5).

DARIUS AT SUSA

Achaemenid Susa comprised four quarters: the palace on the Apadana mound; a small fortress on top of the Acropole mound, surrounded by a fortification wall uncovered by de Morgan but later removed; a residential quarter in the area known as the ‘Ville Royale’, surrounded by a monumental brick and earthen glacis some 20 m wide at the base and 10–12 m high; and a large empty space originally dubbed the ‘Place d’Armes’ by the early excavators (Perrot 1981: 80; cf. 2010). Some twenty-four building inscriptions and fragments thereof from Susa (Table 9.4) are attributable to Darius (Lecoq 1997: 231–47; Kent 1953). These are referred to as D^{Sa}–ab. In recent years a number have been re-attributed; thus D^{Sh} is now assigned to Darius II [= D^{2Sa}], D^{Sr} is attributed to Artaxerxes II [= A^{2Sd}] and D^{Sx} is a fragment of D^{Se} while D^{Sy} is part of D^{Sv}. As these inscriptions attest, there can be little doubt that Darius was an active builder in the ancient city. Like many of his Elamite predecessors, Darius restored buildings which had fallen into disrepair. He rebuilt the city wall as well (D^{Se} §5) but, as P. Calmeyer noted, unlike his Elamite predecessors, Darius never says he restored or built any temples (Calmeyer 1992: 107). Nevertheless, there is clear evidence, as Perrot stressed, that Darius’ engineers largely remodelled the ancient city, resettling much of the population to the north and east, on the far side of a canal dug to conduct water from the Shaur river.

This major alteration in the physical form of Susa was coupled with demonstrable discontinuity in the material culture of non-royal, domestic occupation. In Ville Royale II (levels 5 and 4), de Miroschedji found evidence of a stratigraphic hiatus between the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid levels with absolutely no trace of any continuity whatsoever between the ceramic traditions of the two eras (de Miroschedji 1987: 35). Because of the absence of epigraphic finds dating to the reign(s) of Cyrus and/or Cambyses, de Miroschedji suggested that Susa remained culturally an ‘Elamite’ city until the reign of Darius, when it was transformed into an Achaemenid centre.

If we ignore the mysterious *tachara* (not necessarily a palace, contra Harper, Aruz and Tallon 1992: 216; see Razmjou 2010: 233–42) and several statues, it is the palace Darius had built for himself which demands most attention in considering the Great King’s activities at Susa (Perrot 2010 with earlier lit.). This is scarcely surprising given Susa’s importance. The materials and workmen involved in the construction of Darius’ palace at Susa are vividly described in one of his most famous inscriptions, D^{Sf} (widely discussed; see e.g. Rossi 2003; Vallat 2010). Assyrians transported cedar from Lebanon to Babylon, whence it was taken to Susa by Carians and Ionians. Sissoo wood was brought from northwest India (Gandhara) and Kerman (Karmania) in southeastern Iran. Gold came from Sardis in Lydia and Bactria in Central Asia, while lapis lazuli and carnelian arrived from Sogdia, and turquoise (Vallat 1983b) from Chorasmia.

TABLE 9.4. *Summary of Darius' inscriptions from Susa*

Siglum	Object type	Language(s)	Summary/quotation
DSa	brick	Old Persian	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; 'By the favour of Ahuramazda I have done that which I have done; to every one may it seem excellent'
DSb	brick	Old Persian	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy
DSc	column base	trilingual: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy
DSd	column base	bilingual: Old Persian, Elamite	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; 'By the favour of Ahuramazda, I made the <i>tachara</i> ', a building or construction of unknown type
DSe	stone tablet	trilingual	praise for Ahuramazda 'who created the earth . . . who made Darius king'; I am Darius, the great king . . . his genealogy; enumeration of peoples and countries ruled over by Darius and who brought him tribute: the Mede, Elamite, Parthian, Arian, Bactrian, Sogdian, Chorasmian, Drangianan, Arachosian, Sattagyddian, Makan, Gandharan, Indian, Amyrgian Scythian, Tigraxauda Scythian, Babylonian, Assyria, the Arab, Egyptian, Armenian, Cappadocian, Lydian, Greeks by the sea, Scythians across the sea, Thrace, Greek across the sea, Carians; institution of law and order by Darius, restoration of buildings and city wall of Susa; request for Ahuramazda's blessing
DSf	stone and clay tablets, glazed bricks	trilingual	praise for Ahuramazda; 'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; acknowledgement of Ahuramazda's beneficence; description of the construction of Darius' palace at Susa by craftsmen from all over the empire and the materials used
DSg	column base	bilingual: Old Persian, Babylonian	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; 'I built this palace with columns'
DSi	column base	bilingual: Old Persian, Elamite	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; 'by the favour of Ahuramazda everything I did (was) good'
DSj	column base	trilingual	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; acknowledgement of Ahuramazda's beneficence; 'By the favour of Ahuramazda, to every one who shall see this palace which has been built by me, may it seem excellent'

TABLE 9.4. (*continued*)

Siglum	Object type	Language(s)	Summary/quotation
DSk	brick	Old Persian	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; acknowledgement of Ahuramazda's beneficence
DSl	brick	Old Persian	'By the favour of Ahuramazda, what I thought I will do, all that was successful for me'
DSm	glazed bricks	trilingual	praise for Ahuramazda 'who created the earth . . . who made Darius king'; 'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; enumeration of peoples and countries ruled over by Darius and who brought him tribute; see DSe
DSn	statue fragment	trilingual	'This sculpture Darius the king commanded to make'; request for protection of both Darius and his statue from Ahuramazda
DSo	marble stele fragment	bilingual: Old Persian, Babylonian	declaration by Darius of the beauty of his building at Susa
DSp	marble plaque fragment	Old Persian	'Great Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods, he created Darius the king; he bestowed upon him the kingdom, good, possessed of good charioteers, of good horses, of good men . . .'
DSq	marble stele fragment	Old Persian	very fragmentary, mentioning Darius
DSs	marble stele fragment	Old Persian	praise for Ahuramazda, request for his protection
DSt	marble stele fragment	Old Persian	praise for Ahuramazda, request for his protection
DSu	marble stele fragment	Elamite	'I am Darius, the great king'; fragmentary
DSv	marble stele fragment	Babylonian	'I am Darius, the great king' . . . his genealogy; fragmentary list of subject peoples
DSw	marble stele fragment	Babylonian	fragmentary acknowledgement of Ahuramazda's favour
DSz	stone stele fragments	bilingual: Old Persian, Elamite	variant of DSf
DSaa	limestone stele frag	Babylonian	shortened variant of DSf
DSab	statue of Darius	quadrilingual: Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian, Egyptian	praise of Ahuramazda; 'Here is the statue of stone which the king Darius ordered to be made in Egypt'; genealogy of Darius; request for Ahuramazda's protection

The stone used to make columns was quarried at an Elamite village called Abiradu (Elamite *Hapiradush*; Vallat 1993a: 78; Dandamayev 1982; for Achaemenid stone quarrying sites, see Huff 1994). The Elamite contribution of raw materials, in this case stone for the columns used in the palace, is echoed in two further texts. When Perrot and his team excavated on the Apadana, two foundation tablets, one in Elamite (DSz; Vallat 1972; Lecoq 1997: 243–5) and one in Akkadian (DSaa; Vallat 1986b; Lecoq 1997: 245–6), were discovered on either side of the entrance to room 751 of the palace (Perrot 1971: 49, 2013: 194; Vallat 1971). While the Akkadian text simply lists Elam as one of the twenty-three lands which furnished materials for the decoration of the palace, the Elamite version echoes DSf in noting that the stone columns came from Hapiradush.

Along with the raw materials just mentioned, skilled craftsmen were imported as well. As Darius says (DSf, §3k), ‘The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians’. Nylander characterized DSf as ‘a propagandistic demonstration of the vast resources in materials and manpower of the empire and a glorification of its ruler’, not ‘a precise and truthful recording of the particulars of the construction process’ (Nylander 1974: 317). He noted, however, ‘important omissions in the text, such as the Elamites who, of course, must have been employed in great numbers’ (see also Stronach 1985: 438) since Susa was an Elamite city and ethnic Persians must have been in the minority. That Persians were in the majority at the court of Susa is suggested by the onomasticon of the main characters in the Book of Esther (to the extent that this is a credible source), most of whom have Old Iranian or Avestan rather than Elamite names (Zadok 1977, 1986b).

Exactly when Darius commenced building his palace at Susa is unclear. As Briant stressed, Herodotus’ information on Darius is of little chronological value since virtually everything to do with the Achaemenid king is situated by the Greek historian at Susa (Briant 1993). It may be significant that, in his autobiographical inscription, the Egyptian ex-naval commander and sometime physician at the courts of Cambyses and Darius (James 1991: 724), Udjahorresnet, reported receiving an order to return to Egypt ‘while his majesty was in Elam’ (Briant 1993). Many authorities suggest that this took place in 519 BC, and Briant seemed to infer from this reference that if Darius were at Susa, he must have had a palace to reside in, but this seems a slender argument on which to base the chronology of the palace. That Darius’ major building works followed the suppression of the second Elamite revolt (Amiet 1988C: 124) is an unproven if reasonable assumption. Basing himself on a careful study of the stoneworking techniques used on discarded column drums recycled as casings for bronze doorsockets, C. Nylander suggested that

Ionians and Lydians were most certainly at work on the columned hall, or Apadana, of Susa ‘around 520–510’ BC (Nylander 1974: 320–1). Building on arguments adduced by Perrot and his colleagues, and comparing the orthography of the DSaa and Bisotun texts, Vallat suggested that the foundation texts could not have been deposited any later than 519 or 518 BC (Vallat 1986b: 281).

In spite of heated debate over the identity of Susa and the mounds of Shush or the town of Shushtar (summarized with refs. in Thirlwall 1833; Long 1833), and of H.C. Rawlinson’s diplomatic solution that ‘Shushan the palace . . . in the province of Elam’ – the scene of both Daniel’s dream (Daniel 8:2) and the main events related in the Book of Esther (see Chapter 1) – was located at Susan, near Malamir, whereas Shush (modern Susa) was ‘the Susa of the Greeks’ (Rawlinson 1839: 85), W.K. Loftus’s topographic survey of the site in 1850 dispelled all doubts that the main north mound of Susa, known to us as the Apadana mound, was the site of Biblical Shushan (Loftus 1856: 422, 1857a: 120, 1857b; Curtis 1993: 2). Indeed, the same conclusion had already been reached in the twelfth century by the traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who not only identified modern Khuzistan with Elam, but declared that the main archaeological site there, Shushan, was ‘the site of the palace of King Ahasuerus’ of the Book of Esther (Adler 1907: 51). Surface survey and excavations by Loftus in 1851 and again in 1852 confirmed the presence of column bases belonging to the Apadana (Loftus 1856: 425, 429ff.) of Darius’ palace, as well as glazed bricks and fragmentary, trilingual inscriptions recording Artaxerxes II’s restoration of the palace built by his great-great-grandfather Darius (= A²Sa; see also Kent 1953: 154; Lecoq 1997: 272–3). Although Loftus rightly maintained, after his investigations of 1851–2, that ‘Susa is not yet exhausted’, Rawlinson was of the opinion that the results achieved did not warrant further excavation at the site, and consequently, ‘in April 1852 the Susianian excavations were discontinued, no further antiquities of any importance having been exhumed’ (Rawlinson 1898: 174).

In 1885, M. and J. Dieulafoy resumed excavations on the Apadana (Dieulafoy 1888; Dieulafoy 1893; see also de Mecquenem 1980: 2–4; Mousavi 1996: 4ff.), recovering amongst other things the famous glazed brick lion, griffon, archer and Immortals friezes (Nunn 1988: 194–9), as well as the glazed brick Apadana staircase decorated with lotuses and numerous glazed and inscribed bricks (Dieulafoy 1893: 274ff.; Pézard and Pottier 1926: 205). Monumental bull-protome column capitals and column bases confirm, as do the pieces recovered earlier by Loftus and subsequent excavators, that the stone columns referred to in DSf were very real indeed, even if much of the physical fabric of both the palace and Apadana was made of brick.

Concentrating principally on the Acropole, J. de Morgan began a new program of excavations at Susa in 1897 (see in general Jaunay 1997; Chevalier 1997, 2012: 66–8; Anonymous 2001; Nasiri-Moghaddam 2004). Between the commencement of excavations in January 1897 and the spring of 1905, de

Morgan's team excavated no fewer than 280,000 m³ of earth and estimated that 'it will be necessary to remove 1,280,000 cubic metres in order to bring the excavations to a final conclusion. Working at the rate of 35,000 cubic metres yearly, the archaeological excavations at Susa', it was estimated, 'will occupy not less than 35 years' (Babelon 1906: 303). Needless to say, working in this fashion, an incalculable amount of data was destroyed and lost forever. The season of 1897–8 saw G. Jéquier continue work on the Apadana mound (Pillet 1914: 97; see also de Mecquenem 1980: 8), which, amongst other things, resulted in the recovery of a small number of badly broken Achaemenid stone vessels, some bearing fragmentary inscriptions of Xerxes (Amiet 1990b). In 1907 a further series of glazed brick panels depicting Persian archers was discovered to the east of the Apadana mound, followed in the season of 1908–9 by column bases inscribed with the name of Xerxes (de Mecquenem 1980: 19, 21). De Morgan resigned for health reasons as chief of the French mission in September 1912, and the following year, under the direction of R. de Mecquenem, the young architect Maurice Pillet was charged with completing the excavation of the palace, recovering further glazed brick panels, capitals and column bases in the process (de Mecquenem 1980: 23; Chevalier 2009). Before the year was out, Pillet had produced a schematic plan of the entire palace–Apadana complex, and in May 1914, a few short months before the outbreak of war would see him mobilized, Pillet published a small monograph devoted entirely to the palace of Darius (Pillet 1914). Pillet described his 104-page study as 'a simple notice intended for French visitors to the Salon des Artistes'. With its reproductions of his handsome watercolours showing general views of the excavations and reconstructions of the palace and Apadana, and its attempt to lead the reader through the rooms and open spaces of the complex, *Le palais de Darius I^{er}* is an important document which captures the pride, enthusiasm and concerns of the French endeavour at Susa (for Pillet's diary and photographs see Chevalier 2009).

In spite of their best intentions, the French were by no means able to complete the excavation of the palace and Apadana of Darius before the First World War, but further excavations there by de Mecquenem (1947), Ghirshman (1965a, 1968a: 12–17; Ghirshman and Steve 1966: 11–12) and Perrot (1971, 1981, 1985, 2013; see also Steve and Gasche 1990: 28–32; Boucharlat 1990a) largely completed the plan of the palace and resulted in the discovery of the monumental gateway leading towards it. The palace and audience hall of Darius stand on an irregularly shaped, quadrilateral platform covering no less than 13 ha, the unbuilt portions of which may have been planted with gardens (Perrot 1981: 83; Boucharlat 2001; for the problem of the royal garden at Susa, see also Pillet 1914: 101; Tuplin 1996: 90; see generally Stronach 1989a, 1990a, 1994; Esther 1:5, 7:7–8, where a garden is mentioned in association with the palace of Ahasuerus [probably Xerxes I; see Ackroyd 1990: 10; Heltzer 1994] at Shushan; on the difficulty of determining the density of

intra muros habitation at Achaemenid Susa, see Boucharlat 1985a: 73). A 30–60 cm thick layer of river gravel was brought in to level the Apadana, where, as already noted, much earlier remains existed (viz. Steve and Gasche 1990), and at its highest the platform stood up to 18 m high (Perrot 1981: 84; Ladiray 2010: 161). Upon the platform stood the palace itself, covering an area of c. 38,000 m² (246 × 155 m), or c. 5 ha, and the audience hall itself measuring 12,000 m² (109 × 109 m). Access to the main platform would have been via staircases faced with the glazed brick friezes of archers and animals discovered in varying states of preservation during the earlier years of excavation at Susa (Amiet 1988c: 127).

As Nylander stressed, ‘The main part of the palace stands in a Mesopotamian and Elamite tradition with a minimum use of worked stone’ (Nylander 1974: 319), but this statement leaves open a wide variety of possibilities which need to be addressed. Thus, after excavating the monumental Middle Elamite structures of Choga Zanbil, Ghirshman was convinced that the plan of the palace of Darius must have been inspired by Elamite architecture and may well have been designed by Elamite architects, even if their absence in DSf, as noted earlier, is striking (Ghirshman 1965a: 93). M. Roaf, on the other hand, suggested that Darius in fact copied the plan of Nebuchadnezzar’s palace at Babylon (Roaf 1973: 80), while Amiet pointed to the great similarity between the arrangement of rooms around courtyard XIX in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh and the plan of the Susa palace (Amiet 1974b: 69–70; 1994d: 1). Perrot considered the parallels with Babylon and Nineveh equally compelling (Perrot 1981: 94; cf. Boucharlat and Gasche 2010: 446–63), and it is clear, as Roaf showed, that the room lay-out known as the *salle à quatre saillants* which Ghirshman found in both earlier Elamite architecture and the palace of Darius could not have *directly* influenced Darius’ architects, whereas its reappearance in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian architecture could have.

It is certain from DSf that skilled craftsmen from distant parts of the empire were brought to Susa to work on Darius’ new palace. The effects of Assurbanipal’s sack of Susa should not be underestimated, however, and when one reflects on that dark episode in Neo-Elamite history it is perhaps not surprising that so little of a demonstrably Elamite nature can be discerned in the new palatial complex erected by the Great King. Certainly, glazed brick-work existed in the Neo-Elamite period (see Chapter 8), but this was unrelated to the work done for Darius, which was executed by Babylonian craftsmen and more clearly inspired by the decorative program at Babylon.

No scholars, however, dispute the original, Iranianness of the columned hall, the antecedents of which can be found, albeit in more modest guise, in Iron Age Iran (e.g. at Hasanlu, Godin Tepe, Nush-i Jan, Baba Jan) and as far away as the United Arab Emirates (Boucharlat and Lombard 2001; Stronach 2001: 97; Magee 2003). These forerunners, however, are not Elamite. As related in a trilingual inscription engraved on four column bases for Artaxerxes II

(A²Sa; Lecoq 1997: 273), who restored it, Darius' Apadana burned during the time of Artaxerxes I (465/4–424/3 BC). Nylander suggested that the square, stepped column bases used to support the Apadana columns stood on 'big squarish foundation blocks which were not made' for them, suggesting that 'they must be remains of the Darius building on the same spot and with the same ground plan' (Nylander 1974: 320). If this is correct, and we assume that the plans of the two columned halls were generally similar, then the 109 × 109 m square structure incorporated a central square measuring 58 × 58 m with thirty-six columns (6 × 6), flanked on three sides (north, west and east) by porticos with a double row of six columns, and square towers at each corner.

Apart from the palace of Darius, a number of other important features of Achaemenid Susa have also been located during the past century of excavations. These include the city gate, the gate of Darius, and the propylaeum of Darius. Located roughly midway along the eastern side face of the Ville Royale, the city gate of Susa (Ladiray 2010: 188–95) was first located by Maurice Dieulafoy. It is a rectangular construction of brick measuring 36 × 18 m with walls between 3.5 and 3.9 m thick (Perrot 1981: 81). Several hundred metres to the northwest of the gateway and close to the northwest edge of the Ville Royale stands the so-called propylaeum of Darius, a 24 × 24 m pavillion with columned porticos to the north and south and four rooms arranged symmetrically around a square, central space partially divided by internal walls (Ladiray 2010: 181–4). A trilingual inscription left by Xerxes (XSa) on a column base found here attributes the construction of the building to his father Darius (Lecoq 1997: 262). It is interesting that Xerxes refers to the propylaeum as a *hadish*, literally 'seat' (Henning 1952: 517), the same word used by Darius (DSf) when referring to his much vaster palace. This being the case, a more general term like 'building' might be warranted for *hadish*, since the propylaeum of Darius can in no way be compared to his palace (cf. Jackson 1909: 314, 'abode'; Henning 1952: 517, 'mansion', 'dwelling', 'home', 'residence'; Razmjou 2010: 242).

Access from the propylaeum and the west side of the Ville Royale to the palatial complex on the Apadana mound was afforded by a 30 m long brick causeway, 17 m wide at its base and at least 10 m wide along its surface, which crossed the 10–15 m deep depression between these two parts of the site (Perrot 1981: 83; Ladiray 2010: 185–7). The causeway led directly to the retaining wall of the platform on which the palace stood, access to which was gained via the monumental gateway which again, thanks to Xerxes' inscription attributing its construction to his father (XSd; Lecoq 1997: 262), can be safely attributed to Darius. Amiet rightly compared this to an 'Arc de Triomphe' (Amiet 1988c: 125).

THE PALACE OF ARTAXERXES I AND DARIUS II

During the season of 1931–2 R. de Mecquenem excavated a palatial structure on the southern mound of Susa known as the 'Donjon' (Boucharlat 2010:

380–4), which he incorrectly took to be a Sasanian building (de Mecquenem 1943: 70–6). Ghirshman and Amiet later realized that this was an Achaemenid palace, suggesting that it was built by Artaxerxes I following the destruction by fire of the palace built by his grandfather Darius (Amiet 1972b: 167, n. 5; 1973a: 28). Although this was not fully justified, it is true that of two fragmentary inscriptions of Darius II (424–405 BC) known from Susa (D²Sb), one contains a reference to a building (*hadish*) erected by his father, Artaxerxes I, whose own inscriptions have only been found at Persepolis (Lecoq 1997: 268). It must be stressed, however, that the attribution of fragmentary stone reliefs showing Persian guards and servants found in the Donjon is far from certain, and Boucharlat did not believe that there were any secure grounds for dating the Donjon building prior to the Seleucid or Parthian period (Boucharlat and Shahidi 1987: 324, n. 13). Be that as it may, the Donjon building was the source of an important series of carved ivories in Achaemenid, Egyptian and Syro-Phoenician styles (Amiet 1972b), suggesting that an Achaemenid royal building must have once stood on the site. Furthermore, Stronach noted that ‘the particular situation of the “Donjon” – a lofty protuberance jutting beyond the main outline of the site – was one well fitted for a Persian apadana’ (Stronach 1985: 435).

THE PALACE OF ARTAXERXES II

In 1969 bulldozing to the west of Susa on the far side of the Shaur river revealed column bases which, as subsequent excavation proved, belonged to yet another columned hall, originally with eight rows of columns (sixty-four in total), attributed to Artaxerxes II (Perrot 1971: 36ff.; Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979; Boucharlat 2010: 386–409). Further Achaemenid stonework, including part of a staircase and a column base, have been found in the modern village of Shush less than 1 km northeast of the Shaur palace site (Boucharlat and Shahidi 1987).

ETHNICITY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN ACHAEMENID ELAM AND ITS ENVIRONS

Mention has already been made of the apparent rupture in the ceramic tradition at Susa between the Neo-Elamite and Achaemenid levels on the site. Indeed, as de Miroschedji noted, the Achaemenid pottery from Susa is most comparable to that known from contemporary sites in Mesopotamia (e.g. Babylon, Ur, Uruk, Nippur, Tell al-Lahm and Sippar), while showing few if any parallels to Choga Mish or sites in northwestern Khuzistan, which in turn exhibit clear links to the Iron Age III tradition of the Zagros, and virtually no links to assemblages from Fars (de Miroschedji 1987: 32ff.; for Achaemenid assemblages in Fars, see Sumner 1986b: 5–6; Potts et al. 2007, 2009a; McRae 2015). Commenting on Susa’s apparent Babylonian orientation, at least in the ceramic

domain, de Miroschedji noted the strong ties between the two areas at this date, the evidence of which is compelling (see Waerzeggers 2010a for a comprehensive overview). Members of the Egibi family from Babylon, for example, travelled frequently to and from southwestern Iran on business during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, Bardiya and Darius I (Zadok 1976a: 71ff.; Wunsch 1993; Abraham 1995, 1997a, 1997b, 2004; Zawadzki 1996a), as did members of the Murashu family from Nippur during the reign of Darius II, whose business took them to Susa for months at a time (Stolper 1992; Joannès 1988; Dandamaev 1992: 151ff. for Babylonians in Elam; 2003), and other families like the Šāhit ginê (Zawadzki 2001). A text from Dilbat, dating to 512/11 BC, also documents a man named Urash-ana-bitishu being sent to Elam to perform an unspecified type of work for three months (Zadok 1995b), while one from Sippar dating to year 29 of Darius I's reign enumerates travel rations (dates, salt, cress and sandals) for a corvée gang of Babylonians sent to work in Elam (Bongenaar 1997: 37–8; MacGinnis 2002: 178 with other similar refs.; contra Dandamaev 1991, 1993a: 122). The Re'ialpi family at Borsippa had to fulfill unspecified work obligations at Susa (Waerzeggers 2010b), while priests are known to have travelled between Borsippa and Susa as well (Jursa 2013). Movement between Babylon and Susa is also attested in the late Babylonian astronomical diaries (see generally Rochberg-Halton 1991; van der Spek 1993). Thus, one such text from the twelfth year of Artaxerxes III's reign (347 BC) includes the remark, '[of Ba]bylonia made . . . at the command of . . . and entered Babylon, and the . . . /left Babylon for Susa' (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 149, s.v. –346, rev. 14). Another text, from the thirty-eighth year of Artaxerxes II's reign (367 BC), contains the cryptic remark, 'the administrator [. . .]/in Susa to the governorship [. . .]', which might imply that an Achaemenid administrator in Babylonia was elevated to satrapal status at Susa (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 131, s.v. –366, col. ii 7–8). Finally, contracts from Susa written in Akkadian and dating to the reign of an Artaxerxes show us people with Babylonian, Egyptian and Iranian names involved in marriage and real estate matters (Joannès 1990).

While examples such as these go some way towards providing a context in which to view cultural similarities between Achaemenid Babylonia and Achaemenid Elam, they do not address the more difficult issue of Elamite cultural identity *within* the more immediate Persian sphere. This is a problem which can be approached by examining a variety of sources, both literary and archaeological. We begin with the literary evidence first.

In his account of the battle of Doriscus, Herodotus (VII.62) lists a people called the Kissians third amongst the nations which fought in Xerxes' army, immediately after the Persians and Medes. At Thermopylae they fought against the Spartans alongside the Medes (VII.210; Diodorus XI.7.2). The distinguishing characteristics of the Kissians at Doriscus were described by Herodotus as follows: 'The Kissians were equipped in the Persian fashion, except in one

respect: they wore on their heads, instead of hats, fillets' (VII.86). The earliest attestations of Kissia and Kissian, however, are to be found in *The Persians* by Aeschylus, where the opening scene is meant to be in the palace of Xerxes at Susa. There the chorus of Persian elders speaks of the Persian force which 'flowed westward' 'from Susa, from Ekbatana, from ancient Kissian ramparts' (*Pers.* 17), and worries 'Lest Susa's ancient stones / And the high Kissian wall / Echo with frenzied groans / Of women for their dead' (*Pers.* 120).

Apart from their appearance in the description of Doriscus, the Kissians and the toponym Kissia are attested several more times in Herodotus. He speaks of 'Susa and the other Kissian lands' (III.92), clearly assigning Susa and the river Choaspes (Potts 1999b) on which it lay to Kissian territory (V.49). In describing the Royal Road, he notes that after entering Kissia, 'eleven stations and 42.5 parsangs bring you to another navigable stream, the Choaspes, on the banks of which the city of Susa is built' (V.52). These references make it clear that while Susa lay in Kissia, Kissia was not coterminous with Susiana (contra Rennell 1800: 190–1) but began well north of it (see the description of the Royal Road) in the mountains of Luristan (Nöldeke 1874: 174), a point which might lend some credence to Lehmann's suggestion that Kissia was a Greek term derived ultimately from Kashshu (Lehmann 1892; Brinton 1895: 92). For this reason it is understandable that in the tribute list of Darius, as preserved by Herodotus (III.89), 'Susa and the other parts of Kissia' comprise a single satrapy, and further it explains why Strabo says, 'the Susians are also called Kissians' (*Geog.* 15.3.3), and why the late antique geographer Stephen of Byzantium referred to 'Susa of the Kissians' (Σούσα Κίσιοι). As Weissbach noted, the toponym Kissia was used by Herodotus as a substitute for Elam (Weissbach 1921: 520). Certainly this would explain the absence of any reference to Susians in Xerxes' army at Doriscus. Moreover, Nöldeke long ago pointed to the parallelism between the order of the first three names in Herodotus' list of the units which fought at Doriscus – Persians, Medes, Kissians – and that of two Old Persian inscriptions in which the Elamites stand in third position after Persia and Media (Nöldeke 1874: 175). In fact, although the order varies and may be Persia–Media–Elamite (e.g. DNa §6, XPh §3) or Persia–Elam/Elamite–Media (e.g. DPe §2, DSaa), Elam or the Elamites consistently figure in the first three satrapies named, and the parallelism with Herodotus' account confirms that Kissia was synonymous with Elam. It has been suggested that Greek Kissioi was derived from *Khuja, a postulated Median form of *u-va-ja*, the Old Persian for 'Elam' (Jacobs 1994: 202 citing W. Nagel), but this is highly questionable. It has also been noted that in transcribing Greek names in Akkadian, Greek *-i-* sometimes became Akkadian *-a-* (e.g. Gr. Laodike = Akk. *Lu-da-ke*). Hence, Gr. Kissia may correspond, if it reproduces an Akkadian name or a name transmitted via Akkadian, to *Kaššu*, the Akkadian term for the Kassites (Lehmann 1892: 333; Herzfeld 1968: 189–90). Later references to Kissia (see Chapter 10) are anachronistic (Nöldeke 1874: 177), but in sum it is clear that

the distinctiveness of the Kissians generally and Susians in particular was sufficient to enable them to be easily distinguished from the Persians during the Achaemenid period.

We turn now to an examination of some of the material evidence which reflects cultural diversity and Elamite survival and acculturation in the Achaemenid world (see in general Root 2011). The survival of late Neo-Elamite seals into the Achaemenid period is a phenomenon which has long been recognized, thanks to the impressions preserved on the texts from Persepolis. At least one example (PF 610) of a Neo-Elamite seal which had had its cuneiform legend effaced and was still used to seal an Achaemenid tablet is known from Persepolis (Amiet 1973b: 14), but certainly the most famous example of a seal in late Neo-Elamite or ‘Anzanite’ style (Garrison 2011: 401) used on five different Persepolis fortification tablets (PF 692–5 and 2033) is a seal whose legend bears the name of Kurash the Anshanite, son of Teispes (Plate 9.7, Figure 9.3), already discussed in Chapter 8 (see Garrison 1991, 2011; Garrison and Root 1996). This is a remarkable piece, both because of its use during the reign of Darius I and because it may mention the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Achaemenid empire. Because it was an heirloom when it was used at Persepolis, however, the seal tells us little about the survival or perpetuation of Elamite style in the Achaemenid period. In fact, as Amiet stressed, the Susa excavations yielded very few glyptic finds of Achaemenid date, most of which are in the style formerly called ‘Greco-Persian’, hence reflecting iconographic and stylistic links with Greek cut gems and ring seals (Amiet 1973a: 26–7).

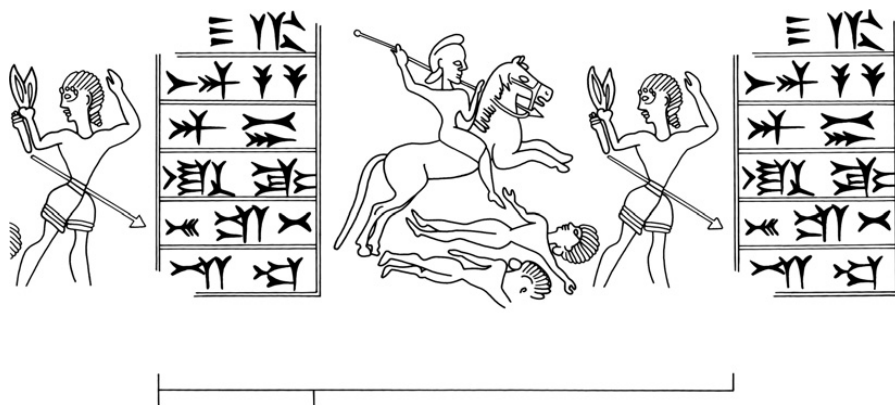


Figure 9.3. Collated line drawing of PFS 93* on the reverse of table PF 692, from the Persepolis Fortification Archive (Courtesy of Persepolis Seal Project and Persepolis Fortification Archive Project; to appear in M.B. Garrison and M.C. Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets. Volume II: Images of Human Activity*, Chicago: OIP, in preparation).



Plate 9.7. Photograph of PFS 93★ on the reverse of table PF 692, from the Persepolis Fortification Archive (Courtesy of Persepolis Seal Project and Persepolis Fortification Archive Project; to appear in M.B. Garrison and M.C. Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets. Volume II: Images of Human Activity*, Chicago: OIP, in preparation).

Persians and Elamites shared elements of material culture (Álvarez-Mon 2009a; Root 2011). For Hinz, Elamite influence was tangible in Persian dress and weaponry (Hinz 1969: 63; see also Trümpelmann 1988: 79, 82). In the opinion of some scholars, such as P. Calmeyer, the similarities between the Elamites depicted in the Neo-Assyrian reliefs (see Unger 1938) and the Persians depicted on the Persepolis reliefs can be explained only if one assumes a wholesale adoption of Elamite dress, coiffure and armament by the Persians after the arrival of Persian-speaking tribes in Fars (Calmeyer 1988). What is the likelihood of such a scenario, however? One might have expected that, reduced to a second-rate political status by the Assyrian onslaught of the seventh century, and unable to stage a significant recovery in the earlier sixth century due to the power of the Medes, Babylonians and increasingly the Persians, the Elamites would have been the ones doing the assimilating, not the Persians. In other words, it seems more logical to suggest that the Elamites increasingly adopted Persian customs and dress as they were gradually absorbed into the rapidly evolving Persian realm. Although it may be hazardous to use Greek literary testimony in support of such a trend, it is interesting to recall the passage from Herodotus noted earlier, according to which the Kissians (viz. Susians/Elamites) at Doriscus were said to have dressed like the Persians except for their headgear (VII.62). Moreover, we have a second relevant reference in a

fragment of the early Greek historian Hecataeus (sixth/fifth century BC), preserved by Harpocration (second century AD), according to whom ‘the Kissians wear the Persian *kypasseis* [a short tunic] as clothing’ (Weissbach 1921: 520; see also Calmeyer 1988: 27, 49).

In fact, E. Strommenger showed that the comparisons between the Persian dress seen on Achaemenid reliefs and Elamite dress as rendered on the Neo-Assyrian reliefs are far from compelling (Strommenger 1994). The belted tunic of the Elamite warriors on Neo-Assyrian reliefs, with baldric-like straps running over the shoulders and under the arms to support a quiver suspended in the centre of the back, is in no way comparable to the long robe with multiple drapery folds shown in Achaemenid depictions of Elamites at Persepolis. Whether such a comparison is valid, however, is another question. There is certainly no reason why Elamites or, for that matter, any people would wear the same dress in both battle and when approaching the Great King on a ceremonial occasion. Nor is there any reason to assume that Assyrian craftsmen would have understood the precise nature of the garment of one of the many enemies they were commissioned to represent on an Assyrian palace relief.

What remains clear, however, is the great similarity between the Persians and Elamites in the Achaemenid period palatial and tomb reliefs at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam (Calmeyer 1987: 11; Bittner 1987; Hachmann 1995), where they are depicted in three capacities: (1) as bearers of gifts, depicted on the east façade of the Apadana staircase; (2) as ‘throne bearers’, in which role they appear supporting the throne of the Great King alongside the other subject peoples in the throne and council halls at Persepolis; and (3) as ‘podium bearers’ on the Achaemenid royal tomb façades where they and other subject peoples support the podium on which the Great King stands (see in general Root 2003: 10ff.). In the latter two cases, both Persians and Elamites alike are shown with rounded and trimmed beards, each wearing a stiff cap and the ‘court robe’ with pronounced pleats in the lower drapery (German ‘*Faltengewand*’), ‘the only non-Persians at Persepolis’ shown wearing this (Álvarez-Mon 2009a, 2010a; Sekunda 2010: 264–7; Root 2011: 426–7). Earrings and wrist bracelets are sometimes shown. Finally, a dagger is worn at the belt (Hachmann 1995: 196–7 and Abb. 1.I; Root 2011: 436–40). The podium and throne bearers appear to be barefoot. In the depictions of Elamites bearing gifts, on the other hand, the headgear is different, for a headband is worn, knotted at the back, as are ankle-high boots, typically shown with six rows of laces (e.g. Walser 1980: Figs. 11, 31–2).

Because of the dangers of arguing from Assyrian reliefs depicting Elamites in battle dress, it is perhaps hazardous to conclude that the differences in Elamite dress between the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid periods are due to Persian influence on Elamite fashion. But it seems more logical to suggest that Elamites attempting to adapt to the ways of a new ruling elite may have been more likely to assume Persian costume than it does to suggest the Persian adoption of Elamite dress.



Plate 9.8. A Persian in court dress wearing an Elamite dagger at Persepolis (photo: author).

What does seem to have been adopted by the Persians, however, is what Hinz called the ‘Elamite dagger’ (Hinz 1969: 79; see also Calmeyer 1988: 32–3; Henkelman 2003a: 182–3). Clearly depicted on the Apadana reliefs showing Elamite delegates advancing with gifts is a pointed dagger with convex, rounded pommel set in a scabbard with an asymmetrical extension (Plate 9.8) in one direction (e.g. Walser 1980: Fig. 32) which differs clearly from the Persian short sword or *akinakes* (Bittner 1987: 199ff.) worn at the belt. The same type of weapon is shown being worn by Persian guards and the ‘royal hero’ killing a lion at Persepolis (Calmeyer 1988: 32–3). Although no actual metal examples of this dagger type are known, B. Brentjes suggested (Brentjes 1993: 21) that an Elamite dagger is in fact depicted at the waist of an apotropaic figure



Plate 9.9. A gold daric from Susa (8.31 g, 15.6 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

on a Neo-Elamite plaque (Sb 43) from Susa (Harper et al. 1992: 201, no. 142), and indeed it is attested several times at the waists of Elamite warriors on the Neo-Assyrian reliefs (Calmeyer 1988: Taf. 15, 17, 18). Bittner considered the Elamite dagger was a ‘cult dagger’ or ‘sign of rank for bearers of high state office’ (Bittner 1987: 134; cf. Root 2011: 436–40), as shown by the fact that it was worn by Darius himself on a statue from Susa which was made in Egyptian style (Kervran et al. 1972: Fig. 3), most probably in Egypt and of stone quarried in the Wadi Hammamat (Trichet and Vallat 1990), and is probably represented on early Achaemenid coinage (Plate 9.9) of the royal archer variety (Stronach 1989b: 277, type IV). As Stronach suggested, the ‘asymmetrical extension at the top of the scabbard . . . served to hold the scabbard in place when it was thrust through the belt. It is probable, moreover, that the scalloped underside of the extension helped to prevent the scabbard from riding past the central, frontal knot on the wearer’s belt’ (Stronach 1989b: 277, n. 114).

Along with their daggers, the Elamite delegates on the Apadana stairway reliefs also proffer bows with duck-head finials (Root 2011: 433–6). These too were considered typically Elamite by Hinz, who believed that the Persians had more or less adopted wholesale the archery equipment of their Elamite predecessors (Hinz 1969: 79). Bittner was less inclined to such an extreme view (Bittner 1987: 151–2), but it is striking to recall the numerous references to Elamite archers in earlier chapters, particularly during the long years of Elamite-Assyrian warfare. As the Elamites were noted for their prowess as archers, it is scarcely surprising that Elamite archery techniques and equipment, both bows and quivers (see Bittner 1987: 135ff. for ‘Susian quivers’), should have survived into the Achaemenid period. Indeed, Elamite bowmen were active well into the Arsacid era (see Chapter 10). Thus, while there were certainly other important contributors to the evolving art of Achaemenid archery, notably

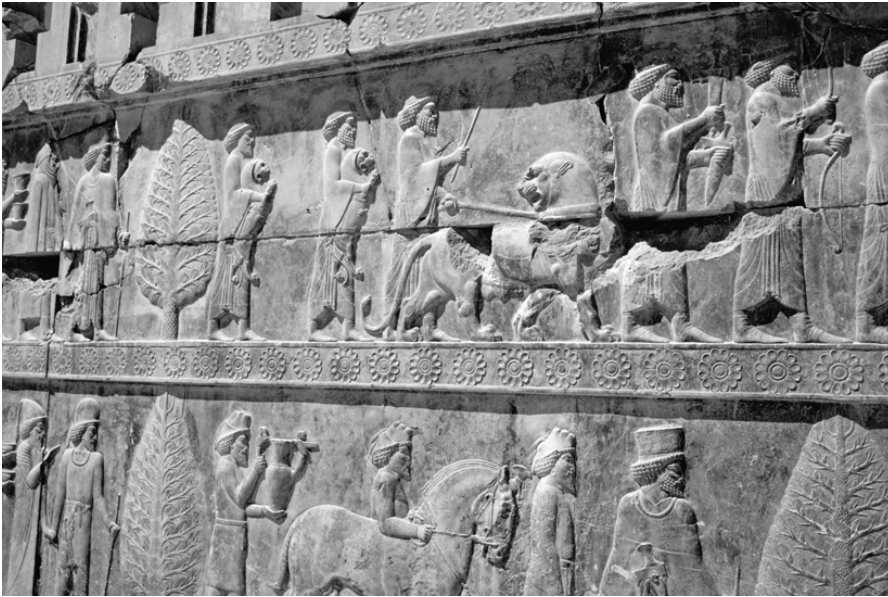


Plate 9.10. The Elamite delegation (upper register) bringing lion cubs and a leashed lioness, preceded by Persian attendants bearing Elamite daggers and duck-headed bows (photo: Professor Machteld Mellink, courtesy of Bryn Mawr College).

the Medes and Scythians (see Herodotus I.73 for the idea that the composite bow was adopted by both the Medes and the Persians from the Scythians, who may have also transmitted it to the Greeks; see also Marsden 1969: 8, n. 4), the Elamite contribution in this field should not be underestimated. After all, as we saw in the [previous chapter](#), the Elamite bow was in use in Assyria in the early eighth century BC. Finally, one member of the Elamite delegation is depicted bringing a lioness led by a leash ([Plate 9.10](#)), while two other members carry lion cubs (Root 2003, 2011: 441–5, 453–65; Potts in press a). Like all other members of the empire, Elamites are shown supporting the platforms on which the Achaemenid kings are depicted in their tomb reliefs ([Plate 9.11](#)).

ELAMITE RELIGION IN THE ACHAEMENID HEARTLAND

Over the years much has been written on the religion of the early Achaemenids. A full analysis of early Achaemenid religion is not our concern here (see Koch 1977, 1987, 1988a, 1991; Gnoli 1980: 199ff.; Boyce 1982; Boucharlat 1984: 119ff.; Schmitt 1991a; Lecoq 1997: 154ff.; Henkelman 2008a; Skjærvø 2013). Rather, we are concerned with evidence of the survival of Elamite religion in an increasingly diverse environment. M. Boyce argued that ‘the ruthless and appalling destruction of neighbouring Elam by the Assyrians’ may have created conditions in which Zoroastrianism ‘made swift progress among the Persians’ (Boyce 1988: 31). Certainly the Elamite version of

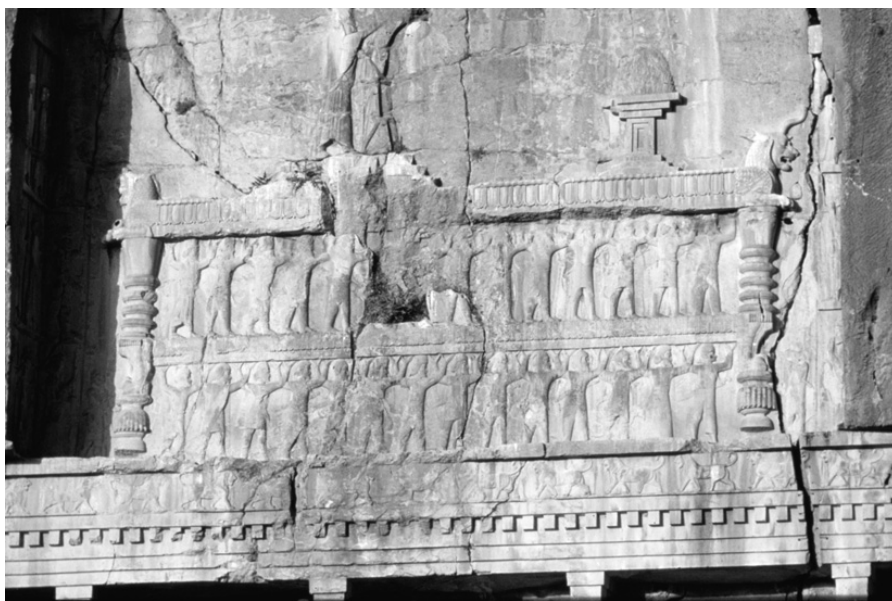


Plate 9.11. Detail of the relief on Grave 5 at Persepolis. An Elamite appears, third from the left, in the upper register of throne bearers (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

Darius' Bisotun inscription describes Ahuramazda as 'the god of the Iranians' (DB §62) while castigating the Elamites as 'felons' who 'do not worship Ahuramazda' (DB §72; see also Stronach 1984: 485; Lecoq 1997: 160).

Such a critical view of Elamites and their religion is not, however, reflected in other sources, particularly those from Persepolis itself (Henkelman 2008a, 2011b, 2012a, 2013c). That Elamite religion was tolerated, even fostered, at least during the reign of Darius, is shown clearly by an examination of the Persepolis fortification texts where four deities of certain Elamite origin and a further four of questionable attribution are attested (Table 9.5; see also Koch 1977, 1991). Indeed, the Elamite deity Humban is mentioned twenty-six times, whereas Ahuramazda appears only ten times (Henkelman 2011b: 96). Elamite deities received ritual offerings (for an exhaustive discussion see Henkelman 2008a; Razmjou 2004), demonstrating that, at Persepolis, 'administrators and scribes did not, and perhaps could not, make a distinction between Elamite and Iranian deities' since 'gods of Iranian and Elamite descent were considered to be native and therefore entitled to state-organized worship' (Henkelman 2011b: 97; contra Koch 1977, 1987, 1988a). Thus, contrary to whatever impression Darius may have wished to convey in his Bisotun inscription, the tolerance of Elamite deities was apparently never under threat in early Achaemenid Iran. Furthermore, it is interesting to see one and the same priest (El. *shatin*) being issued with wine or grain for sacrifices to both Iranian and Elamite deities. Thus, Turkama received wine to be used for Ahuramazda and Humban

TABLE 9.5. *Elamite deities attested in the Persepolis fortification texts*

Deity	Sources (PFT)	Loci	Administration area	Characterization
Humban	PF 339–51, 2029	–	I	chief god of the Elamite pantheon; mainly attested as recipient of wine, barley and flour offerings
		–	II	
		Hibarsh	III	
		Nishama	IV	
		Vanta	V	
		Brdatka	VI	
		Umpura		
		Vrataka		
		Taspak		
		Ibata		
		Palak		
		Zulushuna		
		Hazur		
		Zila– Humban		
Napirisha	PF 353–4, 596	–	I	the ‘great god’; recipient of barley offerings
		–	II	
		–	III	
		Eyana	IV	
		Akrna	VI	
		Mazdagush		
		Raznavatish		
		Hidali		
		Zila– Humban nr. Pitava		
Shimut	PF 338	–		the ‘Elamite god’ of the Middle Elamite era
Nabbazabba	PF 2073	Tigrash	III	otherwise unattested; worshipped together with the Babylonian god Adad
An(?)turza	PF 770	–	–	otherwise unattested; libations made for the god at six shrines (?)

Note: Data derived from Koch 1977, 1993.

(PF 339), while Appirka received wine for Ahuramazda, Mithra and Shimut (PF 338). Undoubtedly there were many more cases like this which we can no longer recognize, for most of the texts dealing with commodities issued for sacrificial and ceremonial purposes simply describe the ultimate purpose as ‘for the gods’ without specifically naming them (e.g. PF 352, 353, 356–78, etc.).

TABLE 9.6. *Elamite personal names with theophoric elements in the Persepolis fortification texts*

Name	Reference	Etymology
*Atameta (?)/Atamaita	DB §71	from Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, ‘a considerate father is Inshushinak’, ‘lord of Susa’
Haldash	PF 362	shortened from Hu(m)ban-haltash (?)
Hupan’ahpi	P seal 77	from Humban, divine name
Hutrara	PF 255, 425, 1018	from Hutran (son of Napirisha and Kiririsha)
Manzana	PF 531, 591–2, 651	from Zana, ‘mistress’
Shati-Dudu	PF 106, 440, 519, 556, 820, 1395, 1811, 1849–50	from Shati, divine name
Shati-Kitin	PF 88, 99, 100, 799, 845, 997, 2028; seal 81	from Shati
Shati-Ku [?]-[. ..]	P seal 98	from Shati
Shati-Shimut	PF 434, 551–2	from Shati and Shimut, divine names
Shati-Tikash	PF 222	from Shati and Tikash, divine names
Ummanana	PF 117–18, 320, 682(?), 685, 1273–5, 1532–3, 1576	from Humban

Note: Follows generally Mayrhofer 1973 with corrections based on Zadok 1984b.

Stronach suggested that Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius were ‘nominal Zoroastrians’ and ‘eminently pragmatic rulers’ who were both aware and tolerant of Mesopotamian religious tradition, as well as mindful of the ‘Elamite legacy’ to which they were heirs (Stronach 1984: 489). In discussing burial practices during the Achaemenid period, Frye suggested that since ‘much, if not most, of the population of Fars was Elamite, it would have been impolitic to ban burials there’ in an effort to enforce Zoroastrian practices relating to the treatment of the corpse (Frye 1984: 176). Further, he likened the ‘horns on the parapet of the southwest walls of Persepolis’ to the Elamite use of horns on shrines (Frye 1984: 175), such as those attested in the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods (see Chapters 7 and 8).

Earlier it was noted that of the roughly 2,000 personal names preserved in the published Persepolis fortification texts, about 10 per cent can be classified as Elamite (a number sure to increase when W. Henkelman publishes the remaining texts and text fragments in Chicago, some of which received preliminary treatment by R.T. Hallock before his death). These too are a potential source of information about Achaemenid Elamite religion, for a number of Achaemenid-period Elamite personal names were theophoric (Table 9.6). Yet we should not underestimate the degree to which Elamites must have

been assimilated into an increasingly Persian cultural milieu during the interval between the last years of the Neo-Elamite period and the reign of Darius. Certainly there are names with Elamite theophoric elements, just as there are sacrifices recorded to Elamite deities. But overall, these appear as minor survivals in an increasingly Persianate world.

One point of tangential interest about religion in Achaemenid Elam is raised by a dedication to Apollo by two Milesians, Aristolochos and Thrason, written in Archaic Greek (CII II/1: no. 1) on an astragalus-shaped bronze weight (93.7 kg) found at Susa (Pézard and Pottier 1926: 107, n. 234; André-Salvini and Descamps-Lequime 2005). The weight, which is dated palaeographically to the early sixth century BC (Oppenheimer 1983: 427; Huyse 1995: 108), was apparently seized at Miletus in 494 BC when Darius sacked the oracular shrine of Apollo at Didyma 16 km south of the city, as reported by Herodotus (VI.19). The piece must have been part of the rich booty which, according to Herodotus, Darius brought back to Susa. As a trophy of war it is certainly a curiosity, but the likelihood that the soldiers who stole it had any idea of the import of its inscription is very slim. Certainly it does not reflect the presence of a cult of Apollo at Susa in the Achaemenid period.

ELAM IN THE TIME OF DARIUS III

Thanks in large measure to information gathered in the wake of the campaign of Alexander the Great, we have details concerning Elam in the reign of the last Achaemenid ruler, Darius III, which are wholly lacking for any of his predecessors. Arrian (III.8.5; III.11.3) names Oxathres, son of Abulites, as the general of a unit of Susians and Uxians at Gaugamela (for full refs. on Abulites and Oxathres, see Berve 1926/II: 5, 291; Shayegan 2007: 97–8). After the battle, when Alexander was on his way to Susa, Oxathres rode out to meet and hand over the city to him, delivering as well a letter from Philoxenos, who had gone on ahead of Alexander to secure the treasury and take possession of the city (Seibert 1985: 97). Abulites later appears as satrap of Elam on the occasion of Alexander's entry into Susa in mid-December of 331 BC, according to both Diodorus (XVII.65.5) and Quintus Curtius (V.2.8). Thus, it is clear that this is the same individual designated as Oxathres' father (Petit 1990: 212). The vast sum of 49,000 (Plutarch, *Alex.* 36.1; Diodorus XVII.66.2) or 50,000 (Arrian III.16.7; Curtius V.2.11–12) talents of silver is reported to have been seized by the Macedonians at Susa, and even if this figure is exaggerated, the purport of the statement is nonetheless clear – Susa and the satrapy of Elam were enormously wealthy.

Alexander received reinforcements at Susa, and upon his departure for Persepolis he left a force of 3,000 men behind under the command of Archelaos and Mazaros, with Abulites remaining as satrap (Spiegel 1971: 524; Hamilton 1987: 470; Seibert 1985: 98). Heading eastwards, he crossed the Pasitigris and entered the territory of the Uxians. Accounts of Alexander's campaign(s) against

the Uxians are preserved in Arrian (III.17), Quintus Curtius (V.3.1–11) and Diodorus Siculus (67.1–4). These have been scrutinized by a number of ancient historians (Lonsdale 2007: 138–9; Atkinson 1994: 69–83; Briant 1982, 1996: 387–8; Bosworth 1980b: 321–4, 1996: 146). Arrian clearly distinguished two groups of Uxians, those of the plain and those of the hills. He writes, ‘The Uxians who inhabited the plains had obeyed the Persian satrap, and now surrendered to Alexander, but the Uxian hillmen, as they were called, were not subject to Persia, and now sent a message to Alexander that they would only permit him to take the route toward Persia with his army if they received what they used to receive from the Persian king on his passage’ (III.17.1).

Briant suggested that the distinction made by Arrian between lowland and highland Uxians should be coupled with the account of Alexander’s campaign against the Uxians recorded by Quintus Curtius (V.3) in which a number of further details appear (Briant 1982). Thus, according to Quintus Curtius, the Uxians were commanded by a *praefectus regionis* called Madites/Medates/Madates, who was a relative by marriage of Darius III (Berve 1926/II: 243; Shayegan 2007: 110). Madates was unwilling to submit to the Macedonian invasion and fought tenaciously from an ‘insignificant and obscure fortress’ located in an area ‘precipitous and encumbered by rocks and crags’ (Curtius V.3.8–9). A difficult battle in rough terrain eventually ended in a Macedonian victory, with the result that ‘Alexander incorporated the subdued race of the Uxii in the satrapy of the Susiani’ (Curtius V.3.16). Afterwards, ‘having divided his forces with Parmenion’, Alexander ‘with a light-armed band took the ridge of the mountains whose back runs without interruption into Persia . . . laid waste all this region, [and] on the third day he entered Persia’ (Curtius V.3.16–17).

Pointing to Arrian’s lowland-highland Uxians, Briant suggested that two campaigns in fact took place, the first against Madates and his lowland Uxians fighting from a fortress which overlooked the Uxian plains, followed by a second campaign against the highland Uxians (Briant 1982, 1996: 747–9). The lowland campaign, he argued, was directed against Madates and recorded by Quintus Curtius and Diodorus, while that against the highlanders was recorded by Arrian. It is not impossible, however, that Arrian’s reference to the obedience of the lowland Uxians in submitting to their Persian satrap is an allusion to those Uxians, situated in eastern Khuzistan, who fell under the jurisdiction of Abulites, while the Uxians who put up resistance seem clearly to be those led by Madates in the highlands, especially as the entire scene of the siege is described in terms reflecting the ruggedness of the terrain around the Uxian fortress. Seibert suggested that Arrian’s reference implies the subordination of the lowland Uxians to the satrap of *Persis* (Seibert 1985: 102; cf. Klinkott 2000: 88, n. 268). This is possible, but it seems more likely, given their location, that the Uxians in question were subject to the *Persian* satrap of Elam/Susiana, who was much closer and had readier access to the area. It is also possible that the references to both highland and lowland Uxians reflect the fact that theirs

was a tribal society comprised of ‘both sedentary farmers and semi-nomadic pastoralists’ (Henkelman 2011c: 8).

Madates was possibly a *hyparch*, or governor, of a subregion below the level of the satrapy (Jacobs 1994: 204; Petit 1990: 212; Tarn 1930: 134). Baron de Bode suggested that the site of Madates’ stronghold was Malamir, for both Quintus Curtius and Arrian make it clear that Alexander and his forces had to penetrate ‘through the defiles’ to get there, and this description precisely suits Malamir, which is in a high plain surrounded by the lower ranges of the Bakhtiyari mountains (de Bode 1843: 108; see also Spiegel 1971: 627). Describing the ‘territory of the Uxii’, where the Choaspes river (by Susa) is said to have had its source, Strabo writes, ‘a kind of mountainous country intrudes between the Susians and Persis; it is rugged and sheer, and has narrow defiles that are hard to pass, and was inhabited by brigands, who would exact payments even from the kings themselves when they passed from Susis into Persis’ (*Geog.* XV.3.4; see also Curtius V.3.3). Topographically speaking, this describes well the mountainous stretch between Malamir and the heartland of Fars, and in this connection it is interesting to note that, according to Diodorus (XIX.21.2), the overland journey from Susa to Persepolis took twenty-four days.

Quintus Curtius notes that, after subduing the Uxians, Alexander incorporated them into the satrapy of the Susiani (V.3.16). As noted earlier, Uxians and Susians constituted a single contingent at Gaugamela, but these Uxians may have been exclusively from the lowland region which was subject to Abulites. With their pacification by Alexander, the remainder of the Uxians were apparently brought into the same administrative structure (although in describing the wars of the successors fifteen years later, Diodorus described the Uxians as ‘unconquered tribesmen’, Diodorus XIX.17.3). Leriche described as ‘absurd’ the notion that the Great King ever paid tribute or protection money to the mountain inhabitants of the Zagros when travelling through the region, suggesting rather that their quasi-independence was granted for the price of supplying elite troops, such as those who fought at Gaugamela (Leriche 1977: 300). Briant, on the other hand, envisaged a regular pattern of gift exchange between the nomadic Uxians of the mountains, of whom Arrian writes that ‘they have neither silver nor arable land, and the majority of them are herders (*nomeis*)’ (III.17.6), and the Great King (Briant 1996: 751).

Scholars have long compared the Greek ethnonym Uxii with *u-va-ja*, the Old Persian word for ‘Elam’ and the equivalent of Akkadian *E-lam-mat* and Elamite *Hal-tam-ti* in the Bisotun inscription (see Nöldeke 1874: 184; Hoffmann 1880: 133; Sykes 1915/I: 56; Bork 1925: 73; more recently Henkelman 2011c: 11, n. 26). O. Szemerényi suggested the derivation of Greek *Ουζιοι* (perhaps an error for *Ουζίοι*, i.e. Uzii, see Frye 1962: 60) from Old Persian *Huzi-ya* (i.e. the inhabitants of Elam) (Szemerényi 1966: 191; for the relationship between these toponyms and ‘Khuzistan’, the modern name of the southwest Iranian province, see Nöldeke 1874: 185–7; Herzfeld 1968:

303–4; Eilers 1982: 27). The relevance of this for our perception of Uxian ethnicity is unclear, but, generally speaking, it is interesting to see a distinction in the late Achaemenid period, at least in the Greek sources, between the inhabitants of Susiana (western Khuzistan) and those of Uxiana (eastern Khuzistan and the adjacent mountains). How one should interpret the possible derivation of Uxii from the name for ‘Elamites’ is a more difficult issue to resolve, particularly since we have no sources on the Uxians before the very end of the Achaemenid era, and no way of linking them with the archaeological assemblages known (e.g. from the Malamir plain or Bakhtiyari mountains). At any rate, here we have yet another ethnic group, distinguished from the Susians by the Alexander historians but apparently unknown to Herodotus or Hecataeus, whose ethnographic knowledge of the region extended only to the Kissians described previously.

Late Babylonian astronomical diaries give some sparse notices concerning Susa between Alexander’s conquest of Iran and his death in Babylon on 13 June 323 BC. Thus, a notice in a diary from month VIII (October/November) of his eighth year according to Babylonian reckoning (i.e. 329 BC) records, ‘That month, I hea[rd that . . .] / the chief of the troops [. . .] from Susa to the land of Ha[nî . . .]’ (Sachs and Hunger 1988: 191, s.v. –324, rev. 26’–27’). Hanî or Hanû has been taken to be a general designation for ‘the regions west of Babylonia’ (Zadok 1985a: 151), but as the astronomical diary in question is specifically dated to the reign of ‘Alexander, the king who is from the land of Hanî’, it is doubtful that the term could have had such a vague connotation. Unfortunately, the text is too fragmentary to gain a sense of what was happening beyond a transfer of troops stationed at Susa.

CONCLUSION

The Achaemenid period presents us with one of the most interesting cases of ethno-genesis and acculturation in Iranian history. The assimilation of Elamites and their interactions with the Persians can be studied on a variety of levels and in a plethora of domains – linguistic, religious and material. From cylinder seal styles and weaponry to deities and bureaucracy, what was once an unambiguous Elamite identity in material and mental culture becomes increasingly shadowy and elusive as we move down in time from the moment when Cyrus came to power to the last days of Darius III. We must look for and analyze these Elamite elements in an increasingly Iranian cultural milieu on a number of operational levels. When this is done, however, it becomes clear that Elamite cultural identity did not simply evaporate in the wake of the Assyrian conquest and the Persian ascent to political supremacy. The fact that Elamite identity is, if anything, even clearer in the subsequent Seleucid and Parthian periods is surely a sign that it was not completely overtaken by the forces of assimilation during the Achaemenid period.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
539–530 BC	Susa comes under Persian rule	establishment of Cyrus the Great’s capital at Pasargadae	Babylonia and Assyria conquered by Cyrus	Elam and Anshan still used in Babylonian works with reference to Cyrus
529–486 BC	suppression of rebellions; construction of palace at Susa by Darius; movement of businessmen and workers between Babylonia and Susa	suppression of rebellions, Darius proclaims sovereignty in words and images at Bisotun; construction of Persepolis; development of Old Persian script; continued use of Elamite for administrative texts; Neo-Elamite III seals still in use	uprisings followed by reconquest in Babylonia; construction of palace at Babylon; relative continuity in Babylonian institutions	‘Elamite’ rebellions cited by Darius; use of Elamite language; frequency of Elamite names in Persepolis texts attests to survival of ethnically Elamite elements in society
485–465 BC	Xerxes’ inscribed column bases at Susa, possibly ‘Shushan the Palace’ of the Book of Esther (Ahasuerus)	major building works at Persepolis	uprisings in Babylonia; reprisals by Xerxes	Elamite weaponry in use by Persians; Elamite deities still worshipped
464–424 BC	Apadana at Susa burned during reign of Artaxerxes I; construction of new palace (Donjon)?	continued building at Persepolis		
423–405 BC	building activity at Susa by Darius II			
404–359 BC	Artaxerxes II restores palace of Darius at Susa and builds new one west of Susa on the Shaur river			
335–331 BC	Darius III defeated at Gaugamela, Susa taken by Alexander the Great in 331 BC; city garrisoned by Macedonians	Alexander subdues highlands en route to Persepolis	region conquered by Alexander, placed under Macedonian rule	Uxii represent remains of Elamite ethnic group in highlands

CHAPTER 10

ELYMAIS

The survival of the Elamites as a distinct ethno-linguistic group is well attested in the period following Alexander the Great's conquest of Western Asia. In Khuzistan we find continued occupation at major sites like Susa in the last centuries BC and first centuries AD, along with the foundation of important new sites like Masjid-i Solaiman, Tang-i Sarvak and Bard-e Nechandeh. Greek and Latin sources from the period speak of Elymais and the Elymaeans, in whom we can recognize without difficulty latter-day Elamites. To a large extent the Elymaeans resisted the imposition of foreign rule by the Seleucid successors of Alexander the Great. The geography of Elymaean territory was described by Strabo, and campaigns against the region were launched by several Seleucids, notably Antiochus III and IV.

With the demise of the Seleucid empire in the east, the major state in Iran was that of the Parthian Arsacids. Originating in what is today the Khorassan province of northeastern Iran and adjacent portions of Turkmenistan, the Parthians appeared on the historical scene late in the third century BC when their first king, Arsaces I (c. 238–211 BC), began minting coins in his capital Nisa, near modern Ashgabat in Turkmenistan. By about 140 BC, the Arsacid king Mithridates I had probably taken possession of Susa and was threatening Babylonia. Yet, for all its ability to contest Rome on the battlefield, the Arsacid 'empire' was perhaps never more than a very loosely knit agglomeration of provinces in which local rulers exercised considerable autonomy. Certainly the fact that coins were minted by a series of Elymaean kings beginning with Kamniskires I Megas Soter, in the 140s BC, is a clear indication of the independence of the Elymaean rulers, and although the sequence and chronology of Elymaean coinage remains, in many respects, contested (Bell 2002; Assar 2004–5; van't Haaff 2007; Hoover 2008), the credibility of Elymais as a political force is corroborated by contemporary Babylonian astronomical texts which mention attacks by Elamite troops (Sachs and Hunger 1996; Potts 2002a; Assar 2004–5).



Plate 10.1. Gold stater of Alexander the Great, minted at Babylon (8.525 g, 18 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

Elymaean archaeology is best approached not at an urban centre like Susa, which shows strong Greek and later Parthian influence, but at the sites of major Elymaean rock reliefs, like Hung-i Nauruzi (also known as Hung-i Azhdar), Tang-i Sarvak and others in the mountains north of Izeh, or at the shrines of Bard-e Nechandeh and Masjid-i Solaiman (see in general Kawami 2013).

INTRODUCTION

The voyage of Nearchus, described in detail by Arrian and other ancient authors, ended with the arrival of the Greek admiral and his fleet at Susa (Bosworth 1987), where the long-awaited rendezvous with Alexander (Plate 10.1) and his army was finally achieved (for the route along the Iranian coast, see Tomaschek 1890; Berthelot 1935). The Achaemenid empire was no more; Alexander's campaigns had come to an end, and Macedonian domination, however nominal it may have been, was a reality across much of Western, Central and South Asia, 'a sprawling offcut from the carcass of Alexander the Great's conquests' (Kosmin 2014: 3). Alexander's conferral in marriage of the daughter of his Persian mistress Barsine (Berve 1926/II: 102–4) on Nearchus (Arrian, *Anab.* VII.4.6) has sometimes been seen as symptomatic of the 'fusion' planned by the conqueror between Hellenic and Oriental societies (Badian 1975: 167). Eighty of the highest-ranking Macedonians followed suit, marrying Persians of equal rank (Hamilton 1987: 467). In the classical tradition, Susa thus became the scene of what was perceived by some as a major transformation in Western Asiatic history, whether or not that perception was correct. How did the descendants of the ancient Elamite and Susian populations (Figure 10.1) fare in the wake of these momentous events?

ELYMAIS AND THE SELEUCID SUCCESSORS

Alexander's death was followed by the wars between the generals who survived him, known as the Diadochoi (for a convenient overview see Waterfield 2011). Much of the conflict between two of the protagonists of this period, Eumenes of Cardia and Antigonus the One-Eyed (see generally Wehrli 1968; Briant 1973; Will 1979: 52–3; Billows 1990; Olbrycht 2013: 164–70), took place in Susiana and Media in 316 BC. Eumenes was eventually defeated (near Gabiane) and killed a year later by his own troops (von Gutschmid 1888: 17). According to Diodorus, after arriving at Susa Antigonus 'appointed Seleucus satrap of that country, gave him troops, and ordered him to lay siege to the citadel, since the treasurer, Xenophilus, refused to accept his orders' (XIX.18.1), and we know that at least some of the Alexander-type coins minted at Susa were struck by Antigonus in the years 318–316 BC (Bellinger 1950–1: 45) and shortly thereafter by Aspeidas, the satrap whom Antigonus appointed in Susiana (Robinson 1921; Kritt 1997: 48). As noted in Chapter 9, Antigonus halted at Badakê (Diodorus XIX.19.1), identified by some scholars with Elamite Madaktu and modern Tepe Patak (Potts 1999a). He is said to have received contributions to his war chest of 5,000 talents of silver each from Susiana and Media (Diodorus XIX.48.8). In 301 BC, however, Antigonus lost his struggle for power with Seleucus (321–280 BC) at the battle of Ipsos, and thereafter Seleucus' control over Susiana and Media was secure. From these beginnings sprang the empire of Seleucus and his successors.

Beginning around 300 BC Seleucus began minting coins at Susa (Plates 10.2 to 10.4) and at Persepolis or Pasargadae (Newell 1938: 154–61; Jenkins 1978: 198; Houghton 1980; Kritt 1997; Hoover 2002; Iossif 2004). While very few coins from the Susa mint are extant, more are known from Fars, and it has been suggested that the mint there (whether at Persepolis or Pasargadae is uncertain)



Plate 10.2. Silver tetradrachm (16.74 g) of Seleucus I's trophy type minted at Susa (photo: Dr. Brian Kritt).



Plate 10.3. Bronze of Seleucus I minted at Susa with obverse head of Alexander wearing elephant-skin headgear and a reverse vertical anchor and legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (photo: Dr. Brian Kritt).



Plate 10.4. Silver hemidrachm of Seleucus I minted at Susa (1.69 g, 12.5 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

remained in operation until the end of Seleucus' reign in 280 BC. Thereafter no Seleucid emissions are known from Fars, and this has been taken as one indication of the loss of Seleucid political control over Persis (Callieri 2007; Callieri and Askari Chaverdi 2013) and the beginnings of autonomous rule there by the so-called *frataraka* dynasty (Will 1979: 280; see also Koch 1988b; Wiesehöfer 1994: 115–17 with lit.; Klose and Müseler 2008; Curtis 2010; Shayegan 2011: Tab. 3; Wiesehöfer 2013; Engels 2013). The loss of Seleucid control in Persis cannot have been complete, however, or else it was later



Plate 10.5. Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus III, minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (14.09 g, 27.5 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

reversed, for during the reign of Antiochus III (223–187 BC; [Plate 10.5](#)) we know from Polybius that Alexander, brother of Molon, the satrap of Media, was satrap in Persis (Newell [1938](#): 161; Koch [1988b](#): 92; Pédech [1958](#); Engels [2013](#): 35). Indeed, Wiesehöfer has argued that Persis did not free itself from Seleucid domination until after the reign of Antiochus IV (175–164 BC) (Wiesehöfer [1994](#): 122ff., [1996](#): 36, [2013](#); for alternative views on the chronology, see Klose and Müseler [2008](#); Engels [2013](#)).

Seleucus and his son Antiochus I (280–261 BC) are credited with the founding or re-founding of a large, if indeterminate, number of cities in Asia. Of those which can be located somewhere in southwestern Iran, we can name Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios (ancient Susa, see Le Rider [1965a](#); Fraser [1996](#): 33; for the identification of the Eulaios, see Potts [1999b](#); older lit. in Weissbach [1909a](#)); Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon (probably the ancient Jarrahi, see e.g. Rawlinson [1839](#): 85; Layard [1846](#): 91; Tomaschek [1890](#): 73; Modi [1889](#): 15; Hansman [1978](#); Fraser [1996](#): 32; Walstra, Heyvaert and Verkinderen [2010](#): 277) in eastern Susiana; Antiochia-in-Persis (near modern Bushehr?) (Potts [1990b/II](#): 16; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt [1993](#): 162ff.; Fraser [1996](#): 31, n. 68; Kosmin [2014](#): 233–5); and Laodicea-in-Persis, near the ‘edge’ of Persis (‘*extremis finibus*’, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* VI. 26.115; Tscherikower [1927](#): 168; Wiesehöfer [1994](#): 61). Although Seleucus inherited twenty-one Asian satrapies, he subdivided these, creating out of them no fewer than seventy-two.

As we learn from the account of the revolt of Molon, satrap of Media, sometime prior to the accession of Antiochus III in 223 BC (Pédech [1958](#)), southernmost Babylonia (the former ‘Sealand’) and Susiana had been joined administratively to form the ‘satrapy of the Erythraean Sea’ (Schmitt [1964](#): 34; Bengtson [1964/II](#): 37; Le Rider [1965b](#): 36–7). We do not know whether this occurred as early as the reign of Antiochus II (261–246 BC), but with his death



Plate 10.6. Copper of Molon minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (8.31 g, 22.5 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

and the accession of his son Seleucus II (246–226 BC), the Ptolemaic king Ptolemy III (246–221 BC) seized the opportunity to conquer much of the Seleucid empire (Third Syrian War, 246–245 BC), including important areas of Syria and Asia Minor, although the likelihood that this included ‘Babylonia, Susiana, Persis, Media and all the rest [of the Seleucid realm] as far as Bactria’, as the Adulis inscription, copied in the sixth century AD by Cosmas Indicopleustes, claims, is unlikely (Will 1979: 251). This interruption of Seleucid rule brought about revolt in the Upper Satrapies which lasted many years.

As soon as he came to power, Antiochus III was forced at once to deal with the revolt of Molon, satrap of Media (Plate 10.6), and his brother Alexander, satrap of Persis. Before long, Susiana, with the exception of Susa itself (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 189), had fallen to Molon, as well as most of Mesopotamia as far west as Dura Europus on the Euphrates. After finally suppressing Molon, Antiochus in 222 BC installed one Apollodoros as *strategos* of Susiana (Polybius V.54.12). Let us briefly examine the archaeological context of Seleucid rule in southwestern Iran.

SOUTHWESTERN IRAN IN THE SELEUCID PERIOD

A global understanding of settlement in the third and second centuries BC is hampered by the fact that the one major survey devoted to sites of this time period (Wenke 1976; 1981) unknowingly mistook Achaemenid ceramic forms for Seleucid-era types and mixed Seleucid and Parthian forms when attempting to chart Arsacid occupation (de Miroschedji 1987: 43, n. 85; Boucharlat 1993: 41, n. 1). Thus, to speak of occupation in the ‘Seleuco-Parthian’ period, c. 325 BC to AD 25, may be an archaeological necessity because of continuity in ceramic forms and decorative styles throughout this period, and the inability to

distinguish Seleucid from Parthian variants due to a paucity of research, but it does not contribute much to our understanding of land-use and settlement patterns in the region in a time which saw some profound political changes.

Fortunately several ancient authors give us some precise indications of land-use patterns in the Alexandrian or early Seleucid period. Speaking of Alexander's preference for Babylon over Susa, Strabo (XV.3.9–11) noted, 'Although Susis is fertile, it has a hot and scorching atmosphere, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the city [Susa]', but he went on to say that 'Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that both barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes even two hundred', and further that 'the vine did not grow there until the Macedonians planted it'. While Strabo's description of the climate of Khuzistan will not surprise anyone who has visited the region, his account of the phenomenal yields achieved for wheat and barley crops strains all credulity. Without going into the enormous problems raised by the calculation of yields in ancient sources (Butz and Schroeder 1985; Potts 1997a: 80–2 with lit.), suffice it to say that 100- and 200-fold yields far outstrip modern yields, and returns even remotely approaching these could have been achieved only through the use of the seeding plough.

Strabo's reference to the introduction of the grape by the Macedonians is unlikely to be reliable, particularly since we know that grapes were cultivated and wine was manufactured in neighbouring southern Mesopotamia and on the Iranian plateau (e.g. at Hajji Firuz, Godin Tepe) from an early date (Potts 1997a: 69–70, 148–50; Tengberg 2012: 186). Moreover, there are at least two additional cultivars attested in Susiana by the late fourth century BC which seem to have escaped Strabo's notice. According to Diodorus Siculus (XIX.13.6), when Eumenes and his troops were in Susiana *c.* 318/7 BC 'marching through the country ... he was completely without grain, but he distributed to his soldiers rice, sesame, and dates, since the land produced such fruits as these in plenty'. Elsewhere Strabo also confirms that rice was grown in Susis (XV.1.18), but it is difficult to know whether this information derives from the earlier period of Alexander and Eumenes or his own era, the first century BC (Potts 1991).

Although there are numerous unexcavated sites in Khuzistan which were occupied during the Seleucid period, for example, KS-15, KS-204 (Tepe Gallegah) and KS-316 (de Miroschedji 1987: 43), there are only two sites from which we have any appreciable quantity of excavated material: Susa and Masjid-i Solaiman.

SUSA

As we have seen, Susa figures prominently in accounts of Alexander's conquests, beginning with the Macedonian's ceremonial occupation of Darius III's throne there during his first visit to the city (Bosworth 1980a: 5), and it



Figure 10.2. Column base with Greek inscription from Susa (after Loftus 1857b: 403).

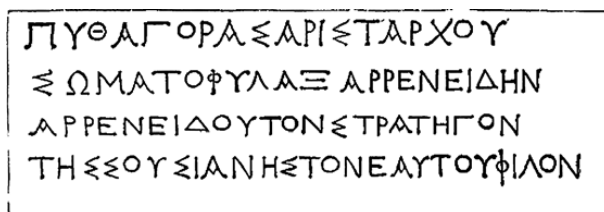


Figure 10.3. Detail of the inscription on the column base found by Loftus (after Loftus 1857b: 403).

continues to appear in accounts of the Diadochoi and Seleucid rulers, right through to the end of the reign of Demetrius II (146–140 BC). Pottery and other finds of Seleucid date have been found since the beginning of excavations at Susa in the mid-nineteenth century when Loftus unearthed the first two Greek inscriptions known from the site (Figures 10.2 and 10.3) on the Apadana mound (Loftus 1857b: 403; Curtis 1993: 11, Pl. 7b; see also Table 10.1.6; for the complete corpus from Iran, see Canali di Rossi 2004; Rougemont 2012a, 2012b, 2013). Sporadic finds of Seleucid date were also made by M. Dieulafoy (Apadana, Ville Royale), J. de Morgan (Acropole, Apadana, Ville Royale) and R. de Mecquenem (Ville Royale, Donjon, Apadana, Ville des Artisans), but it was not until R. Ghirshman's excavations in 1947 that the first architectural remains and stratified finds of this date were found (Ghirshman 1947a: 446ff.; Boucharlat 1993: 43; Martinez-Sève 2002, 2010). Excavations in Ville Royale A VII revealed 'large, well-built houses (about 20 m long) with inner courtyards, sometimes decorated, having a bathroom and containing numerous artefacts including terracotta figurines and fragments of Greek architectural decoration' (Boucharlat 1993: 44; Martinez-Sève 2002, 2010).

Subsequent excavations by P. de Miroschedji in Ville Royale II (levels 3E/D) and R. Boucharlat in the Apadana East/Ville Royale (level 5e) yielded Hellenistic ceramics (e.g. fish-plates, bowls with inverted rim, carinated bowls, eggshell ware; Boucharlat 1993; Haerinck 1983: 19–37; for Greek black-glazed pottery from Susa, see Clairmont 1957: 124–30; for stamped Rhodian and Thasian amphora handles from the site, see Ghirshman 1967a: 407–8; Börker 1974: 44; Monsieur, Boucharlat and Haerinck 2011) and coins (Le Rider 1965a), but little architecture or stratigraphy (de Miroschedji 1987: 35–43). Important evidence for the re-occupation of the Achaemenid palaces of Darius and Artaxerxes II by squatters in the early Diadochoi phase (i.e. prior to the Seleucid era proper) was also recovered by J. Perrot's team on the Apadana (Boucharlat 1990b, 1993: 45). Industrial areas with ceramic kilns have been located in the eastern Ville Royale and in the Ville des Artisans, while shaft graves dug into the Achaemenid retaining wall were found in the eastern and southern slopes of the Ville Royale and western slope of the Ville des Artisans (Boucharlat 1993: 44; Boucharlat and Haerinck 2011).

Some fifty Greek inscriptions have been recovered at Susa (Rougemont 2012a), perhaps nine of which date to the period of the Diadochoi and the Seleucids, the rest belonging to the Arsacid era (Table 10.1). These provide an important window on the political, social and juridical status of the Greek settlement there (for the use of the Greek language in Iran more generally, see Huyse 1996; Rougemont 2013). Where a particular Greek title, office or institution is referred to only in an inscription of Arsacid date, it is probably safe to assume that this represents the perpetuation of a feature which originated in the Seleucid era. One text from the late third century BC (Table 10.1.4), referring to a soldiers' association, strongly suggests that Susa was settled as a typical Seleucid military colony by soldiers who either were organized into an association while still on active duty or formed an organization soon after they established themselves at the site (Cohen 1978: 76). A dedication from AD 1/2 by the guardians (*phrouroi*) of the citadel (*akra*) honours the Arsacid administrator who had made improvements to the irrigation system which greatly enhanced the fertility of the guardians' land allotments (*kleroi*). Cohen suggested that 'most likely these guardians of the citadel were descended from the original colonists or garrison soldiers who were settled in the *akra*' (Cohen 1978: 23). Land grants (*kleroi*) were typically given to new settlers, both military and civilian, but here it seems clear that the guardians had a military status. These indications, however sparse, strongly suggest that Susa was originally settled with retired soldiers who were given land around the city, if not in the lifetime of Alexander then early in the Seleucid era.

On the other hand, the city may well have evolved from a military colony to a city-state (*polis*) by the end of the third or beginning of the second century BC. In describing the process whereby Bethesda was elevated from a village to a *polis* by Philip the Tetrarch (died AD 34), Josephus says that he introduced

TABLE 10.1. *Greek inscriptions from Susa published in CII II/1 (texts 12 and 13 are treated in main text)*

CII II/1	Original	Date	Translation
3	Cumont 1932a: 238–59	AD 21	It was received during the two hundred and sixty-eighth year, as the King reckons, and as formerly (reckoned), the [three hundred and thirty-third year]. King of kings Arsaces, to Antiochus and Phraates, being the two archons in Susa, and to the city – greetings. [Whereas Hestiaios, son of Asios, one of] your citizens, and one of the First and Preferred Friends, and one of the Bodyguards, having held the office of Treasurer in, [according to the former] reckoning, the three hundred and twenty-ninth year, conducted himself in this office in the best and most just manner and with all scrupulousness, having held back [no expense] on his own account towards outlay on behalf of the city; and (whereas) twice, when the city during his term of office [had need of an envoy, he went out] himself, placing at nought attention to his private interests and considering the city's interests of greater consequence, and, sparing neither resources nor trouble, he gave [himself up unreservedly] to both embassies, and, having pursued what was of benefit to his native city, he received appropriate honours, as indeed the decree [concerning him] in the three hundred and thirtieth year bears witness; and (whereas) in the three hundred and thirty-first year, when there was need of a good man (honest man?), [he was again proposed] for the same office for the three hundred and thirty-second year, and after a full examination – Petasos, son of Antiochus, having been chosen archon with [Aristomenes], son of Philip – he came forward and pleaded that he was barred according to established practice from holding the same office twice, unless a period of three years intervened; and (whereas) the city, [as it had formerly experienced] his good character and remembered the administration of the aforementioned office, decided to choose him to hold the office, upon which he was chosen for the three hundred and thirty-[second] year, in the archonship of Petasos, son of Antiochus, and Aristomenes, son of Philip; therefore since [they unjustly charge] Hestiaios on the above grounds, we decide that his election is valid and that he is not to be ejected from office (or 'that he is not to be prosecuted?') on the grounds that he has held the same office (twice) without a period of three years intervening, nor on the grounds of any

TABLE IO.I. (*continued*)

CII II/I	Original	Date	Translation
			other royal order whatsoever [which might be presented] concerning these matters, and that in general, setting aside any interdiction or investigation, it is necessary to discharge the [summons?] expressly mentioned, of this (investigation?) or any other (??). (Below in smaller letters:) (On the left:) This statue of Hestiaios was set up by Asios, son of Demetrius, the 'Eisagogeus', the father of Hestiaios, in the 337th year according to the former reckoning. (On the right:) Leonides, son of Artemon, citizen of Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios, inscribed the stele.
14	Cumont 1928: 81–4	177/6 BC	In the reign of Seleucus, in the year 136, in the month [<i>name and day</i>], and in Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios [<i>day</i>] of the month L[ôios], in the time of Ammonios (eponymous magistrate?); [it was decided by the assembly] following the resolution of the secretary Demetrios and [the councillors]: [whereas <i>name</i>] of Attalos [the chief-priestess of Laodice] [wife] of Seleucus [the king], and of Laodice [the elder] the mother [of Seleucus, and] of Laodice the [younger the daughter of Seleucus ...]
10	Cumont 1933: 264–8	150–100 BC	— 1 ... — 1 — Nikolaos, son of Ma[cedon(?), winner in the games and] wreath-wearer and one of [the First Friends and of the Body]guards [— —] and upon [becoming] gymnasiarch he [lavishly furnished] the stadium for the city; [so that thus] a fine memorial [would exist for all time of the service] rendered [to the city —] ... — II — — —
7	Cumont 1932b: 272–4	late third century BC	Leon and the commanders and soldiers under him, to Arete, daughter of Timon, who is in charge of the king's Court, and of Atheno.
8	Cumont 1931: 234–8	third century BC?	[— — <i>name</i>], son of Nikandros, the commander (<i>or poss.</i> governor/chief-magistrate), and in charge of processions (<i>or poss.</i> revenues).
9	Cumont 1931: 234–8	first century BC	Those of the middle Service-Group, to Lysimachus, son of Apollophanos, one of the Bodyguards, to him from amongst the others on account of his good service. In the year [2]14. Diophantos inscribed the stele.
29	Haussoullier 1902: 159	?	— — of those amongst the F[irst and Preferred Friends — —]
1	Pézard and Pottier 1926: 107	sixth century BC	These statues (<i>or</i> votive offerings) Aristolochus and Thrason dedicated to Apollo out of booty as a tenth-part; Isikles, son of Kudimandros, cast them.
4	Cumont 1928: 80	late third century BC	To Ma, Apollodoros, son of Krateros.

TABLE 10.1. (*continued*)

CII II/I	Original	Date	Translation
5	Cumont 1932b: 274–7	third century BC	To Chaireas, son of Eumenes, I was entirely helpful, appearing in this guise, saviour of Antigona, his wife, and Cleio, his child, and by this image giving thanks in return, the sculptor himself, in Greek lyrics, celebrates me, Phoebus, the archer-renowned.
33	Cumont 1928: 89–96	first century AD	[Dedicated] to Ap[ollo, by Herodorus, son of Artemon, of Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios: he was victor in – –] Already ... and and you, god, ... [... all] shining, Hyperion, and you hang decorated branches before the doors on houses O [...] and of [fertile] Nanaya; And [they shudder] beneath calamities ... for you to help [I know(?); your] impetuous strength moves the heaven in its circle, You, [over both the earth] prolific and the place [below], [shed your light, nowhere your] bound and limit exceeding, [...] ... you separate(?) [...] ... [...] ... [...] ... [...] ... [...] ... [...] [...] you provide ... [...] of your store-house(?) [... a quantity] uncountable of sand [...] ... new you draw off, And from the impassable mountain you divide the floating depths, And you rain abundantly upon the pious a prosperity flowing with gold, And you stroke wild beasts in their lairs, immortal one, you soothe (them), And instantly you (soothe?) leopards in cultivated glens, And you cover with cleverness the most-unlearned who hymn you, You do not dispense to the wise a fair-flowing (prosperous?) wealth which may be removed;

TABLE 10.1. (*continued*)

CII II/I	Original	Date	Translation
			Therefore, nations and cities hallow the sun (<i>lit.</i> eye <i>sc.</i> of heaven), Worshipped under many names, since you alone are the object of reverence of all; Yes, divine Mara, everywhere [-----] All-seeing, highest of [the gods -----]
17	Cumont 1928: 84–8	second cen- tury BC	In the reign of [Antiochus, in the year one hundred and <i>year</i> , in the month] Audnaios the 20th (day), in S[eleucia-by-the-Eulaios], Bacchios, [son of <i>name</i> , declaring] himself to be in [the e.g. horse-squadron] of Euandros, has dedicated to the goddess [Nanaya], for the preservation of Ant[iochus the king] and of Laodice the [wife of the king], his young female slave Mikra, at 30 years (of age), [and let it not be permitted to Bac]chios nor [to any other on his behalf] to ens- [lave her in any way nor] by any pretence; [but if] they should do [any of these things], let the claim [and the seizure] and the enslavement [be invalid] and let [Bacchios] or the person doing any of these things pay besides [to the goddess] 3000 [drachmas of silver]. Witnesses: [<i>name</i> son of <i>name</i>] secretary of the public archive; and civilians, Artemidorus, son of Lysanios, [<i>name</i> son of <i>name</i>], Heraios son of Isidorus, [<i>name</i> son of <i>name</i>], Attalos [son of <i>name</i> . . .]
24	Cumont 1928: 88–9	?	– – 3000 drach(mas) of silver.
13	Cumont 1931: 279–85	183 BC	In the reign of Seleucus, in the year 130, in the month Daisios, in Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios, Kalliphon, son of Diodorus, declaring himself to be in the cavalry under Alexandros, dedicated to Apollo and Artemis ‘Daittais’, for the preservation of Seleucus the king and Laodice the queen – –
20	Cumont 1931: 285–8	209–193 BC?	[In the reign of A]ntiochus and Antiochus, [in the year] two hundred and [<i>number</i>], [in the month <i>name</i> , on the twenty-[first?] (day), [in Seleucia-by the-Eula]ios, [<i>name</i> , son of <i>name</i> , dedicated to Lady Artemis?] Nanaya, [for the preservation of An]tiochus [the king and Antiochus the younger the king – –]
22	Cumont 1931: 290	second cen- tury BC	[– – for Antiochus’ (or Seleucus?) the king and] Laodice’s – – Archias, son of Aristomenos and having dedicated – – according to the contr[act – –] on . . . – –
19	Cumont 1931: 291	second cen- tury BC	[– – in the year – – nine]ty, [in the month] Dystros the 5th (day), [in Seleucia-by-the-Eu]laios – –
21			

TABLE 10.1. (continued)

CII II/I	Original	Date	Translation
	Cumont 1931: 289–90	second/third century BC?	[– Witnesses:] Antimachos [son of <i>name</i>], Drakas son of Mega[reus?. And] civilians: Diodorus, son of Diogenes, Apollonios, son of Agathocles.
15	Cumont 1932b: 278–9	142/1 BC	In the year 171, in the month – – Straton, son of Simias, dedicated to the goddess Nanaya Kan . . . , his young female slave, at 30 years (of age), for the preservation of the king and the queen, and let it not be permitted to Straton nor to any other on his behalf in any way whatsoever to lay claim to the above-mentioned slave nor to sell? (her). If he does any of these things, let it be invalid and let him pay besides to the temple of Nanaya 3000 drachmas of silver.
26	Cumont 1932b: 281–2	second cen- tury BC	[– let it not] be permitted to Diom[edes? nor to any other] to lay claim [to the above-mentioned] slaves [nor] to effect [any seizure of them] nor [– –] to them anything [in any way whatsoever – –]
23	Cumont 1932b: 284–6	second cen- tury BC	– – [– – – – in Seleu]cia-[by-the-Eulaios] having proclaimed it, [<i>name</i> , son of Oly]mpios [– – for the] preservation of Antiochus the king and [Laodice the q]ueen – –, having prayed, [dedicated} to the goddess Nanaya [– – S]korpion his slave.
16	Cumont 1932b: 279–81	131 BC	In the year [116, as the] king reckons, as formerly 181, in the month Xandikos, Apollonides, son of Philip, dedicated Baccheiades, his young female slave, at the age of thirty, and let it not be permitted to anyone to lay claim to the afore-mentioned slave nor to enslave her. If any of these things should happen, let it be invalid and let the person who had done it pay besides 3000 drachmas of silver.
18	Cumont 1933: 261–3	200–150 BC	[– – and let it not be permitted] to Beltibanatis nor to [her husband nor] to any other on behalf on her [to lay claim] to Sozaia, the afore-men[tioned, nor] to effect the seizure of her, [nor to enslave] her in any way or by any [pretext]; if any of these things [should happen, let the] claim and the seizure [and the slavery] be invalid and let Beltibanatis, or [the peson who has done any of these things] on her behalf, [pay besides 3000 drachmas of silver].
2	Cumont 1928: 79–80	fourth cen- tury BC	Nikokles, son of Nikoles, of Sinope.
34	Cumont 1928: 97	?	– – – – from them 1, – – . . . 1, – – . . . from them 1, [– – (he) ex]amines 2 of ours, [– – from] them 1.

TABLE 10.1. (continued)

CII II/1	Original	Date	Translation
37	Cumont 1928: 97–8	?	— of John — of the service group — to Abinna
38	Cumont 1931: 291/2	?	[—] Apollonios, in charge [of the first?] service group.
39	Cumont 1932b: 286	?	— Asclepiadorus, son of Artemon, of the service-group.
35	Cumont 1930: 209	?	— of Demetrios, Timé, daughter of Dinarios.

new settlers, rebuilt the town’s fortifications, and changed its name (*Jewish Antiquities* 18.28). As Cohen noted, ‘the adoption of a dynastic name was a right associated with the transformation of a colony into a *polis*’ (Cohen 1978: 84). Applying this criterion, we are probably safe in assuming that, when it was renamed Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios, Susa was also elevated in status from military colony to *polis*. The fact that we have no literary references to the new name until the reign of Antiochus III (Tarn 1938: 27; Boucharlat 1985: 75; Tarn and Vickers 1996: 1458) is perhaps fortuitous. Just when the change of name occurred is unknown. Was it under Seleucus I (321–280 BC) or his son Antiochus I (280–261 BC), who may have named it after his father (Tscherikower 1927: 168, 175)? Or during the reign of Seleucus II (246–226 BC)? Could it have even occurred early in the reign of Antiochus III (222–187 BC) (Martinez-Sève 2010: 58; 2012: 376)? It was perhaps in association with the new status of the city that a gymnasium and stadium were erected at the site, archaeologically unattested but implied by a text from the early first century BC (Table 10.1.3) honouring one Nikolaos, victor in the sacred games held at Susa (Cohen 1978: 36), which mentions the gymnasiarch and stadium (Oppenheimer 1983: 427). Similarly, a letter sent to the residents of Susa in AD 21 (Table 10.1.1) by the Arsacid king Artabanus III (Cumont 1932a; Bengtson 1964/II: 297 with earlier bibl.; Zambelli 1963; Merkelbach 2002) shows that the city ‘still had many of the governmental accoutrements of a Greek *polis*, including the election of officials by the citizen body and a *boule* which proposed candidates and held a *dokimasia* [examination of candidates by outgoing officials]. There were also two eponymous archons [magistrates] and a treasurer’ (Cohen 1978: 2). An administrative building or public archive (*chreophylakion*) is also mentioned in one text (Table 10.1.15). A fragmentary decree honouring an unnamed benefactor, which mentions a Macedonian council of elders (*peligones*; for the term see Shayegan 2011: 86), recovered at the Sasanian site Ivan-e Kerkha, c. 17 km northwest of Susa, is thought to have been brought there, perhaps as building material, from Susa itself (Gatier 2013:

207). In this case it, too, is an important witness to the vibrance of Greek civil institutions at Seleucia-by-the-Eulaios.

The Susa inscriptions are also an important source of information on religion in the Seleucid era. Four texts (Table 10.1.14, 18, 22, 24) mention Nanaya (cf. Ambos 2003), while a fifth, to ‘the goddess’ (Table 10.1.15), probably applies to her as well. Mikhail Rostovtzeff emphasized the role of ‘the famous temple of Nanaya . . . a large and handsome building, which certainly was not neglected either by the kings or by their local representatives. Among the stones of the temple, which were used later by the Sasanians for the construction of their palace, were found scores of Greek inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods, among them several manumissions, which show that at this time the temple was the chief centre of the city, the place where important documents were published, statues erected, and so on’ (Rostovtzeff 1941/I: 428, 436–7). Ma, the warlike Cappadocian goddess who was thought to confer victory on her followers, is named in a dedication on behalf of one Apollodoros, son of Krateros, that had been cut into a circular limestone statue base found on the Apadana (Table 10.1.10). Cumont believed that this was the same individual whom Polybius (V.54.12) says Antiochus III installed as *strategos* of Susiana around 222 BC, but the text in question refers to one Apollophanos, not Apollodoros (Table 10.1.6).

Turning to the subject of slavery, although the role of slavery in Seleucid Iran has sometimes been downplayed (Wolski 1983: 149, 1993: 104), there are no fewer than five Greek texts from Susa which concern slaves. The original publications of these texts (Haussoullier 1902; Cumont 1928, 1930, 1931, 1932a, 1932b, 1933) led to considerable debate about alleged differences between Oriental and Greek law governing the manumission of slaves (e.g. Koschaker 1931), but Louis Robert showed convincingly that much of the discussion was due to questionable restorations of certain key passages in the texts. The manumission texts in question are almost always accompanied by dedications of the freed slaves, who are both male (Table 10.1.24) and female (Table 10.1.15, 17, 22, 25), by their owners to the goddess Nanaya. In fact, manumission via consecration to the chief divinity of a city was perfectly normal in ancient Greece (Robert 1936: 144, 147), and nothing suggests that the procedures followed at Susa were anything other than standard Greek ones. Indeed, most of the manumitters at Susa, as well as the witnesses, bore Greek names (one female witness, Beltibanatis, has a Babylonian name; cf. Rougemont 2014: 13). Whether or not these manumissions entailed service for a specified period of time in the temple of Nanaya we cannot tell, but the suggestion that several of these slaves were young girls who were dedicated to Nanaya for a period of thirty years was disproven by Robert, who showed that, on the contrary, the slaves were *thirty years old* at the time of their manumission. At any rate, whether their freedom was conditional or unconditional, it was quite normal that ‘the god acted as a guarantor of the former slave’s new status’ in all such cases (Potter 1996: 705).

The worship of Nanaya at Susa has never been properly explained. Although von Gall considered a text from Nisa in Turkmenistan dating to 190 BC to be the earliest evidence for the worship of Nanaya (von Gall 1986b: 410), the goddess is in fact attested in Mesopotamia as early as the reign of Shulgi during the Ur III period (Westenholz 1997: 82; Potts 2001). Nevertheless, the inscribed bricks from Susa which originally belonged to temples built or rebuilt by Elamite kings give no indication that Nanaya was worshipped there prior to the Seleucid era. On the other hand, as we saw in Chapter 8, Assurbanipal says that he repatriated a statue of Nanaya to the Eanna temple at Uruk which had been taken to Susa 1,635 years earlier, and in the reign of Sennacherib an apparently different statue of Nanaya was taken by Elamite forces and subsequently restored to Assyria (Westenholz 1997: 74; Potts 2001: 28–31; Ambos 2003: 248). These incidents, if true, provide a concrete context for the introduction of the worship of Nanaya to Susa long before the Seleucid period. In this regard, it is also intriguing that the eighth/ninth-century Eastern Christian scholar Theodore Bar Koni wrote in his *Book of the Scholion* that the Huzians (i.e. inhabitants of Khuzistan) venerated the goddess Nani (Hespel 1983: VI.3A.20; Potts 2001: 31).

And what of the much older shrines to Inshushinak and other native deities at Susa? Did they survive the Achaemenid and Macedonian conquest? It is of course difficult to say in the absence of any epigraphic evidence, but one unexpected insight is offered by a recension of the Akkadian ritual text describing bread-making at the Anu temple in Uruk which was discussed in Chapter 8. As noted earlier, the colophon of this text tells us that a priest from Uruk ‘looked at these tablets in the land of Elam, copied them in the reign of the kings Seleucus and Antiochus, and brought (his copies) back to the city of Uruk’ (Pritchard 1969: 345). Furthermore, the colophon adds that the text was one of a number of ‘tablets which Nabopolassar, king of the Sealand, carried off as plunder from the city of Uruk’. The text says the tablets were copied in the land of Elam, and it is unlikely that their place of storage can have been other than a temple at Susa. While saying nothing directly about religious practice at Susa in the Seleucid period, the circumstances of the tablets’ provenience suggest the possibility that temples in which cuneiform was still used existed side by side with newer shrines, like the one to Nanaya. This is an intriguing insight into the life of the city long after it had come under Achaemenid and finally Greek control.

MASJID-I SOLAIMAN

Some forty kilometres east of Shushtar as the crow flies are two sites of importance for the period under discussion. The earlier of these, in use during the Seleucid period and therefore treated first, is Masjid-i Solaiman (‘mosque of Solomon’), a site located close to an area, also known as Maidan-i Naftun

(Amerie 1925: 249), that became the centre of Iran's oil industry in 1908. Decades earlier H.C. Rawlinson 'heard ... of the ruins of a great building ... which was named Mašjidi-Suleimāni-Buzurg ... doubtless ... the site of another of the wealthy temples of Elymais' (Rawlinson 1839: 85), but it was not described by a Western visitor until the late 1920s (Unvala 1928). Ernst Herzfeld considered it a fire temple of Arsacid date (Herzfeld 1929), and Laurence Lockhart suggested that, while 'One is tempted to jump to the conclusion that the Mobads (priests) of this temple (and previous edifices on the same spot) may have used petroleum gas or liquid petroleum as their fuel', 'Crude liquid petroleum from the adjacent seepages could not have been burnt in a fire-temple, as it would have given off quantities of smoke' which 'was abhorrent to the Magians and Zoroastrians, who regarded it as an emanation of Ahriman, the spirit of evil' and who 'would never have polluted their temple in this way' (Lockhart 1939: 3 and Fig. 4). The major monument of Mašjid-i Solaiman is a stone terrace (Plate 10.7) of irregular shape measuring *c.* 54 × 91.4 m accessible by staircases on the north, south and east sides (Ghirshman 1968c, 1969, 1970, 1972, 1976). Roughly in the middle of the terrace stood the so-called 'great temple'. Soundings through the floors of this late Arsacid/early Sasanian temple recovered numerous terracotta figurines. Along with local types, many examples were found of cavalry riders wearing the Macedonian *kausia* (Martinez-Sève 2004: 185–91), a woollen hat resembling the *pakol* worn today by Afghans and Pakistanis from the northwestern part of Pakistan (Vogelsang 2006), originally introduced into Greece in the wake of



Plate 10.7. The terrace at Mašjid-i Solaiman (photo: Gian Pietro Basello, courtesy of the DARIOSH Project).

Alexander's Central Asian conquests (Kingsley 1981, 1991). The recovery of this material led Ghirshman to postulate the existence of a Seleucid garrison at Masjid-i Solaiman (Ghirshman 1976: 79–80), stationed along an important route leading north towards Gabiane with its capital Gabai/Tabae, long identified with the area of modern Isfahan (Hoffmann 1880: 132, n. 1130; Weissbach 1910a, 1910b; Henkelman 2008b). A bronze plaque showing a female bust and a bronze head likened to an image of Athena in turn prompted Ghirshman to suggest that the original temple beneath the later Parthian structure was a Macedonian temple sacred to Athena Hippiā (Ghirshman 1976: 89), possibly the one said by Strabo to have been destroyed by an Arsacid king (XVI.1.18).

Fifteen metres to the northwest of the 'great temple' were the remains of a multi-roomed, rectangular structure (8.03 × 17.10 m) interpreted by Ghirshman as a temple to Heracles. The Heracles hypothesis was founded principally upon the recovery of the torso, legs and head of a statue of Heracles strangling the Nemean lion which originally stood *c.* 2.4 m in height. Ghirshman suggested that the evidence of Greek cults at Masjid-i Solaiman might go back to the reign of Antiochus I (280–261 BC), although no compelling justification was given for such a date and the limited numismatic evidence would not support it. All of the pre-Roman, Greek coins recovered at Masjid-i Solaiman (a late fourth century BC silver drachm from Lampsacus; a silver drachm of Alexander I Balas [150–145 BC] from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris; a bronze obol of the same king from Susa; and a bronze obol, possibly from Susa, of Antiochus I) were heavily worn and were found together with later coins, suggesting that they had been in circulation for a long time and arrived at the site well after they had been minted (Augé, Curiel and Le Rider 1979: 16). Nevertheless, while the architectural and iconographic arguments adduced by Ghirshman for the date of the earliest remains at Masjid-i Solaiman are fragile (Hannestad and Potts 1990: 115), the ceramics from the site suggest a date in the third and early second century BC (Haerinck 1983: 14).

As for the existence of a cult of Heracles at Masjid-i Solaiman, Ghirshman noted that if his identification of the Masjid-i Solaiman structure as a Heracles temple was correct, then it represented the first cult centre of the Greek god identified in Iran (Ghirshman 1976: 101). Other evidence of the veneration of Heracles in Iran includes the reclining Heracles relief at Bisotun (Plate 10.8), an image carved for Hyakinthos, son of Pantauchos, in honour of Kleomenis, the local Seleucid governor and dated in an adjacent Greek inscription to 148 BC (Bivar 1983: 33), that is, the reign of Alexander I Balas (150–145 BC) (Luschey 1974: 122, 1990: 293, 1996; Vanden Berghe 1983: 118 and Pl. 10; Robert 1963: 76), and the inscription which states 'Here resides Heracles, nothing evil may enter' inside the cave of Qalah Karafto south of Hasanlu in Iranian Kurdistan (Ker Porter 1822: 540–9; Bernard 1980). Although the significance of these occurrences in light of broader patterns of Greek–Iranian interaction have been



Plate 10.8. The Heracles relief at Bisotun (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

largely ignored by ancient historians dealing with the period (e.g. Momigliano 1975: 137–50; Wolski 1977, 1989), historians of religion have scarcely ceased discussing the problem of whether representations of a Greek Heracles in Iran reflect the worship of a genuinely Greek deity, or assimilation with the Iranian deity Verethragna (e.g. Bivar and Shaked 1964: 268; Scarcia 1979; von Gall 1986a: 212–13; Potts 1993: 352–3). Nevertheless, the literary evidence on Elymaean deities emphasizes the worship of Bel, Nanaya and an Athena-like goddess, not Heracles (Martinez-Sève 2004: 198).

THE KOSSAEANS

In Chapter 9, Kissia and the Kissians were discussed, and mention was made of later references to them post-dating the time of Alexander. According to Polybius (V.79), a Kissian contingent was present, along with Karmanians, Persians and Medes, amongst the ‘subjects’ who fought with Antiochus III at Raphia in 217 BC (Bar-Kochva 1976: 50). Because this is the only post-Alexander reference to Kissians which does not go back to Herodotus, and because Polybius elsewhere (V.82) writes *Kissaious* or *Kassious*, Nöldeke (1874: 178) dismissed Antiochus’ Kissians as an error for *Kossaeans* (as at V.44). Nearly thirty years later, in 190 BC, Elymaeans were amongst the ‘auxiliaries from subject or semi-independent nations or tribes’ (Bar-Kochva 1976: 48 contends they were not mercenaries, as Weissbach 1908: 2464 had assumed) who fought by Antiochus’ side at Magnesia (Livy 40.10.4). Let us examine these two ethnic groups, Kossaeans and Elymaeans.

If we begin with the Kossaeans, opinions have differed over the question of their relationship to the Kissians, discussed in Chapter 9. Some authorities

consider them to be two distinct groups (e.g. Lehmann 1892; Cameron 1936: 92), while others see the names as two different variants of one and the same ethnonym, derived ultimately from Akkadian *Kaššu*, or ‘Kassite’ (nominative)/ ‘Kassite’ (adjective) (Delitzsch 1884; Billerbeck 1893: 36; Weissbach 1922b: 1501; for the use of the term, see Balkan 1954: 108), the earlier Kissioi reflecting a pronunciation *c.* 500 BC, the later Kossaioi a pronunciation of *c.* 300 BC, and the entire name complex to be located in the Pusht-i Kuh and Pish-i Kuh regions of Luristan (Herzfeld 1968: 190; see also Nöldeke 1874: 178; note that Darius III’s army at Gaugamela included ‘those who dwelt in the mountains of the Cossaei’ [Curtius, IV.12.10] and these are undoubtedly the Kossaeans). This, however, seems highly speculative. Equally speculative is the supposed connection between the Kassites, or their patron deity ^d*Kaššu*, and the Kossaioi (Weissbach 1922b: 1501; Ziegler 1979; on the chronological range of ^d*Kaššu*, see Balkan 1954: 108–9). A linguistically more acceptable derivation of the Greek toponym and ethnic would seem to be from the Hebrew and Aramaic rabbinic literature. In the Talmud Khuzistan is referred to in Hebrew as Be Huzae, in later Syriac sources as Beth Huzaje, and this has been taken by some Talmudic scholars as the source of Greek Kossaea (e.g. Obermeyer 1929: 204). Similarly the group known in the Talmud as Hoski/Hozki has been identified with the Kossaeans (Neubauer 1868: 378). Here we shall treat the Kossaeans as a unique group since their affiliation (or lack thereof) with the Kissians is of no relevance to an appreciation of their role in the Seleucid and Arsacid periods.

The Kossaeans were located in the mountains to the north of Susiana. According to Nearchus, the first Greek to provide firsthand knowledge of them, the territory of the Kossaeans neighboured that of the Medes, and the Persian king, in travelling from his winter capital of Susa to his summer capital at Ekbatana, had to cross the country of the Kossaeans (Strabo, *Geog.* XI.13.6). The same is said of Antigonos, who, according to Diodorus Siculus (XIX.19.2), had to laboriously fight his way through the land of the Kossaeans when going from Susiana to Ekbatana (see Nöldeke 1874: 179). Elsewhere Nearchus says that the Kossaeans were neighbours of the Uxians (*Anab.* VII.15.1). Strabo calls Kossaea an area ‘inhabited by mountainous and predatory tribes’ (*Geog.* XVI.1.17). According to Diodorus (V.44.7) the Kossaeans dwelt along with other tribes in the ‘depressions and deep valleys’ of Mount Zagrus (Zagros mountains). Other descriptions in ancient literature provide conflicting statements – for example, when Arrian says that the Kossaeans lived in Persis (*Anab.* VII.23.1) or Strabo says that Kossaea extended as far north and east as the Caspian Gates (*Geog.* XVI.1.17).

Several ethnographic insights on the Kossaeans can be gleaned from the ancient authors. Polybius calls the Kossaeans one of the ‘barbarous tribes’ of the Zagros, ‘with a high reputation for their warlike qualities’ (V.44.7). Diodorus adds, ‘These men, who have been independent from ancient times, live in caves, eating acorns and mushrooms, and also the smoked flesh of wild beasts’ (XIX.19.3). The reference to acorns is particularly interesting, given the

extensive exploitation of acorns in the Zagros region attested in the historic and ethnographic literature (Potts in press b). When Baron de Bode was travelling in the Bakhtiyari mountains in 1841 he met a foot-messenger sent by a Bakhtiyari nomad chief whose ‘only provision for the journey was a bag filled with the moist flour or raw paste of the acorn. . . . In the Bakhtiyári mountains it forms the principal food of the wandering tribes. Their women gather the acorns as they drop ripe from the trees, and bruise them between two stones in order to extract the bitter juice, they then wash and dry the flour in the sun, and this is the whole process. They bake the cakes of it or eat the paste raw, and find it very palatable and nutritious’ (de Bode 1843: 97–8; for additional references to acorn use in Iran see Potts 2014a: 8, n. 42; in press b). According to nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts by Western visitors to Iran, however, bread made of ground acorns from the shrub oak was eaten mainly in times of famine (Potts 2014a: 362, n. 75 with refs.).

Like the highland Uxians in Alexander’s day, the Kossaeans wanted Antigonos to pay protection money for safe passage through their territory (Strabo actually says the Great King made such payments in order to pass from Ekbatana to Babylon [Weissbach 1922b: 1500], *Geog.* XI.13.6). Refusing to do so, Antigonos and his men were harassed by the Kossaeans, who, Diodorus tells us, ‘kept rolling great rocks in quick succession upon the marching troops; and at the same time, sending arrows thick and fast’ (XIX.19.4). Kossaeon prowess in archery was renowned, and Strabo says that ‘the Kossaeans, like the neighbouring mountaineers, are for the most part bowmen, and are always out on foraging expeditions; for they have a country that is small and barren, so that they must needs live at the expense of the other tribes. And they are of necessity a powerful people, for they are all fighters; at any rate, thirteen thousand Kossaeans joined the Elymaeans in battle, when the latter were warring against both the Babylonians and the Susians’ (*Geog.* XVI.1.18; unfortunately, the political context of this episode is a mystery). They were also, he maintains, less ‘interested in agriculture’ than their neighbours, the Paraetaceni.

THE ELYMAEANS

Let us turn now to the Kossaeans’ neighbours, the Elymaeans. The phonetic similarity between Elymais and Elam is, of course obvious, and the identity of Elymais and Biblical Elam was already discerned in the mid-seventeenth century by Samuel Bochart (Bochart 1651: 78; cf. Fürst 1867: 8; Nöldeke 1874: 189). Even if the identity of the Elamites and the Elymaeans has occasionally been called into question (e.g. Alizadeh 1985b), it is obvious that we are simply dealing with a Graecized form of the names Elam and Elamites, and the identity of Elymais/Elymaeans and Elam/Elamites is unassailable in light of the cuneiform evidence (Table 10.2). The Akkadian sources simply continue to speak of Elam and the Elamites, while the Greek and Latin texts use Elymais and Elymaeans.

TABLE 10.2. *Babylonian astronomical diaries, 145–77 BC, mentioning Elam*

Sachs–Hunger III	Date	Historical statements concerning Elymais
-144.obv.16'–18'	Aug./Sept. 145 BC	'That month, I heard as follows: Ari'abu . . . [. . .] . . . entered Babylon and the other rivers. The auxiliary troops of . . . [. . .] the king of Elam with his numerous troops [. . .] from his land [. . .]'
-144.rev.20–22	Oct./Nov. 145 BC	'this general [Ardaya] of Babylonia [. . .] from Babylon to fight with Kammashkiri [. . .] from the king ² . . . [. . .] Kammashkiri, king of Elam, marched around victoriously among the cities and rivers of Babylonia; they plundered this [. . . and] carried off their spoil. The people [. . .] their . . . , their animals [. . .] for fear of this Elamite to the house ² [. . .] There was panic and fear in the land'.
-143.A.18'–21'	June/July 144 BC	'[. . . Th]at [month,] I heard as follows: the troops which to Susa . . . of Susa [. . .] [. . .] many ² [. . .] which had . . . to Elam, they made enter Susa [. . .] [. . .] the general of . . . and the troops of Antiochus, son of Alexander, who retur[ned] ² . . .] [. . .] departed. That month, redness occurred again and again in the east and west. That month, there was <i>simmu</i> -disease, scabies and scurf in the land'.
-140.C.obv.34–44	Nov./Dec. 141 BC	'That month, I heard as follows: king Arsaces and his troops departed from Araqan'ia. I heard as follows: [on the] 6th, the Elamite and his troops departed towards Apamea which is on the river Silhu for fighting. That [month ²], the people who dwell in Apamea went out to Bit-Karkudî; they burned Apamea. [. . .] An(tiochus) the general who is above the 4 generals, who was representing king Arsaces, went out from Sel[euca] which is on] the Tigris, towards the Elamite for fighting; from the river Kabari he departed, and the numerous troops . . . [. . .] went out for fighting. The people who were in Seleucia and the people who dwell in Babylon, [. . .] the belongings [. . .] to guard (them) before the . . . of the Elamite. I heard as follows: the troops who were in Bit-[. . .] set up [. . .] of the troops of the Elamite. That month, the people [. . .] their children, their possessions, and their wives [. . .]

TABLE 10.2. (*continued*)

Sachs-Hunger III	Date	Historical statements concerning Elymais
		the nobles of the king who had entered Babylon and the few people they led to the sea [...] [...] of the brickwork of the Marduk Gate they tore down and the brickwork [...] [...] on ² the Euphrates from ...[...]
-140.C.rev.29'– 35'	Dec./Jan. 141/o BC	'That month, I heard as follows: on the 4th day, the citizens who were in Seleucia which is on the Tigris set up a curse on Antiochus, the general who is above the 4 generals, because? he made common cause with the Elamite; they had provided ? ... for the general, and sent many troops with him towards the Elamite for fighting. They held back this Antiochus, but he escaped with a few troops, and the people of the land who were in Seleucia on the Tigris plundered his possessions which he had left in the land, and the troops of the king who were with him plundered the possessions which were in [...] That month, the Elamite [went out ...] towards Bit-Karkudî which is on the Tigris for fight[ing ...]
-140.D.obv.11'– 13	Jan./Feb. 141(o) BC	'[...] ... panic of the enemy occurred in the land. This Elamite enemy ... [...] ... [...] ... [...] [...] ... big ² and small ² inside this city ... [...] the [...] of Seleucia [...] [...] ... , son of Antiochus ² the general ² [...] ... [...]
-137.A.rev.3'–7'	June/July 138 BC	'That month, the 28th day, ... [...] [...] general who was above the 4 generals entered Babylon. That month, a fall of cattle ... [...] [...] Uruk and the cities which are on the Kutha canal, the Suru canal, the Piqudu canal and the canals [...] [...] ... their ... they took and brought (them) up to Elam'.
-137.B.rev.19'– 21'	May/June 138 BC	'[...] ... departed. I heard that on the 18th day the general [...] [...] a mess]age ² from king Arsaces to kill the general [...] [...] the province of Elam ... [...]
-137.D.obv.8'– rev.3	Nov./Dec. 138 BC	'That month, the 10th ² day, [...] ... [...] pitched his camp [in ...] on the Tigris. He returned and mustered his troops [...]

TABLE 10.2. (*continued*)

Sachs-Hunger III	Date	Historical statements concerning Elymais
		[...] entered [...] Seleucia which is on] the Tigris and the king's canal. That month, on an unknown day, the king's troops who guarded Babylonia came and ... [...]
		[...] ... dispersed their cohorts, took captives of them ... they inflicted a defeat on them.
		They returned ² [...]
		[...] panic of the Elamite enemy was strong in the land, and panic of the enemy fell on the people, ... and reed marshes ² they dispersed ² [...]
		[...] of the lower Sealand, the cities and canals of the gulf [...] ... lutra their names were ca[lled ² ...]
		[...] and made them obey to his command; he imposed tribute on them, and Aspasine, son of [...]
		[...] this [Aspasi]ne searched for a sortie ² against the Elamite enemy, and turned the cities [and ² ca]nals ² of the lower Sealand over to his own side, and made [them obey?] to his command [...]
		[...] in order to complete [...] of the lower Sea[land] who did not obey his command, ...
		[...] seized them in a revolt, took captives of them, plundered them [...]
		[... there was] panic in Elam, happiness and agreement in Babylonia[...]
-132.B.rev.18-20	Sept./Oct. 133 BC	'That month, I heard as follows: the forces of Aspasine, the enemy from the environs ² of Mesene ² , a friend of the Elamite enemy, came and fell on the harbour of ships in the Tigris and plundered this harbour of ships together with their possessions'.
-132.D ₂ .obv.8'-10'	Oct./Nov. 133 BC	'That month, I heard [...] Susa they made, and killed many troops of the Elamite in fighting, and the ... [...]
-132.D ₂ .rev.16'-23'	Dec/Jan 133/ 2 BC	'[...] they ... ' [... K]amnaskiri, the Elamite enemy, who had revolted against his father [...]
		[...] lived in Babylonia, organized against their troops and left ² [...]
		[...] arratash, the river of Elam, they crossed, for one <i>beru</i> distance they pitched camp [...]
		[...] departed [...] many [troops] for fighting [against] each other. In month VIII, the 7th, the troops [...]
		[...] the troops [...] they brought about the defeat of the troops of the enemy ² . Until sunset, the remainder

TABLE 10.2. (continued)

Sachs-Hunger III	Date	Historical statements concerning Elymais
-132.D ₁ .rev.7'-11'	Jan./Feb. 133 (2) BC	[...] entered. Ur'a, the son of this Elamite enemy, [...] one bull and 5 (sheep) sacrifices opposite this messenger [...] ... and performed (it) for his life'. '[...] the general of Babylonia [went out] from Babylon to Seleucia [...] the Elamite enemy in guard with them ... [...] ... of the Babylonians ... [...] Seleucia to ... [...]'
-129.A ₂ .obv.19'	April/May 130 BC	'That [mo]nth, the 17th, a mess[enger] of the general ... the harvest ² of Elam [...]'
-124.B.obv.19'	Nov./Dec. 125 BC	'[...] king Arsaces ... of Susa departed to the area of Elam opposite Pittiti, the Elamite enemy, for ² fighting'.
-124.B.rev.12'-14'	Dec./Jan. 125/4 BC	'That month, the 2nd, ... a message of Aspasine, king of Mesene ² , which he had written to the general of Babylonia was brought near [...] was read [to the cit]izens who are in Babylon as follows: In this month, on the 15th?, king Arsaces and Pittit, the Elamite enemy, fought with each other. The king defeated the troops of Elam in battle. Pittit [...] he seized ...'
-124.B.rev.17'-19'	Dec./Jan. 125/4 BC	'[...] a messenger of the king who carried a message entered Babylon. That day, the message of the king which was written to the governor of Babylon and the citizens who were in Babylon, was read in the House of observation, as follows: Fighting [...] Pittit, the Elamite enemy, I made, and 15,000 battle troops among his troops I [overth]rew in battle; among my troops no ... took place. Elam in its entirety I hit with weapons. Pittit [...] ... I seized'.
-90.rev.1-2	Dec./Jan. 91/ 0 BC	'[...] departed? [...] surroundings of Susa. A reduction of the equivalent happened in this city Susa. That day I heard [...] (blank)'
-77.B.rev.13'-14'	Jan./Feb. 78 (7) BC	'[...] went [to] Elam and fought with Qabinashkiri, the king of Elam, and put [...] in it, and the cities [...] [...] ... the few troops which were with him, turned away from him and went up to the mountains. I heard that towards the mountains when [...]'

The earliest source on Elymais is the account given by Nearchus as preserved by Strabo, according to which the Elymaeans were a plundering group in the neighbourhood of the Susians and Persians (*Geog.* XI.13.6). Elsewhere Strabo says, ‘Neighbouring Susis is the part of Babylonia which was formerly called Sitacenê, but is now called Apolloniatis. Above both, on the north and towards the east, lie the countries of the Elymaei and the Paraetaceni, who are predatory peoples and rely on the ruggedness of their mountains’ (*Geog.* XV.3.12). The proximity of Elymais to Susiana, Media, and the ‘region of the Zagros’ is repeated elsewhere by Strabo (*Geog.* XVI.1.17), who emphasizes that the land of the Elymaeans was both ‘larger and more diversified’ than that of their neighbours the Paraetaceni (the area of *Paraitakene* was first mentioned by Herodotus, *Hist.* I.101; see also Arrian, *Anab.* 3.19.2; for discussion, see Treidler 1965). ‘Now all of it that is fertile’, he writes, ‘is inhabited by farmers, whereas the mountainous part of it is a nursery of soldiers’ (*Geog.* XVI.1.18). Strabo names three provinces of ‘Elymaea’, viz. Gabiane (or Gabiene; see also Gabae; Mordtmann 1874: 251; Weissbach 1910a; Henkelman 2008b: 311–12), Massabatene (identified this with Medieval Persian Mah-sabadan; see Rawlinson 1839: 47–8; Spiegel 1863: 8; Olshausen 1876: 51; Weissbach 1930), and Korbiane (*Geog.* XVI.118; for which see Weissbach 1922a). Although Tarn suggested that these were the *eparchies* or local administrative divisions of the region under Seleucid rule which continued to survive under the eventually independent Elymaean state (see later discussion) (Tarn 1930: 132), Bengtson showed that the sources adduced by him were inconsistent and hardly susceptible to such an interpretation (Bengtson 1964/II: 30–8).

G. Hoffmann suggested that *Elymaea* denoted the Elamite ‘realm’, of which *Elymais* itself was, along with the abovementioned places, a province (Hoffmann 1880: 132). This recalls Vallat’s distinction between Elam *sensu strictu* as the highlands of Fars, and Elam in its wider, geopolitical sense as southwestern Iran. But whether Hoffmann was right is open to question, for immediately after stating that ‘both Gabiane and Massabatice are provinces of Elymaea’, Strabo goes on to say, ‘and Corbiane is also a province of Elymais’, which suggests that the names Elymaea and Elymais were used interchangeably. Gabiene appears in other ancient sources (e.g. Diodorus Siculus XIX.26.1 and 34.7; Polyaeus IV.6.13) in a variety of cognate forms, and as noted previously has long been identified with the area of modern Isfahan (Andreas *apud* Hoffmann 1880: 132, n. 1130; Weissbach 1910b).

Elymaean archers, probably similar to the one depicted in the life-size (1.88 m) rock relief at Gardaneh Gulmash, near Qir in Fars province (Huff 1984; Vanden Berghe 1986b), fought in the huge Seleucid army amassed by Antiochus III at Magnesia. Bar-Kochva observed that the ‘various national contingents mentioned in the great campaigns generally included mercenaries, allies, allied-mercenaries, and subjects-vassals, but the status of very few contingents can be established with certainty’ (Bar-Kochva 1976: 48).

Nevertheless, he classified the Elymaeans amongst the ‘auxiliaries from subject or semi-independent nations or tribes’. Just how independent the semi-independent Elymaeans may have been is difficult to ascertain, but Nöldeke was certainly of the opinion that the foundation of an independent Elymaean kingdom was possible only after Antiochus III’s defeat by Rome in 190 BC (Nöldeke 1874: 190).

The Seleucid defeat at Magnesia brought with it the imposition of severe penalties. Not only was Anatolia lost, Seleucid naval movement restricted, and the Seleucid elephant corps impounded, but reparations in the sum of 15,000 talents of silver were due. This was to be paid in a series of instalments: 500 talents immediately; 2,500 talents upon ratification of the treaty of Apamea by the Roman populace; and 12,000 talents thereafter in the form of an annual tribute of 1,000 talents of silver per year for the next twelve years (Mørkholm 1966: 22–37). According to the Book of Maccabees (I. 3.31, 37; 6.1–3; II. 1.13–17) this desperate financial situation drove Antiochus III to launch an attack in 187 BC on the temple of Bel in Elymais (Diodorus Siculus 28.3; 29.15; for the date, see Holleaux 1942: 254), an attack which cost the Seleucid emperor and most of his army their lives (according to a late cuneiform king list, Antiochus III died either on 3 July 187 BC [25 III 125 SE] or on the same day of the preceding month; see Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 207). Mørkholm believed, however, that there was more to this campaign than a mere quest for plunder, and instead saw it as a reassertion of Seleucid authority in the east following the humiliation of Antiochus by Rome (Mørkholm 1966: 29; cf. the similar argument made in Dąbrowa 2004). But in general, most scholars have viewed Antiochus’ adventurous attempt ‘to lay his hands on the treasures of a temple of Bel in Elymais . . . [as an] eloquent testimon[y] to the financial difficulties of the king[s]’ (Mørkholm 1966: 31). Moreover, this act of aggression against what had ostensibly been an ally (viz. the provision of archers at Magnesia) was seen by von Gutschmid as the defining moment in early Elymaean history, when Elymais began to break away from the Seleucid kingdom and to assert its independence (von Gutschmid 1888: 39; cf. Wiesehöfer 1996: 38).

The location of the Bel temple in Elymais has long puzzled scholars. J.M. Kinneir placed it at Kangavar (Kinneir 1813: 130), whereas Rawlinson located it at Baitawand near Susan (Rawlinson 1839: 85). W.B. Henning postulated the presence of a sanctuary to Bel at Tang-i Sarvak, an important cluster of rock reliefs north of Behbahan, based on the presence of the personal name Bel-dusha on Monument A, which ‘may indicate that he was a priest of Bel’ (Henning 1977: 381; cf. in general von Gall 2000). However, Henning scrupulously avoided identifying Tang-i Sarvak with the site of the Bel temple attacked by Antiochus III, no doubt because the reliefs and associated inscriptions date to the first centuries AD. Later, Bivar and Shaked suggested that ‘the altar of Bel (?)’ was mentioned in an inscription at Shimbar/Tang-i Butan, but as they dated this to the second century AD no association with the early

Elymaean temple was posited (Bivar and Shaked 1964: 272). Vanden Berghe and Schippmann suggested that the temple of Ahuramazda excavated by Ghirshman at Bard-e Nechandeh in the Bakhtiari mountains is the best candidate for the Elymaean temple of Bel attacked by Antiochus III (Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 17). Such an explanation, of course, requires the acceptance of an assimilation between the Semitic divine name Bel and the Iranian deity Ahuramazda (Colpe 1983: 823). According to Herodotus (I.189), the Greek equivalent of Ahuramazda was Zeus (see also Teixidor 1990: 71; Duchesne-Guillemin 1983: 867), and it is clear that in Greek treatments of Babylonian religion, Bel was assimilated with Marduk (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987). Doubting the Zoroastrianism of the Elymaeans, Hansman preferred to characterize Elymaean Bel as ‘a traditional Elamite god’ but was unable to suggest which one (Hansman 1985: 245).

The death of Antiochus III did not, however, signal the end of Seleucid rule in the east, for coin issues show that the Seleucid mints at Susa and Ekbatana continued to operate until the Seleucids lost Susiana and Media to the Parthians. At Susa issues post-dating Antiochus III were struck by Seleucus IV (187–175 BC), Antiochus IV (175–164 BC), Demetrius I (162–150 BC), Alexander I Balas (150–145 BC) (Le Rider 1965a; Assar 2004–5: 53) and Demetrius II (146–140 BC) (Le Rider 1965a; Mørkholm 1965: 144–5, 148–50; Houghton and Le Rider 1966: 113 ff.; Strauss 1971: 111 ff.; Houghton 1983: 105–7; Assar 2004–5: 42–3). At Ekbatana in Media, on the other hand, issues minted by Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV, Antiochus V (164–162 BC), the satrap Timarchus (161 BC) who briefly claimed the title ‘king’, Demetrius I, and Alexander I Balas are known (Houghton 1983: 113–17).

No less audacious than Antiochus III’s attack on the temple of Bel in Elymais was the attempt by his grandson, Antiochus IV (Plate 10.9), twenty-three years later, to invade Elymais in search of revenue (Wiesehöfer 2002; Mittag 2006:



Plate 10.9. Silver tetradrachm of Antiochus IV, minted at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (14.09 g, 27.5 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

296 ff.; Martinez-Sève 2014). A number of ancient authors, including Polybius (XXXI.9), Appian (*Syr.* 66), Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities* XII.358–9), Porphyrius (FGH II no. 260, F 53 and 56), and St. Jerome (*Dan.* 718, 722) as well as I Maccabees 6:1–17 and II Maccabees 1:13–17 and 9:1–4, recount the tale of Antiochus IV's expedition to the temple of Artemis (Polybius, Josephus)/Aphrodite (Appian)/Diana (Porphyrius, St. Jerome)/Nanay(a) (II Maccabees), which Rawlinson suggested was identical to the site of Masjid-i Soleiman (Rawlinson 1839: 86). Yet, although the similarity between the two expeditions is striking, Holleaux showed that there can be no question of a confusion of names and a single event (Holleaux 1942; see also Mørkholm 1966: 170ff.; contra Bartlett 1973: 82; Green 1990: 512). Driven back by the hostility of the local Elymaeans, no battle was in fact fought, but Antiochus IV died, whether from divine retribution for his prior assault on the temple of Jerusalem or simply from sickness, at Tabae in Paraitakene (probably Gabae, i.e. Isfahan, although Gera and Horowitz 1997: 250, n. 71 suggest a location near Ekbatana), in November of 164 BC (Mørkholm 1966: 171; for the date, see Wacholder 1980; Hyldahl 1990: 196–7).

The deity involved is unclear. Maurice Holleaux, following Georges Radet and Franz Cumont, believed that the Iranian goddess Anahita could be represented in Greco-Roman sources as either Artemis (Brosius 1998) or Aphrodite, noting further that a temple to Anahita in Elymais is mentioned by Aelian (AD 165/70–230/5) in his work *On the Nature of Animals* (XII.1.18) (Holleaux 1942: 268, n. 2; 271). Georg Hoffmann, on the other hand, basing himself on II Maccabees, suggested that Nana or Nanay(a) was the Oriental deity meant in references to the episode of Antiochus IV's death (Hoffmann 1880: 131–2; see also Tarn 1938: 463–6). Certainly Nanaya is by far the most frequently attested deity in the extant Greek inscriptions from Susa (Table 10.1). It should be noted, however, particularly when considering examples of the classical transmission of ancient Iranian history and religion, that the identities of deities entailed a different philosophical perspective than we might expect. The recognition that deities might have multiple names, the origins of which we cannot comprehend, and the question of whether the use of a particular divine name was significant, particularly in prayer, were very real concerns in antiquity (Rowett 2013).

As with the Elymaean temple of Bel, suggestions for the location of the temple of Elymaean Artemis/Aphrodite/Diana/Nanay(a) have varied. Tarn's belief that a shrine at Susa was meant (Tarn 1938: 463) had already been anticipated and rejected almost sixty years earlier by Hoffmann, who felt that if the attack had been on Susa, Polybius would surely have said so (Hoffmann 1880: 131). Vanden Berghe and Schippmann, on the other hand, pointed to the presence of a temple to Anahita and Mithra at Bard-e Nechandeh, although they noted that Ghirshman dated the structure to the first/second centuries AD (Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 20). In searching for the temples plundered by Antiochus III and IV, however, one should not forget the

obvious royal importance of Masjid-i Solaiman, clearly indicated by the recovery there of a relief portrait of an unidentified Elymaean king (von Gall 1980).

One passage in Strabo which has remained a mystery to scholars is his reference (*Geog.* XVI.1.18) to 13,000 Kossaeans joining ‘the Elymaeans in battle, when the latter were warring against both the Babylonians and the Susians’. Nöldeke suggested that the campaign in question may have witnessed the beginning of an Elymaean drive for independence from Seleucid rule (Nöldeke 1874: 190). He argued that, as the account of Molon’s assault on Diogenes, eparch of Susiana, had shown (Polybius V.48), Susa was an important node of Seleucid military force in the east, hence Strabo’s reference to the ‘Susians’. By the ‘Babylonians’, on the other hand, Strabo may have meant the Seleucid satrap of Babylonia and his forces. Certainly this is a possibility, but one which unfortunately cannot be verified by any other literary or epigraphic evidence. While Nöldeke believed that no Elymaean attempt to achieve independence of the Seleucid kingdom could have preceded Antiochus III’s defeat at Magnesia, he did not say whether he felt that it occurred prior to or after Antiochus IV’s death in 164 BC. The likelihood would seem strong, however, that the push for Elymaean independence followed the demise of Antiochus IV (Sellwood 1983: 307), just as Wiesehöfer has suggested for developments in Persis (Wiesehöfer 1994: 124).

ELYMAIS AND THE ARSACID EMPIRE

The waning of Seleucid power in the east may have provided an opportunity for Elymaean political and territorial consolidation (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 225), but this was, to some extent, compromised by the simultaneous waxing of Arsacid power on the Iranian plateau. From the Elymaean point of view, it is arguable which foreign power was the greater adversary. Each made claims to Elymaean territory, and most probably each was equally noxious to Elymaean nationalists.

The appearance of a new political order in Elymais is signalled by two categories of evidence: coinage issued at Susa by one or more kings named Kamniskires, and references to a ‘Kammashkiri’ in the Babylonian astronomical diaries of 146/5 BC. Scholarship on the first category of evidence has a long history (for overviews see e.g. Allotte de la Fuÿe 1902: 92 ff.; Codrington 1906). In Chapter 16 of *Macrobii*, printed editions of which began circulating in the West in the late fifteenth century (Thompson 1940: 409), Pseudo-Lucian mentions three rulers of the kingdom of Characene and then refers to a ‘king of the Parthians’, originally read *Mnaskires* or, after emendation, as *K/Camnascires*, who lived to the age of 96. This isolated reference emboldened the French numismatist Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632–1706) to arbitrarily identify Pseudo-Lucian’s Mnaskires with Arsaces X, son of Phraates I, in his posthumously published *Arsacidarum Imperium* (Foy-Vaillant 1725: 6, ‘MNASKIRES

Phrahatis I. filius patrueli Mithridati succedit', 75–7; cf. Smith 1844: 656). In doing so, Foy-Vaillant created a problem for early students of Parthian coinage who struggled to accommodate Mnaskires in the sequence of Arsacid monarchs (e.g. Scott 1864–5: 143; Barthélemy 1866: 298–9; Prokesch-Osten 1874–5: 23; Markoff 1877: 5, 14). Other scholars suggested alternate, yet equally arbitrary identifications, turning Mnaskires into a king or satrap of the central Babylonian region of Apolloniatis (Visconti 1811: 313; followed by Mionnet 1811: 663; on Apolloniatis see Strabo, *Geog.* 15.3.12; Pédech 1958: 67–8) and replacing the reading of the name Mnaskires with 'Thermusa', or Musa, the Roman concubine who became a wife of Phraates IV (Visconti 1817: 735–6; cf. Mionnet 1837: 439, 442). In 1852, however, General Ivan Aleksyeevich Bartholomaei (1813–70) announced the existence of a silver tetradrachm with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, 'King Kamniskires Nikephorus [Bearer of Victory]', said to have come from Iran and showing clear links to Seleucid issues of the mid-second century BC. Bartholomaei noted the resemblance between Kamniskires and Pseudo-Lucian's Mnaskires, suggesting that he was a rebel satrap in Cilicia or Elymais (Bartholomaei 1852: 173). A year later, while discussing Bartholomaei's coin *in extenso*, Adrien de Longpérier published yet another coin in the British Museum with obverse portraits of a Kamniskires and his wife Anzaze. As the king appeared to be very elderly, Longpérier asserted that the coin constituted irrefutable confirmation of the veracity of Pseudo-Lucian's testimony on Mnaskires' great age (Longpérier 1853: 35). Three years later, however, W.M. Leake observed that 'The coins . . . bear little resemblance to those of the Arsacidæ', suggesting instead that, as the coins of 'Capnascires' reminded him of Bactrian issues, he was perhaps a Scythian prince (Leake 1856: 66). Within a short time, however, Leake revised his position and, in light of Mnaskires' association with the kings of Characene in Pseudo-Lucian, suggested 'that his kingdom was not far to the north of the Characene, which extended southward to the head of the Persian Gulf, though not so far north as the Apolloniatis, as Visconti supposed' (Leake 1859: 9). This was rejected by W.S.W. Vaux, who, when publishing two examples of the Kamniskires and Anzaze issues in the British Museum, suggested that Kamniskires was more likely to have reigned in 'some part of the provinces of Southern Babylonia or Susiana', particularly as the coins shared monograms (crescent moon, anchor) with three coins 'lately found at Susa by Mr. Loftus' (Vaux 1856: 141, 143; cf. Gardner 1873: 185–6). Although Vaux did not explicitly reject the classification of these coins as 'Parthian', Gardner absolutely excluded Kamniskires from the Arsacid sequence, noting that 'Lucian places him not . . . among the true Parthian Kings but among the rulers of Characene', making it 'probable that he was not an Arsacid, but a subordinate prince of some part of the Parthian dominions' (Gardner 1877: 60; cf. von Sallet 1877: 289–90). A few years later, however, von Sallet suggested that Kamniskires reigned not far from Syria, somewhere between the Seleucid and Arsacid

realms (von Sallet 1881: 207). Nevertheless, Mordtmann felt that, if not an Arsacid, then Kamniskires was likely to have been related by marriage to the royal line (Mordtmann 1880: 42). A. von Gutschmid, by contrast, attributed the coinage of Kamnascires and those who succeeded him between c. 82/1 BC and 36 AD to the last phase in which the Elymaeans enjoyed independent status (von Gutschmid 1888: 158; Wroth 1900: 199, n. 24 with some hesitation; contra Allotte de la Fuÿe 1906: 76). Thereafter, evidence of the clear association between the coinage of Kamniskires and Elymais accumulated steadily thanks to the recovery of these and other Elymaean types in excavations at Susa by M. Dieulafoy and J. de Morgan as well as the discovery, c. 1874, of a hoard of about 825 coins in or near Shiraz (Allotte de la Fuÿe 1905: 177–8).

In the late eighteenth century Sylvestre de Sacy compared Pseudo-Lucian's *Mnaskires* with the celebrated Persian name *Minuchir* (Sylvestre de Sacy 1793: 249). A century later Edmond Drouin suggested that the name was probably in the 'Susian' language (Drouin 1895: 372). Nowadays, scholars compare Kamniskires with the Achaemenid Elamite title *kap-nu-iš-ki-ra*, 'treasurer' (cf. Gershevitch 1969: 172–3, Kawase 1986; Hinz and Koch 1987/1: 434) and Aramaic *kbnškyr*, attested on coins of a later, homonymous ruler (Henning 1977 [1952]: 164; cf. Alam 1986: 137–53; Schmitt 1991b: 212). Henning speculated that the Elamite term might have been applied originally to the satraps of Susiana whose duty was 'to protect the royal treasures stored at Susa' (Henning 1977: 165; Harmatta's suggestion that Kamniskires Megas Soter was the treasurer of the Elymaean temple of Bel when Antiochus III attempted to plunder it is pure speculation; see Harmatta 1981: 209; Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 15). There were, however, a number of homonymous Elymaean kings named Kamniskires and, as in the case of some of the earlier Neo-Elamite kings, scholars have disagreed over the identities of the kings bearing the same name in the numismatic and epigraphic sources.

Today, virtually all scholars agree that the earliest Elymaean coinage is represented by Seleucid-style, silver tetradrachms showing a strongly Hellenized, diademed portrait on the obverse; an enthroned Zeus or Apollo on his *omphalos* on the reverse; and a Greek legend. Two such series exist, one bearing the legend KAMNISCKEIPOY [ΣΩ]ΤΗΡΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, 'King Kamniskires Megas Soter [Great Saviour]', and the other ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, 'King Kamniskires Nikephorus [Bearer of Victory]' (Assar 2004–5: 6–7, 11, 47–55). The chronology of these issues, however, remains a matter of contention (Bell 2002; Assar 2004–5; van't Haaff 2007; Hoover 2008; Shayegan 2011). Which series came first? Are these the issues of two different individuals named Kamniskires, or one? If two, what was their relationship? Were they father and son? Both issues are clearly imitations of Seleucid coinage. The numismatic argument of perhaps greatest weight is the very strong link between the unique tetradrachm of Kamniskires Megas Soter (Le Rider 1969: 18, no. 10; Strauss 1971: 119, no.

134; Fischer 1971) and the issues of Alexander Balas from Susa (Assar 2004–5: 33, 54), suggesting that the issue of Kamniskires Megas Soter predated those of Kamniskires Nikephorus (contra e.g. Allotte de la Fuy  1919: 46). Moreover, the obverse portrait on the Megas Soter issue clearly shows a younger male, whereas that of Nikephorus is more mature. Assar has suggested that Kamniskires Megas Soter and Kamniskires Nikephorus are one and the same individual, seen in a younger and an older phase of life and reflecting two different periods in Kamniskires’ political career (see later discussion). Other scholars consider these to be the issues of two different, homonymous individuals, often referred to as Kamniskires I and II (van’t Haaff 2007: 47, 49) and sometimes thought to have been father and son (e.g. Dąbrowa 2014: 9, n. 2).

Although Le Rider and Houghton contended that Kamniskires occupied Susa c. 147 BC (Le Rider 1978: 35; Houghton 1983: 101), Mørkholm suggested that he could not have begun minting there before c. 145 BC (Mørkholm 1965: 151). Shayegan pointed out that Kamniskires’ ascent to power must have occurred between November 146 and September 145 BC when ‘Kammashkiri’ is first attested in an astronomical diary at Babylon (Shayegan 2011: 77, 98). Precisely how this relates to the usurpation of the Seleucid throne by Alexander Balas, which probably occurred in June/July 150 BC; the defeat and death of Demetrius I at this time; and Demetrius II’s eventually successful campaign to regain his father’s throne in the summer/autumn of 146 BC following the battle of Oinoparas (Shayegan 2011: 61) is unclear. While Demetrius II (Plate 10.10) ‘marched in the cities of Meluhha’ (i.e. Ptolemaic Syria; see Shayegan 2011: 62), according to an astronomical diary dated to 20/21 September to 19/20 October 145 BC, battling Lagid forces (Assar 2004–5: 57), Babylon’s defence was in the hands of a general who bore the Iranian name Ardaya (Zadok 2009: 82–3). According to an entry in an astronomical diary dating to October/November 145 BC, Kammashkiri (i.e. Kamniskires I)



Plate 10.10. Silver tetradrachm of Demetrius II, minted at Abydos (13.33 g, 25.9 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

launched an opportunistic raid on Babylonia and ‘marched around victoriously among the cities and rivers of Babylonia’, plundering and carrying off spoil (Table 10.2; Potts 2002a: 350–3; Assar 2004–5: 56; Shayegan 2011: 77), after which he was either driven back by Ardaya or retreated intentionally, reaching Susa no later than July/August 144 BC (Shayegan 2011: 63, 77).

Although the immediate course of subsequent events is disputed (van’t Haaff 2007: 5; Hoover 2008), it has been suggested that Okkonapses (possibly an Elamite name **Ukka-napsa*; see Hinz and Koch 1987: 1213, viewed with scepticism by R. Schmitt, pers. comm.; cf. Zadok 1984a: 81 for possibly related Elamite names beginning with *Ú-*, *Ú-ka* and *Uk-ku*), known only from a single issue of silver tetradrachms and bronze units, recaptured Susa c. 144/3 BC and held it until he was ejected within a year or so by a king who styled himself ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚΙΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ – ‘king Kamniskires bearer of victory’ (Assar 2004–5: 11, 59–60). As noted earlier, while Assar suggested this was none other than Kamniskires I who had lost Susa to the Seleucids but later staged a return to power, others, like van’t Haaff, consider him a homonymous successor (son?) who should be regarded as Kamniskires II.

How extensive the reign of the first kings of Elymais may have been we do not know. A badly preserved Aramaic inscription from Bard-e Nechandeh, dated tentatively by Harmatta to c. 180–160 BC, has been read ‘[kbnš] k [y]r mlk’, that is, ‘Kabnashkir the king’ (Harmatta 1976: 289–300). If the dating of this text is correct, it may refer to Kamniskires Megas Soter, thereby implying control over the site, but this remains highly speculative. On the basis of symbols on the reverse of some Kamniskires Nikephorus bronze units – a horse protome which he associated with Susa, and an anchor which he linked to Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon – Hansman suggested that his rule may have extended as far as Media, since the same symbols are found on Seleucid issues from Ekbatana (Hansman 1990: 2; for the anchor on Elymaean coinage and on the high tiara worn by a presumably Elymaean king in low relief from Masjid-i Solaiman, see von Gall 1980; Wiesehöfer 2006). Van’t Haaff, however, has shown that this is a spurious argument and the alleged correlations with Susa and Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon are belied by the rarity of both reverse types (van’t Haaff 2007: 17).

In the spring of 141 BC Mithridates (Plate 10.11) celebrated the New Year’s festival in Babylon, a sure consequence of the Arsacid conquest of Babylonia (Shayegan 2011: 67). In that same year the Elymaeans, who had retaken Susa, attacked Babylonia (Table 10.2) and, according to an astronomical diary, ‘the Elamite and his troops’ advanced on Apamea-in-Mesene, a city ‘surrounded by the Tigris’ in southernmost Babylonia, which, according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VI.31.132), had been named by Antiochus I in honour of his mother. Most authorities have located it near modern Kut al-Amara (e.g. Loftus 1857b: 95), and it is perhaps synonymous with the Famiya (de Goeje 1885: 3) or the Fam as-Silh district, which lay on the canal of the same name (see also the ‘river’ or, more probably, canal named Silhu, known to Stephen of Byzantium as the Sellas, on



Plate 10.11. Silver drachm of Mithridates I (4.47 g, 19.6 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

which Apamea was situated according to our astronomical text) attested in Arabic sources (Streck 1901: 306; LeStrange 1905: 28, 38; Tscherikower 1927: 93–4; Obermeyer 1929: 86–90; Oppenheimer 1983: 32ff.).

According to a diary of November/December 141 BC, the general in charge of countering the Elymaean offensive ‘was representing king Arsaces’ (i.e. Mithridates I), who, presumably upon learning of the danger to his newly acquired lands, as stated in line 34 of the same text, ‘departed from Araqa’n’ia’, i. e. Hyrcania, near the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea (Herzfeld 1968: 320; Kiyani 1982; Vogelsang 1988), where we know from other sources (e.g. Justin XXXVI.1.6) that the king was engaged at the time (Wolski 1993: 82). Although Arsacid troops were sent out from Seleucia to meet the Elymaean contingent, the fear of the inhabitants of both Seleucia and Babylon is mentioned. Moreover, a text written a short while later (Table 10.2) informs us that the citizens of Seleucia put a curse on Antiochus, ‘the general who is above the 4 generals’ (for the title see Mitsuma 2007, 2009; Potts 2007; Shayegan 2011: 220–1) who had been sent to repel the Elymaean force, on the grounds that ‘he made common cause with the Elamite’. In addition to cursing him, the Seleucians seized Antiochus. When Antiochus escaped, the Seleucians retaliated by plundering those ‘possessions which he had left in the land’. This was small comfort, however, for meanwhile the Elymaeans were advancing on Bit-Karkudî, somewhere on the Tigris (location unknown). ‘Panic of the enemy’ continued to be rife in early 140 BC, suggesting that the Elamite threat was still very real.

The information just reviewed is important for our understanding of Elymaean-Seleucid relations in the late 140s/early 130s BC and contradicts earlier reconstructions of those relations based on evidence of questionable veracity. According to a notice in Justin, for example, Elymaean, Bactrian and Persian forces fought alongside the Seleucids against Mithridates I in the spring

of 141 BC (XXXVI.1.4). On the evidence of the astronomical diaries, however, the Elymaeans were actively campaigning against both the Seleucids and the Arsacids in Babylonia at this time. Moreover, the astronomical diaries from November 141 through January 140 BC make it clear that the Elymaeans were not defeated by the Arsacids near the Babylonia–Susiana frontier in late 141/early 140 BC (contra Olmstead 1937: 13; Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 22). It has also been suggested that Mithridates I conquered Susa in 140/139 BC (Le Rider 1965a: 78–9; Augé et al. 1979: 53; cf. Dąbrowa 1998a: 41; Assar 2004–5: 45–9; Gaslain 2010), but Shayegan showed that this date ‘is not supported by the . . . evidence of the *Diaries*’ (Shayegan 2011: 97) and we can now see that ‘the Elamite enemy’ continued to be a nuisance in Babylonia as late as May/June 138 BC. Although Vanden Berghe suggested that the rock relief at Hung-i Nauruzi/Azhdar (Figure 10.4; Plates 10.12 and 10.13) near Izeh–Malamir depicts Mithridates I receiving homage from the conquered Elymaeans (Vanden Berghe 1963b: 167; cf. Assar 2004–5: 63–4), this interpretation has been questioned by a number of scholars (Mathiesen 1992: 120 with bibl.) and Vito Messina has identified the mounted figure as Kamniskires III or IV, ‘one of the later Kamnaskirids ruling in the first half of the 1st cent. BC’, with later additions and re-sculpting in the early second century AD, perhaps by Kamniskires–Orodes (Messina 2014: 338–9; cf. Messina and Mehr Kian 2009, 2010, 2011; for additional possibilities, see the detailed discussion in Shayegan 2011: 105–10).

The general whom Mithridates ordered to be killed after his return from Hyrcania (mentioned previously) may well have been Antiochus, presumably because, as noted earlier, he ‘made common cause with the enemy’ (Shayegan 2011: 66). However, rather than jumping to the conclusion that Antiochus was



Figure 10.4. Hung-i Azhdar (drawing: Erik Smekens, Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

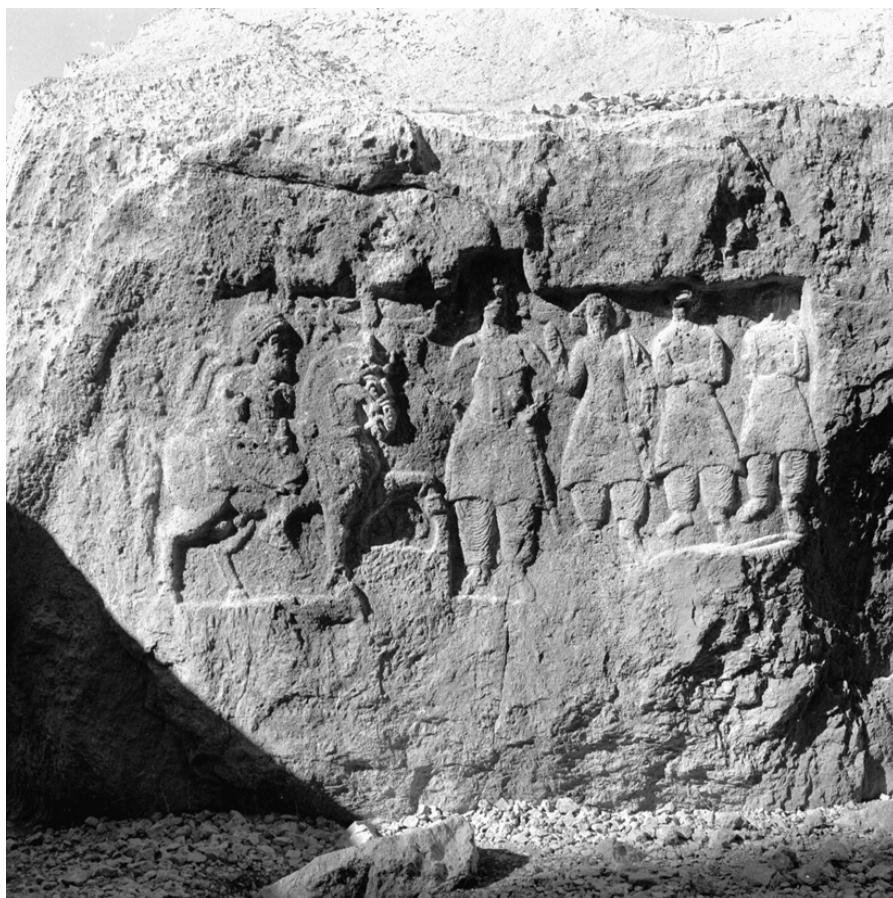


Plate 10.12. Hung-i Azhdar (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

indeed a traitor, Shayegan has suggested that ‘the danger of these Elamite forces to the stability of Arsacid rule must have been of such a nature as to oblige the supreme commander of Mesopotamia . . . to enter into negotiation with the Elamites, maybe at the price of numerous concessions, which was later perceived as an act of betrayal by the population of Seleucia, and eventually by the king, who may have ordered his assassination’ (Shayegan 2011: 68).

Not long after this, in July/August of 138 BC, perhaps en route for Media (Dąbrowa 1998, 1999), if the account in I Maccabees 14:1 preserves a kernel of veracity, Demetrius II was defeated and captured in Babylonia by ‘Arsaces’ (i.e. Mithridates I) (Shayegan 2007: 68, 72, 84–7). Hence, it seems highly unlikely that the coins of Demetrius II attributed by several leading numismatists (e.g. Mørkholm, Strauss, Houghton) to the Susa mint, and thereby implying a re-conquest and brief occupation of Susa by Demetrius II (Assar 2004–5: 42–3), have been correctly attributed. Famine ‘in Susa and the cities of



Plate 10.13. Detail of Hung-i Azhdar (photo: Belgian Archaeological Mission in Iran, courtesy of Dr. Bruno Overlaet).

Elam' is mentioned in a diary from early August of 138 BC, and this may have prompted yet more Elamite raiding in Babylonia during the month of December (Shayegan 2011: 79).

Mithridates' son Phraates II ascended the Arsacid throne sometime between 19–20 October 135 BC and 5–6 November 133 BC. Just a few days later he conquered Susa (Shayegan 2011: 76, 98; cf. Hoover 2008). The theory that Phraates II was installed as viceroy at Susa *c.* 139 BC (van't Haaff 2007: 57) is invalidated by the unambiguous cuneiform evidence. Phraates II's first issues were the tetradrachms struck at Susa, probably in September/October of 132 BC (Assar 2004–5: 74–5; contra van't Haaff 2007: 57–8, who dates them to Phraates' phantom vice-regency in 139/8 BC). Nöldeke suggested that, with the loss of Susa, Elymais became a tributary vassal of the Arsacids (Nöldeke 1874: 191).



Plate 10.14. Silver tetradrachm of Hypsaosines of Charax (16.68 g, 33.4 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

It was long believed that, upon the death of Phraates II in 128 or 127 BC, a former *eparch* of southern Babylonia under Antiochus IV by the name of Aspasine/Hyspaosines (Plate 10.14) declared his independence and founded the kingdom of Characene (Nodelman 1960; Sellwood 1983: 310–14; Schuol 2000). We now know, however, that Hypsaosines was active at least a decade earlier. Although the diary for November/December 138 BC is too fragmentary to tell what the involvement of the Arsacids may have been, Hypsaosines seems clearly to have invaded the ‘lower Sealand’ (the borderland between Mesene/Characene and southwestern Khuzistan), ‘against the Elamite enemy’, bringing the inhabitants there over to his side and causing ‘panic in Elam, happiness and agreement in Babylonia’. But the diary from September/October 133 BC shows us that, five years later, Hypsaosines himself was regarded as an ‘enemy’ in Babylonia, and ‘a friend of the Elamite enemy’. What had happened in the interim is not hard to guess. Hypsaosines’ move towards independence must have been viewed with concern by the Arsacids, and Hypsaosines was now classed as a rebel and co-conspirator with the Elymaeans.

As had happened so often in the Neo-Elamite period when rival claimants to the Elamite throne sought refuge in Assyria, we find that a year later an Elymaean named Kamnashkiri (whom Shayegan calls Kamniskires the Younger, in contrast to Kamniskires Nikephorus, his Kamniskires the Elder; see the long discussion in Shayegan 2011: 88–101) turned against his own father and ‘lived in Babylonia’, where he organized troops for an attack against his own people. Admittedly the diary for December/January of 133/2 BC is difficult to follow, but it is clear that a battle took place between the two contending Elymaean sides. That ‘Kamniskiri, the Elamite enemy’ was not given official asylum in Babylonia, however, seems likely, for a diary entry from

the following month reports the movement of the ‘general of Babylonia’ from Babylon to Seleucia, apparently escorting ‘the Elamite enemy in guard with them’. Houghton suggested that the Arsacids held Susa until 130 BC, when it fell to Antiochus VII, the brother of Demetrius II (Houghton 1983: 101). A year later, however, Antiochus VII was killed by an Arsacid army under Phraates II and Susa once more came under Arsacid control (Davis and Kraay 1973: 217).

Acknowledged in a text of 127/6 BC from Babylon as *sharru*, ‘king’ (Landsberger 1933: 299; Oelsner 1964: 271), Hyspaosines is called ‘king of Mesene’ in a diary from December/January of 125/4 BC. But several scholars have misunderstood this particular reference, believing that it recorded yet another victorious campaign against Elymais by Hyspaosines (Pinches 1890; Nodelman 1960: 89). Nothing could be further from the truth, for in fact it is clear in the text that ‘Arsaces’ fought against the Elamite Pittit and defeated a force of 15,000 Elamite troops (cf. Potts 2002a: 358–60). ‘Elam in its entirety I hit with weapons’, says the diary, and one can well imagine that settlements in southwesternmost Susiana mentioned in Greek and Latin sources, such as Aginis, Ampe and Aple (Andreas 1894a, 1894b, 1894c), must have borne the brunt of such an attack. Interestingly, Pittit, the general in command of the Elamite forces, bore a good Elamite name (Zadok 1984b: 35; Stolper 2005; both Quintana 2010b: 20 and Shayegan 2011: Tab. 2 consider him a king, rather than a general, but there seems no evidence of this). This is yet another indication that the Elymaeans of the late period were linguistically ‘late Elamites’.

According to an astronomical diary, Hyspaosines became ill and died in 124 BC (Sachs and Hunger 1996: 283, text –123.A, obv. 18³). His realm, moreover, was short-lived, and by c. 120 BC the kingdom of Characene had been overrun by the Arsacids, although they were not able to completely eradicate the quasi-independent state, which continued to flourish to a greater or lesser extent for the next 300 years (Schuol 2000) and which, to judge from the circulation of Characenian coinage at Susa (Le Rider 1959), was in constant commercial contact with the ancient metropolis.

ELYMAIS AND ARSACID SUSAS

After the reign of Phraates II we find an Arsacid inter-regnal issue from c. 127 BC minted at Susa, as well as coinage struck by Artabanus I (c. 127–124 BC), Mithridates II (c. 123–88 BC), Gotarzes I (c. 95–90 BC), Orodes I (c. 90–80 BC), an unknown king (c. 80–70 BC), Sinatruces (c. 75 BC), Darius (?–c. 70 BC), Phraates III (c. 70–57 BC), Mithridates III (c. 57–54 BC), Orodes II (c. 57–38 BC), Phraates IV (c. 38–2 BC), Phraataces and his queen Musa (c. 2 BC–AD 4), Artabanus II (AD 10–38), Vardanes I (c. AD 40–5) and Gotarzes II (c. AD 40–51) (Sellwood 1980: 55, 71, 76, 79–80, 83, 88, 92, 99–100, 104, 108–9, 116–18, 121,

125, 129–30, 145, 149, 165, 169, 174–5, 190, 201, 203, 210, 219). Thus, the Arsacid mint at Susa was active from c. 138 BC to the mid-first century AD and is clear evidence that the Elymaeans, whatever else they may have done, did not control Susa during these two centuries.

The activity of the Susa mint under the Arsacids was mirrored by growth all across the site. More than one author has spoken of the ‘remarkable expansion’ of Susa (e.g. Boucharlat 1985: 76; de Miroschedji 1987: 51) and of the city’s ‘unprecedented prosperity’ under the Arsacids (Amiet 1988c: 141). Ville Royale II, levels 3C, 3B, 3A, 2C and 2B; Ville Royale A, levels VIb, VI, and V; Ville Royale–Apadana, levels 4 and 3; Apadana East, levels 5d, 5c and 5a–b; and Shaur palace level 2b all show Arsacid occupation extending from the late second century BC to the early third century AD (de Miroschedji 1987: Tab. 11). Large, well-built private houses are attested (Gasche 2002), particularly in Ville Royale A, while richly furnished, barrel-vaulted brick tombs belonging to the ‘Parthian necropolis’ in the Ville des Artisans (Ghirshman 1950a; Haerinck 1983: 16; Boucharlat 1985: 76), similar to those at Assur and ed-Dur in the United Arab Emirates, date to this period, as do individual pit graves and brick cist graves (Boucharlat and Haerinck 2011). Amongst other things, the Arsacid-period graves of Susa have yielded a large number of interesting bone female figurines which find close parallels at contemporary sites in Mesopotamia, including Uruk, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris and Nuzi (Boucharlat and Haerinck 1994). The quantity of Parthian pottery recovered from Susa, both plain and glazed, is enormous (Haerinck 1983: 37–87).

Several decades after the Elymaean incursions into Babylonia, discussed earlier, we find renewed evidence of Elymaean assertiveness. From the year 82/1 or 79/8 BC (the Seleucid-era date on the coins can be read as either 231 or 234 SE) comes an issue in the names of a Kamniskires (II) and his wife Anzaze, examples of which are known from Susa, Bard-e Nechandeh, Masjid-i Solaiman and various museum collections. Since Susa was under Arsacid control at the time, Le Rider believed these coins might have been minted at Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon (Le Rider 1965a: 190; Augé et al. 1979: 55ff.). Just a few years later the astronomical diaries inform us of a battle between an Arsacid king and Kamniskires II. According to a diary dated to January/February 77 BC, ‘[Arsaces and the army] went to Elam and fought with Qabinashkiri, the king of Elam’ (Table 10.2). The identification of the Arsacid ruler in question with Orodes I is made possible via comparable notices in other astronomical diaries dating to 80, 78 and 76 BC, in which explicit reference is made to ‘Arsaces, who is called Orodes, the king’ and ‘Ispubarza, his sister, the queen’ (McEwan 1986: 93).

This text would seem to provide the context for a notice in Strabo whose date and context have long puzzled scholars. Strabo (*Geog.* XVI.1.18) describes how a ‘king of Parthia, though warned by what had happened to Antiochus [as previously discussed], hearing that the temples in that country [Elymais]

contained great wealth, and seeing that the inhabitants were disobedient subjects, made an invasion with a great force, and took both the temple of Athena and that of Artemis, the latter called Azara, and carried off treasures valued at ten thousand talents. And Seleucia near the Hedyphon River, a large city, was also taken. In earlier times Seleucia was called Soloce'. Some scholars have attributed this action to the Arsacid king Mithridates I, linking it to his invasion of Susiana *c.* 139 or 138 BC (e.g. Blau 1877: 68; Nodelman 1960: 87; Guépin 1965–6: 19; Hansman 1978: 154; Harmatta 1981: 207). But as Nöldeke noted over a century ago, this is only a conjecture and the event may have occurred much later (Nöldeke 1874: 192). If indeed Le Rider was correct in locating the mint which produced the Kamniskires II and Anzaze issues at Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon, then the impertinence of the Elymaean ruler who dared to strike coinage in his own name, combined with the wealth which his striking of coins would imply, may well have prompted the campaign described by Strabo and recorded in the Babylonian astronomical diary.

The reference to Soloce/Seleucia clearly points to the same settlement known to Pliny as Seleucia-in-Elymais (*Nat. Hist.* VI.27.136) and because he calls the Hedyphon (Hedypnus) a tributary of the Eulaios we are probably safe in attributing yet another reference to it, namely in the decree of Antioch-in-Persis (Tscherikower 1927: 98; Fraser 1996: 33, n. 70 for refs.). The site was tentatively identified by Hansman with a large site shaped like an irregular parallelogram called Ja Nishin which is situated *c.* 80 km southeast of Ahwaz (Hansman 1978: 159) and was occupied from the Arsacid through the Early Islamic era, but Tell Tendy, about 18.5 km south of Ja Nishin, is a more attractive possibility because of the evidence of its occupation from the Achaemenid to the Parthian period (Walstra et al. 2010: 279; for a location near Behbahan, see Rezakhani 2011: 223; 2013: 773). There are no grounds for believing, with Schippmann and Vanden Berghe, that Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon was conquered by Kamniskires (I) before he took Susa (Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 25). As for the Hedyphon itself, this has long been identified with the Jarrahi river in eastern Khuzistan (e.g. Forbiger 1844: 581; Le Rider 1965a: 261, 354; Hansman 1978: 156; Alizadeh 1985b: 180, n. 24; Rahimi-Laridjani 1988: 242; Christensen 1993: 107; Gasche 2004, 2005; Walstra et al. 2010: 277).

A second geographical issue raised by the passage just discussed is the location of Azara, a problem frequently discussed by travellers and scholars alike. O. Blau and others (e.g. Rawlinson 1839: 86) suggested that Azara was cognate with the Persian word for fire (New Persian *āzar*, Middle Persian *ādur/ādar*), implying the location there of a fire temple (Blau 1877: 68). Rawlinson identified it with 'the great fire-temple of Márin, upon the confines of Fárs and Khúzistán, that is described in the eleventh century as one of the most famous of the Magian places of worship' by al-Jayhani (Rawlinson 1839: 86) while Baron de Bode located it at Tasan/Tashun (Potts 2009b: 290–1 with refs.), *c.* 20 km north-northwest of Behbahan (de Bode 1845: 365,

note*). A. Godard suggested that Azara should be identified with the site of Bard-e Nechandeh between Ahwaz and Masjid-i Solaiman (Godard 1949: 159). Although the area between Ahwaz and Ram Hormuz was surveyed in 1948 by D. McCown, his materials (apart from a small selection of sites near Ahwaz), have not yet been published (Alizadeh 1985b: 176 and n. 6). Ghirshman identified the plundered temple with the site of Shami, 25 km northeast of Izeh-Malamir (Harmatta 1981: 207; Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 24). It is tempting to suggest that Azara is the same place known in the third millennium as Zahara, discussed in Chapter 4.

Although Guépin argued that Azara was to be sought in a remote valley near the large cluster of rock reliefs at Tang-i Sarvak, these are probably to be dated (Mathiesen 1992: 35, 52, 57) to the late second and early third centuries AD (c. AD 150–225) and appear to have nothing to do with the sanctuary of Artemis mentioned by Strabo. Guépin overlooked the testimony of the Arab geographers such as al-Muqaddasi and Yaqut who attest to the existence of a city called Azar, one day out of Ram-Hormuz on the route to Ahwaz (Hoffmann 1880: 133; Sprenger 1864: 65). On the other hand, al-Muqaddasi also notes the existence of a town called ‘Hazâr’ or ‘Âzâr Sâbûr’ near Shiraz, which would place the sanctuary squarely in the heart of ancient Anshan (LeStrange 1905: 280). Unfortunately, Strabo gives no indication of whether Azara was in lowland Khuzistan or highland Fars.

Strabo described the population of Elymais as possessing ‘a larger and more diversified country than the Paraetaceni. Now all of it that is fertile is inhabited by farmers, whereas the mountainous part of it is a nursery of soldiers, mostly bowmen; and since the latter part is extensive, it can furnish so large a military force that their king, since he possesses great power, refuses to be subject to the king of the Parthians like the other tribes; and their king was likewise disposed towards the Macedonians, who ruled Syria in later times’ (*Geog.*, XVI.1.18). Unfortunately, we are again uncertain where to place such a notice chronologically, although we know that certain books of the *Geography* were composed in the reign of Tiberius and that the bulk of the material contained therein was collected between 20 and 7 BC (Lasserre 1979: 382). Given the brevity of Kamniskires I’s hold over Susa and the newness of Arsacid rule at that moment in time, it seems unlikely that the reference pertains to the earliest phase of Elymaean independence and it is more plausible to associate this with a revival of Elymaean assertiveness in the first century BC such as that which occurred during the reign of Kamniskires II.

Two important epigraphic finds shed considerable light on Susa in the late first century BC and early first century AD. The first (CII II/1: no. 11), dating to c. 37–32 BC, has been described as a ‘verse chronicle’ (Tarn 1932: 832; cf. Rougemont 2014: 15) written by the Arsacid king Phraates IV (Plate 10.15) in honour of ‘the faithful Zamaspes’, an official who had been chosen by Tiridates, the general (*stratiarchos*) of Susa. The text is written in Greek and as



Plate 10.15. Silver drachm of Phraates IV (3.9 g, 22.6 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

such reflects the continued importance of this language at Susa long after the departure of the Seleucids. It shows us that the city at that time was probably under the rule of a military governor, if indeed this was Tiridates' role as *stratiarchos* (on the problem of his relationship with Phraates, see Tarn 1932). The text reads as follows (Potts 1989: 328–9, trans. A. Bülow-Jacobsen): 'Phraates heralds forever ... the [immortal fame] of the noble Zamaspes. ... For the Lord by holy precepts ... to the spirit of the all-mighty god Phraates ... the staff-bearer of the king ... and for the spirit of Tiridates ... when he had been appointed general of Susa ... chose for himself the faithful Zamaspes ... he ... the dried-out river Gondeisos ... and [dug the stream] that had been blocked for a long time ... he agreed with the city-dwellers ... he led him before the crowds ... and let him have his friend Heliodorus ... first of all a man of action ... for this reason now. ...'

Just as important as the political insights provided by the text are the economic/ecological data it provides. For Zamaspes was praised for his work on the 'dried-out river Gondeisos' which 'had been blocked for a long time', clearly bringing benefit to the city of Susa in so doing. It would seem that in recognition of his good works Zamaspes was later rewarded with appointment to higher office and a commemorative bronze statue. Thus, we find him identified as general and satrap of Susa in another text (CII II/1: no. 12) dating to AD 1/2 which throws yet more light on the irrigation works of the Arsacid administrator. The text reads as follows: 'See, oh stranger, the bronze image of the general of Susa, Zamaspes, and learn of the public benefactions of that great man, who was great both by the providence of the immortals and by the spirit of the all-mighty god Phraates. [The king] having deemed him a patriotic and reputable companion chose him as a satrap who knew what was useful. Water of the Gondeisos, collected from high-up at the delicious sources, he made to flow and rendered richly flowing. In return for this the inhabitant guardians of the great hill-top Susa made him indestructible with a memory for future

[generations], those people [i.e. the inhabitants] whose land, long since left dry, he saved and made fertile with the waves of Gondeisos. Year 313 [SE]. Ariston, son of Goras, wrote' (Potts 1989: 329, trans. A. Bülow-Jacobsen; cf. Shayegan 2011: 209 ff.).

The Ab-i Diz (Diz river) or one of its feeder tributaries (Wilhelm 1935: 80) is the prime candidate for identification with the Gondeisos (Potts 1989). Many years ago R. McC. Adams suggested that 'several impressive networks of canals which can be shown from aerial photographs to have antedated the still greater networks constructed early in the Sasanian period' might have been those of Zamaspes (Adams 1962: 116), while 'a dam or weir on the Dez which fed the area directly east of Susa' and which has been dated to the middle of the Arsacid era (Wenke 1976: 117) is perhaps part of Zamaspes' irrigation project as well (Potts 1989: 331).

Le Rider suggested that, in the time of Phraates IV, Susa acquired the new name 'Phraata in Susa' as a mark of its significance (Le Rider 1965a: 409ff.; see also Oppenheimer 1983: 431). Although Susa was politically under Arsacid rule, Greek institutions continued to flourish there and the Seleucid era was preferred to the Arsacid era in official records, although we should remember that these were largely written in Greek and the Arsacid era may have been used to date no longer extant leather, parchment or papyrus documents. An example of the continued veneration of Greek deities at Arsacid Susa is provided by an engraved paving stone (Cumont 1928: 89) which bears the fragmentary text of a first century AD (Huyse 1995: 116–17) hymn in honour of Apollo by one Herodoros, son of Artemon, of Seleucia-on-the-Eulaios (i.e. Susa). The worship of a Greek deity at this late date is of interest but is hardly cause for surprise. After all, Plutarch (*Marcus Crassus*) recounts that when the head of the defeated Roman Marcus Crassus was brought to the Arsacid king Orodes in 53 BC the latter was in the middle of watching a production of Euripides' *The Bacchae*. Arsacid philhellenism, though, was more about political expediency in dealing with subjugated populations, parts of which were Greek, than cultural appropriation (Huyse 1996: 68ff.; Dąbrowa 1998).

The fact that Gotarzes II (c. AD 40–51; Plate 10.16) was the last Arsacid king known to have minted coins at Susa (not Vardanes as previously thought, contra Oppenheimer 1983: 431), combined with the reappearance of Elymaean issues after this date, has led scholars to assume a re-conquest of Susa around AD 45, even though Elymaean coins were not struck at the site until AD 70–5 (Le Rider 1965a: 426ff.; Augé et al. 1979: 39). Indeed, as Augé stressed, apart from a few inscriptions and several rock reliefs (Mehrkian 2000), the dates of which are difficult to determine, Elymaean coinage constitutes our primary source of knowledge about the succession of Elymaean kings during the second half of the first century and all of the second century AD (Augé et al. 1979: 40; Harmatta 1982–4: 174ff.).



Plate 10.16. Silver drachm of Gotarzes II (11.1 g, 27.3 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).



Plate 10.17. The terrace at Bard-e Nechandeh (photo: Gian Pietro Basello, courtesy of the DARIOSH Project).

The most important collections from this period are without doubt the foundation deposit from Bard-e Nechandeh and the hoard found in 1900 at Susa. Located to the north of Masjid-e Solaiman, Bard-e Nechandeh is the site of a second important terrace ([Plate 10.17](#)) of irregular shape measuring maximally 67.5×45.3 m, topped by a small so-called podium and adjacent building (Ghirshman [1964a](#), [1964b](#), [1965b](#): 379ff., [1976](#): 13). Fragmentary bas-reliefs there once decorated the staircases leading up to the platform and

illustrate, *inter alia*, men involved in a libation ceremony (e.g. Ghirshman 1976: Fig. 11; Mathiesen 1992: 151). Whether or not the site was occupied year-round is unclear (Martinez-Sève 2004: 197). The styles of some of the figurines recovered at the site suggest that they originated at Susa, but whether, as has been suggested, artisans from Susa travelled there with examples of their work to sell, and stayed to manufacture more on the spot, is highly speculative (Martinez-Sève 2004: 197).

The succession of Elymaean kings in the first and second centuries AD (the ‘second period’) has been studied for more than a century (for bibliography up to 1979, see Augé et al. 1979: 43–5; to this add Alram 1986: 148–53; Vardanian 1986, 1999; Bell 2002; van’t Haaf 2007; Hoover 2008; Rezakhani 2011), but the order and identity of more than one group has bedevilled attempts to come up with a secure sequence (see especially the clear exposition of contending possibilities in Hoover 2008). While far from providing a smooth and continuous sequence of rulers for the first and second centuries AD (Table 10.3; Plates 10.18 and 10.19), Elymaean coinage does suggest certain developments in the history of the region. Vardanian suggested that the alternation between Greek and Aramaic legends allows one to correlate the development of Elymaean coinage with that of the neighbouring kingdom of Characene, but while this may be true, a more important insight to be derived from this pattern is ‘that the Greek and Aramaic issues reflect the use of different mint facilities ... the Greek-inscribed coins probably belong to Susa’ while the ‘Aramaic issues may then have been produced at Seleucia on the Hedyphon’ (Hoover 2008: 3). In this regard, while Le Rider suggested that the vast majority of Elymaean issues were minted at Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon, minting at Susa began by the 70s and Vardanian argued that a complete reunification of Susa and Elymais had been effected by the reign of Kamniskires-Orodes, roughly in the second decade of the second century AD (Vardanian 1986: 117).

Occasionally the numismatic evidence can be complemented by other types of data. Thus, a fragmentary inscription from Palmyra in Syria which mentions ‘Susa’ and ‘Worod’, that is, Orodes, the name of at least three different Elymaean kings during the second century AD, raises the possibility that a Palmyrene merchant colony was established at the site in this period (Cantineau 1939: 278), a time when we know that Palmyrene merchants were active elsewhere in the region, for example, in the kingdom of Characene, in Bahrain (Potts 1988, 1997b: Tab. 1) and possibly on Kharg (Haerinck 1975; Steve 2003). Contact between the Persian Gulf and Susiana was probably responsible for the limited diffusion of Elymaean coinage into eastern Arabia as well (Potts 1996: Fig. 9).

A square, grey limestone stele from Susa (Ghirshman 1947b, 1950b; Colledge 1979: 231; Mathiesen 1992/II: 168–9) depicting a seated nobleman wearing a crown and a standing figure in Parthian dress, both of whom grasp a ring (symbol of governorship = *xvarnah*; Tanabe 1986: 110,

TABLE 10.3. *Main features of Elymaean coinage*

Ruler	Approx. date	Description
Kamniskires Nikephorus	147–140 BC	i. tetradrachms: <i>obv.</i> diademed head of K., beardless, facing r.; <i>rev.</i> Βασιλεως Καμνισχιρου Νικηφ ορου [king Kamniskires Nikephoros] nude Apollo seated on his omphalos, facing left and holding an arrow in his right hand drachms: <i>obv.</i> as above; <i>rev.</i> r. Βασιλεως [king], 1. Καμνισχιρου [Kamniskires]; iconography as above
Kamniskires and Anzaze	82/81 or 79/78 BC	tetradrachms/drachms: <i>obv.</i> busts facing left of Anzaze and Kamniskires, bearded and diademed, anchor symbol; <i>rev.</i> Zeus seated on throne, torso nude, holding spear in left hand, supporting Nike proffering a wreath in right; legends Βασιλεως (above); Καμνισχιρου (right); χαϊ Βασιλίσσος (left); Ανζαζης (below)
Kamniskires	? to AD 58/9	tetradrachms/drachms: <i>obv.</i> diademed, bearded head, facing l., hair and diadem resembling a brimmed hat; star and crescent moon, anchor monogram; <i>rev.</i> pseudo-Greek legend, bearded masculine bust in the centre
Unknown king (Orodes I?)		tetradrachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded head facing l., wearing high, beaded tiara; crescent and star, anchor monogram behind head; Aramaic legend URUD MaLKA [Orodes king] in front of face; <i>rev.</i> pattern of vertical dashes, with or without an anchor in the centre
Kamniskires– Orodes	AD 110–120?	1st series, tetradrachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded head <i>en face</i> ; hair rising up in diagonal waves, crescent and star, anchor, r.; Aramaic legend KUMaŠKIR/KaBNŠKIR URUD MaLKA BaRI URUD MaLKA [king Kamniskires–Orodes, son of king Orodes]; <i>rev.</i> pattern of dashes, normally vertical drachms: as above, but legend gives name only without filiation 2nd series: generally as above but hair arranged in horizontal waves
Orodes II		1st series, drachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded, diademed head <i>en face</i> ; star and crescent, anchor r.; <i>rev.</i> Aramaic legend URUD MaLKA BaRI URUD [king Orodes, son of Orodes] around small, beardless head 2nd series, tetradrachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded head <i>en face</i> , tufted tiara; star and crescent, anchor r.; Aramaic legend URUD MaLKA left;

TABLE 10.3. (*continued*)

Ruler	Approx. date	Description
Phraates		<i>rev.</i> pattern of dashes; drachms: as above, but Aramaic legend as in 1st series, with filiation
		3rd series, drachms: as 2nd series but tiara without tufts; legend gives filiation
Phraates		1st series, drachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded head <i>en face</i> , tiara decorated with two crescents;
		star and crescent, anchor r.;
Phraates		<i>rev.</i> Greek legend Βασίλευς Πραατης or Φραατης; Artemis–Nanaya
		standing, facing right, holding bow in left hand, drawing arrow from
Phraates		a quiver on her back with right hand
		2nd series, tetradrachms/drachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded head with high, spherical tiara, facing l., star and crescent on tiara; star and
Phraates		crescent, anchor r.; Aramaic legend PRAAT MaLKA [king Phraates, son of king Orodes];
		<i>rev.</i> Artemis–Nanaya, as above, with Greek legend Βασίλευς Πραατης or Φραατης, or crescents or strokes in various patterns
Orodes III		tetradrachms: <i>obv.</i> bearded head with high tiara bearing anchor in profile, facing l.;
		star and crescent, anchor r.; Aramaic legend l., URUD MaLKA;
Orodes III		<i>rev.</i> vertical dashes
		drachms: <i>obv.</i> as above; <i>rev.</i> Greek legend Υρῶδης Βασίλευς, bust of Artemis–Nanaya in centre of field

‘ring of power’; Assar 2009: 129), bears an inscription which reads, ‘Artabanus, the king of kings, son of Walagashi [Vologases], the king of kings, built this “erection” which (is that) of Khwasak, the satrap of Susa’ (Henning 1977: 384). The stele is dated ‘year 462, month of Spandarmat, day of Mihr’ (i.e. 14 September AD 215 according to the Arsacid era), and thus dates to the reign of Artabanus IV (c. AD 216–24), last of the Parthian kings. Henning believed the Susa stele may have been Khwasak’s tombstone, and it is interesting to find him referred to as ‘satrap of Susa’. Given the fact that the Arsacid king Artabanus IV is only known to have struck coins at Ekbatana, not at Susa (Sellwood 1980: 290), his authority there may have been limited, and Khwasak, the ‘satrap of Susa’, may have been an Elymaean with considerable political authority in Susiana at this time (Rezakhani 2013: 774). Even so, it suggests that Arsacid rule was not



Plate 10.18. Copper of Orodes I of Elymais (3.67 g, 15.1 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).



Plate 10.19. Silver drachm of Orodes II of Elymais (2.95 g, 14.6 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

entirely absent from Susa at this late date, and some scholars believe it reflects the return of Susa to the Arsacid political orbit after a century and a half of Elymaean control (Gyselen and Gasche 1994: 20). While some scholars consider the stele an example of ‘Parthian art of Syro-Mesopotamian origin’ (Callieri and Askari Chaverdi 2013: 696), Lukonin noted that reliefs like Khwasak’s ‘were cut to the orders of these high personages, and reflected basically the same ideas as the rock carvings of the Sassanid Shahanshahs. Like them they proclaimed the ideas of legitimacy, like them they showed scenes of investiture; but with this difference that the governors derived their authority over the territories they ruled not



Plate 10.20. Tang-i Sarvak II (photo: Dr. Wouter Henkelman).

from the gods but from the King of Kings of Iran' (Lukonin 1967: 156; von Gall 1990: 103). Within a few years, however, neither the Elymaeans nor the Arsacids would be in control in Khuzistan. The rise of a new dynasty in Fars known as the Sasanians would put an end to all competition for hegemony in the region.

ELYMAEAN ROCK RELIEFS

Apart from fragments of figural sculpture from sites such as Bard-e Nechandeh and Masjid-i Solaiman, the monumental art of Elymais consists of a series of rock reliefs in the mountainous region east of lowland Khuzistan which perpetuate an ancient Elamite tradition attested at Kurangun and Naqsh-e Rostam (Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 99; Mehrkian 2000). In view of the difficulty of precisely defining the geographical limits of Elymais, a changing entity at all times vis-à-vis the boundaries of Arsacid control, it is not always easy to classify a relief as Elymaean rather than Arsacid (see Mathiesen 1992/I: 9; Mehrkian 2001; Messina and Mehr Kian 2011), but there is generally broad agreement on the Elymaean attribution of the reliefs at a cluster of sites including Hung-i Nauruzi/Azhdar, Hung-i Yar-i 'Alivand, Hung-i Kamalvand, Tang-i Butan, Bard-i But, Kuh-i Taraz and Tang-i Sarvak (Plates 10.20 to 10.23, Figure 10.5), the majority of which are located in the mountains north of Izeh and northeast of Shushtar (Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985; Kawami 2013). More remote reliefs, often poorly preserved



Plate 10.21. Tang-i Sarvak II (photo: Dr. Wouter Henkelman).



Plate 10.22. Tang-i Sarvak III (courtesy of Dr. Wouter Henkelman).

and difficult to attribute, have been found in recent years (Mehrkian 1997, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003).

Having said that, the dating and interpretation of these reliefs have varied greatly over the years, and only recently has a comprehensive analysis of

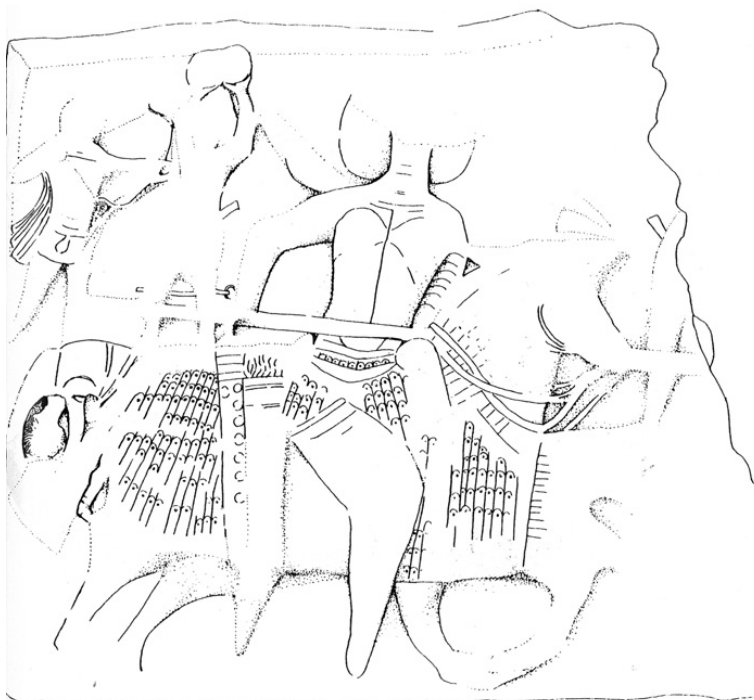


Figure 10.5. Tang-i Sarvak III (drawing: Dr. Trudy Kawami).



Plate 10.23. Tang-i Sarvak IV (photo: Dr. Wouter Henkelman).

TABLE 10.4. *Chronological distribution of Elymaean rock reliefs*

Period	Approx. date	Hung-i Nauruzi	Tang-i Sarvak	Tang-i Butan	Kuh-i Taraz	Hung-i Kamal- wand	Hung-i Yar-i Alvand
Early	BC 250–0	relief, left side					
Middle	AD 0–150						
Late Ia	AD 150–190		CN, ANb, CE, BW, AWba, AWa, BS' left	Groups III–IV	relief		
Late Ib	AD 190–200		BS' right, BN, AWc	Group II		relief	relief
Late II	AD 200–25	relief, right side	ANa, ANW, AWbβ, D	Group I			

Note: According to Mathiesen 1992.

their style, iconography and chronology been achieved which places them in the broader context of Parthian and Syro-Mesopotamian art of the last centuries BC and first centuries AD (Mathiesen 1992, superseding Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985). H.E. Mathiesen assigned the corpus of Elymaean reliefs to four chronological groups (Table 10.4) which extend in time from *c.* 250 BC to AD 225. These include scenes of homage, worship, the hunt and equestrian combat (see Vanden Berghe and Schippmann 1985: 101–2). Although often badly weathered, the Elymaean reliefs still continue to display details of dress, weaponry and hairstyle which permit comparison with better preserved examples of Parthian, Hatran and Syrian (e.g. Dura Europus) art of the pre-Sasanian period. Stylistically, they are pervaded by a tendency towards frontality and static realism. In the absence of epigrams identifying specific figures, however, the identification of specific Elymaean princes or kings and deities is fraught with danger, and there is little agreement amongst specialists when it comes to these problematic issues. Moreover, the few badly weathered inscriptions (e.g. Hinz 1963; Moriggi 2011) associated with these reliefs are of little help in identifying the specific rulers who commissioned them. All later Elymaean texts, whether on coins or on rock faces, as at Tang-i Sarvak, use a form of the Middle Aramaic script which is closely related to that used in southern Mesopotamia in the second and third centuries AD (Klugkist 1986: 116; Häberl 2006; Burtea 2008). As Henning observed, however, whereas the later Elymaean tetradrachms and inscriptions at Tang-i Sarvak are written in pure Aramaic, the smaller coin denominations, such as those issued by Orodes (WRWD), use a number of Aramaic

ideograms, which ‘proves that the language that underlay these legends is not Aramaic; it may have been an Iranian dialect or it may have been a surviving form of Elamite. . . . Perhaps the lowlands of Khuzistan were peopled by speakers of Aramaic while in the highlands to the north an Iranian (or Elamite?) language was spoken; and the mints of the Kamniskires dynasty, to accommodate both national groups, issued coins with legends in both languages for local circulation’ (Henning 1977: 166). If Henning was correct in this suggestion, then the distinction between Aramaic speakers in the lowlands and Elamite (or Iranian) speakers in the highlands of Elymais would represent one more example of the ethno-linguistic duality in Elam commented upon by scholars such as Amiet (1979a, 1979b, 1986c, 1992a) and Vallat (1980a).

CONCLUSION

Elymais, as we have seen, is nothing but the Graecized form of the more ancient name Elam, and as the sources make clear, the Elamites were, in their late manifestation, very much a part of the cultural and political landscape of southwestern Iran during the Seleucid and Parthian periods. Like their earlier forebears, they raided southern Mesopotamia on numerous occasions, and were subject to the oppression of foreign political powers, first the Seleucids and then the Parthians. Like the Elamites of earlier centuries, the Elymaeans were noted for their prowess in archery and had a reputation of being great warriors. There is more than a touch of the ‘barbarian’ in Greek and Latin ethnographic descriptions of the Elymaeans, even though agricultural pursuits are occasionally mentioned.

Of the non-political aspects of Elymaean history we are afforded few glimpses, but one notice preserved by Pliny is worth noting. Pliny commented (*Nat. Hist.* XII.38.78), ‘so tired do mortals get of things that are their own, and so covetous are they of what belongs to other people’, that the ancient inhabitants of Arabia used to ‘send to the Elymaei for the wood of the bratum, a tree resembling a spreading cypress, with very white branches, and giving an agreeable scent when burnt. It is praised in the Histories of Claudius Caesar as having a marvellous property: he states that the Parthians sprinkle its leaves into their drinks, and that it has a scent very like cedar, and its smoke is an antidote against the effects of other woods. It grows beyond the Pasitigris on Mount Scanchrus in the territory of the city of Sostrata’. (Sostrata = Shushtar; see Weissbach 1927.) The identification of bratum as *Juniperus excelsa*, a conifer found in the Zagros, is based on the recognition that Latin *bratus* is cognate with Syria *brōtā* and Hebrew *beroš* (Hansman 1976: 28–9 with earlier lit.). This is a vignette of life in Elymais which adds a completely different dimension to our otherwise often intractable archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources.

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	'Elam'
323–316 BC	Susiana scene of fighting between successors of Alexander	fighting in Media	struggle amongst successors for control of Babylonia	
301–222 BC	Seleucus I gains control of Susiana, begins minting coins, founds and renames cities in Khuzistan; Susa shows heavy occupation, much Hellenistic material; establishment of Seleucid military colony at Susa, transformation into a Greek <i>polis</i> with Greek institutions	Seleucus I in control of Fars, begins minting coins; independent <i>frataraka</i> dynasty in Persis after death of Seleucus I; foundation of Masjid-i Solaiman	Seleucus I gains control, Mesopotamia under Seleucid rule	
222–187 BC	Susiana joined to southern Babylonia administratively by the reign of Antiochus III; 'Kissians' fighting with Antiochus III represent lowland contingent from Susiana	revolt in Media; Kossaeans and Elymaeans in Zagros; attack by Antiochus III on Bel temple in Elymais; Elymaean shrine at Bard-e Nechandeh	Seleucids in control, incursion by Ptolemy III?	Elymais and Elymaeans appear in Greek sources as region and ethnic group; political unity a reaction to Seleucid aggression? Elymaean deities
187–145 BC	activity of Susa's mint shows city remains Seleucid	Seleucid governor in Media, coins issued at Ekbatana; attack by Antiochus IV on Elymais		

(continued)

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	'Elam'
145–130 BC	struggle for control of Susa between Elymaean king Kamniskires I and Arsacids, Elymaean coin issues	highlands under Elymaean control, early Elymaean rock reliefs	attacks by Elymaeans noted in Babylonian astronomical diaries; attempts by last Seleucids to reassert authority, rise of kingdom of Characene	Elymaean 'kingdom'
130–80 BC	Susa under Arsacid control, Arsacid coins issued there; massive occupation of site	Elymaeans in retreat? limited Arsacid authority	Parthian control	shrinking of Elymais as political force
79 BC–AD 224	alternating rule of Elymaean and Arsacid kings over Susa, alternative Elymaean 'capital' at Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon? persistence of Greek institutions, Arsacid investments in agriculture in Susiana	Elymaean/Arsacid rivalry, series of important rock reliefs	Parthian control	shifting balance of power between Elymaean and Arsacid Kings, signs of autonomy in areas of southwestern Iran

CHAPTER 11

ELAM UNDER THE SASANIANS AND BEYOND

The Arsacid empire was brought down by Ardashir, a native of Istakhr in Fars who successfully overthrew Artabanus IV, last of the Arsacid kings, in AD 224, and thereby laid the foundations for what has become known as the Sasanian empire. There is no shortage of important archaeological sites in Fars and Khuzistan dating to the Sasanian period (AD 224–642), such as Susa, Gundeshapur, Ivan-e Kerkha, Bishapur, Darabgird or Firuzabad. But where are the Elamites? By the Sasanian period it is difficult to discern elements of distinctive Elamite identity in southwestern Iran, although there are some indications that the Elamite language survived in places. After the Islamic conquest, however, we see the name ‘Elam’ used to identify the ecclesiastical province of the Nestorian church, a major branch of Christianity widespread in the Sasanian empire, located in Khuzistan. Sources dating to between the eighth and fourteenth centuries AD make frequent reference to the Nestorian ecclesiastical province of Elam, which seems to have eventually succumbed to conquest by Timur in about AD 1400. In this case the revival of the name Elam can be attributed to religious usage.

INTRODUCTION

As we have seen, the political status of Elymais in the late Arsacid period is difficult to characterize on the basis of the very scarce data available to us today. However, thanks to the sources which touch upon the rise of the Sasanian dynasty in the first three decades of the third century, we are afforded another perspective on Elymais at the very end of the Arsacid era. Early Arabic and Pahlavi sources differ in their identification of the eponymous Sasan (Bosworth 1999: 3, n. 5), one alleging he was in charge of a temple of Anahita at Istakhr, near Persepolis (thus al-Tabari; Nöldeke 1879: 481, n. 3; Schippmann 1990: 11), another that he was a soldier (thus Firdawsi), and a third that he was a



Plate 11.1. Silver drachm of Ardashir (3.71 g, 25 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

shepherd of Achaemenid descent (thus the *Kar Namak-i Ardashir-i Papakan* or Book of Deeds of Ardashir, a Pahlavi ‘novel’ thought to have been written in the reign of the Sasanian king Hormizd I, c. AD 272/3) (Frye 1962: 207; 1983: 117; for the entire text see Grenet 2003). Whichever tradition one chooses to follow, the Ka’ba-i Zardosht (hereafter KZ) inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam near Persepolis stipulates descent from the eponymous Sasan through Papak (not necessarily Sasan’s son; Frye 1983: 116; Felix 1985: 28) to Ardashir (Maricq 1958: 333; Mosig-Walburg 1982: 46; Daryaee 2008: 8). As for Ardashir himself (Plate 11.1), there are various accounts of his career, the details of which are not always easy to reconcile (Christensen 1936; Frye 1971: 215; Widengren 1971; Piacentini 1984, 1985; Schippmann 1990), but it is clear that Darabgird in Fars (Miri 2012) was his centre of activity and that he became ‘king’ of Istakhr early in the third century, perhaps in AD 205/6 or 208 (for the date, see the discussion in Schippmann 1990: 13). This was an important step on the road to full-scale rebellion against the Arsacid ruling house, culminating eventually in AD 224 with the victory of Ardashir over Artabanus IV (Plate 11.2) and the birth of a new political power in Western Asia.

ELAM IN THE EARLY SASANIAN PERIOD

Sometime shortly after AD 218, Ardashir battled and defeated an unnamed ‘king of Ahwaz’ who had been deputed by Artabanus IV to bring the Sasanian to him in chains, according to al-Tabari and Ibn al-Athir (Christensen 1936: 82; Widengren 1971: 737; Schippmann 1990: 15). Although Sellwood suggested (Sellwood 1983: 310) that the ‘king of Ahwaz’ was one of the late Elymaean monarchs called ‘Orodes’ (Hill 1922: cxiv; Rezakhani 2013: 774), this is confirmed by neither the ancient sources on Ardashir’s reign (Felix 1985: 25–42) nor later Arabic accounts of his exploits. Widengren, who said simply, ‘It is



Plate 11.2. Silver drachm of Artabanus IV (3.57 g, 18.5 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

a difficult problem to say who is meant by “the king of al-Ahwaz”, noted that the only name one could possibly point to was that of Khwasak, the satrap of Susa under Artabanus IV (Widengren 1971: 737–8) who was in office in AD 215 and whom we discussed in [Chapter 10](#). Although we cannot be certain that ‘the king of al-Ahwaz’ was Khwasak, there seems little doubt that the kingdom of Ahwaz was a semi-autonomous, late incarnation of Elymais under broad Arsacid control, with or without the inclusion of Susiana, on the eve of its eventual capitulation to the new dynast (Widengren 1971: 738).

Having defeated the king of Ahwaz, Ardashir then invaded the territory of Khuzistan itself, marching through Arjan (near Behbahan) and several other districts near Ram Hormuz before advancing to the region of Dauraq, near the ancient site of Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon ([Chapter 10](#)). This he conquered and re-founded as Hormizd-Ardashir (contested by Schwaigert 1989: 13, who considers it a foundation of Ardashir’s grandson Hormizd I), which was later destroyed and re-founded during the Muslim conquest as ‘Askar Mukram (KS 1622, see Moghaddam 2012a: 28, 55, and Map 4.9; historically called Band-e Qir; Schwarz 1969: index 10; LeStrange 1905: 236–7; Kennedy and Kennedy 1987: 5), roughly halfway between Shushtar and al-Ahwaz (Fiey 1979: 130, n. 4). The (re-)foundation of Shushtar, Pliny’s Sostra (Weissbach 1927), is also attributed to Ardashir by the anonymous Persian work *Muğmal at-tawarih* (Schwaigert 1989: 13). Laden with booty, Ardashir returned to Fars (Widengren 1971: 738). Shortly thereafter, he crossed the district again on his way to Mesene (southernmost Iraq).

The fact that Islamic historians writing on the reign of Ardashir used the term ‘Ahwaz’ in referring to the southwestern corner of Iran simply means that the names Elam and Elymais were no longer familiar to them, although they certainly continued to appear in Christian and Jewish texts. But if we consider

the sources on the career of Ardashir's son and successor, Shapur I, we find that we have both a more ancient and a more modern term in use. In the trilingual (Greek, Middle Persian and Parthian) KZ inscription of Shapur I, the king, after detailing his filiation, lists the countries which constituted his empire, beginning with Persis, Parthia and Susiana (Honigsmann and Maricq 1953: 39; Maricq 1958: 304–5; Huyse 1999) as does, in all probability, the slightly later provincial list of Shapur's important priest Kartir (Gignoux 1971a: 86). In place of the classical Greek form Σουσιανη, KZ writes Οὐ[ζη]γὴν (in the accusative), while the Parthian text uses the term *Hwzstn*, obviously the forerunner of modern Khuzistan. Like the Greek ethnic Uxioi (Οὐξιοί), Οὐ[ζη]γὴν would seem to be derived from the Old Persian *Hužiya*, the term used for the inhabitants of Huza (Szemerényi 1966: 194), as discussed in Chapter 9. The identity of all of these terms with the 'kingdom of Ahwaz' mentioned by Tabari and other post-Sasanian writers is also assured, since Arabic Ahwaz is nothing but the plural of New Persian *Khûz*, a cognate form of Old Persian *Hužiya* which denoted the inhabitants of Khuzistan (Nöldeke 1874: 184).

The Elamite or Elymaean substratum of the inhabitants of this part of Iran is explicitly hinted at by two sources. According to the Babylonian Talmud (Megillah 18a), in answer to a question about when the Book of Esther was to be read, Raba (fl. reign of Shapur II, AD 309–79) said that the Jews of Susa read it every year on the 15 of Adar, the anniversary of the Purim uprising described in Esther 9:18. Furthermore, he said that it was read in the *native speech* of their country, which Obermeyer took to be Elymaean (Obermeyer 1929: 212; see also Oppenheimer 1983: 432) and which, in light of the evidence (e.g. Pittit's name) discussed in Chapter 10, must have been a late form of Elamite (cf. Mokhtarian 2010: 113 and n. 3). Moreover, the tenth-century writers al-Istakhri and Ibn Hawqal noted that, along with Persian and Arabic, the Khuz spoke another language which was neither Syriac nor Hebrew (Nöldeke 1874: 187; Fiey 1979: 224). Some form of Elamite seems implied by this statement. Nevertheless, it is striking that there is virtually no residual Elamite substratum in the New Persian dialects of southwestern Iran (de Blois 1996).

Like the Achaemenids and Elamites before them, the Sasanians, though first appearing as a political force in the highlands of Fars, moved into Khuzistan in an important way as soon as they had consolidated their power. This is not to say that they ignored Fars, as sites like Darabgird, Firuzabad, Bishapur, Istakhr and a series of important rock reliefs attest. But whether it was a matter of geographical centrality or political tradition, southwestern Iran once more assumed a level of geopolitical importance which it had temporarily lost under the Arsacids. At the same time, however, the military successes of the early Sasanian period had a profound impact on the topography, demography and religious make-up of Khuzistan in particular.



Plate 11.3. Silver drachm of Shapur I (3.99 g, 26.9 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).



Plate 11.4. Aureus of Gordian III, minted AD 238–44 shortly before his capture by Shapur I (4.9 g, 21 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

Shapur I (AD 240–72) campaigned widely (Plate 11.3), first as co-regent with his father Ardashir (e.g. in the campaign of AD 241 against Hatra in northern Mesopotamia), and later on his own (for the sources, see Felix 1985: 43–89; Dodgeon and Lieu 1991; for the history, see e.g. Frye 1962: 212ff., 1983: 124–7; Herrmann 1977: 96ff.; Kettenhofen 1982; Schippmann 1990: 19ff.). His victories over the Kushans in the east and the Romans in the west are the stuff of legend. He succeeded in defeating Gordian III (Plate 11.4) in AD 244, securing terms from Philip the Arab in the same year (Chaumont 1969: 44ff.; Kettenhofen 1982, 1995; Winter 1988: 100ff.), and capturing Valerian (Plate 11.5) in AD 260, the latter an unprecedented achievement commemorated on rock reliefs at Darab, Bishapur and Naqsh-e Rostam (Plate 11.6).

In Khuzistan, the direct consequences of Shapur's victories were enormous. To begin with, his capture of Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria in AD 256 on his second campaign, as recounted in the KZ inscription (Honigsmann and



Plate 11.5. Silver antoninianus of Valerian, minted in AD 257 at Mediolanum (Milan) (3.545 g, 21.5 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).



Plate 11.6. Naqsh-e Rostam VI showing Shapur I's triumph over Valerian (standing) and Philip the Arab (kneeling) (photo: author).

Maricq 1953: 131ff.; Maricq 1958: 310) and in the *Chronicle of Seert*, a Nestorian Christian source of the eleventh century AD (Scher 1907: 220–3; Sachau 1916: 4; Peeters 1924: 295–7; Felix 1985: 57; Schwaigert 1989: 191, n. 4), resulted in the deportation of a large number of prisoners of war, indeed all who were not killed on the spot according to Zosimus (Chaumont 1988: 59). The *Chronicle of Seert* says explicitly that Shapur settled the prisoners in cities built by his father in Babylonia, Khuzistan and Persis, and in three new cities of his own

construction, in Mesene (Sad-Sabur), Persis (Sabur) and on the Tigris (Buzurg-Sabur) (for these foundations, see the discussion in Peeters 1924: 298ff.). The *Chronicle of Seert* further specifies that Shapur ‘rebuilt Gondisapor [Gundeshapur] which had fallen into ruins’ and gave his prisoners land grants so that they might build homes and take up farming.

Apart from the obvious genetic and linguistic impact of this act, it is clear that the deportations introduced large numbers of skilled craftsmen and artisans into southwestern Iran. The Arab historian Masudi credited the deportees with the introduction to Persia of a number of new industries (Peeters 1924: 308). The foreign craftsmen included sculptors and stonemasons who, according to some scholars, were put to work on the reliefs and mosaics at Bishapur (Ghirshman 1956b: 147; 1971: 177). Moreover, according to Tabari (Nöldeke 1879: 33, n. 2), captive Roman engineers built the c. 550 m long dam still visible (with thirty-five arches still extant) at Shushtar on the Karun river in Susiana as well as the 400 m long weir (with twenty-two arches) on the Diz river near Dizful (Plate 11.7), and possibly the 1 km wide weir at Ahwaz (Graadt van Roggen 1905: 174–90; Rahimi-Laridjani 1988: 238–9; Neely 1974; Christensen 1993: 109). Later Islamic and local folk tradition attributed the Shushtar constructions (see e.g. Moghaddam 2012b) not just to Roman engineers but specifically to Valerian, calling them by such names as Pul-e Kaisar (‘the emperor’s bridge’) or Band-e Kaisar (‘the emperor’s weir’), and even if such attributions have never been verified they do make clear the perceived connection between major irrigation works and Roman prisoners of war (Christensen 1993: 109).



Plate 11.7. Sasanian weir at Dizful (photo: Baroness Marie Thérèse Ullens de Schooten, courtesy of Special Collections, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University).

A sophisticated ‘siphon bridge’ across the Siah Mansur watercourse near Gundeshapur is also attributed to the Sasanian period (Adams and Hansen 1968: 59ff.). Considering the Sasanian interest in the professional qualifications of their prisoners, it is tempting to see the explosion in the construction of stonemasonry irrigation works in Khuzistan as a direct result of these deportations. Just as the contribution of engineers to the French revolution has been recognized (Alder 1997), so too it can be suggested that the implementation of Roman engineering had a catalytic effect on the Sasanian capacity for agricultural intensification, a necessity if the large population of third-century Khuzistan was to be fed.

Further, we know from both the *Chronicle of Seert* and the twelfth century writer Mari Ibn Sulaiman (Westphal 1901) that amongst the deportees of AD 256 was Demetrianus, bishop of Antioch (Peeters 1924; Sachau 1916: 5). From a tactical point of view, the deportation of a community’s religious leaders may have helped ensure more passive and orderly conduct on the part of the captives than would otherwise have been the case (Peeters 1924: 308). However that may be, the *Chronicle of Seert* says that, from the time of this deportation onwards, Christianity flourished and spread widely throughout Iran (Selb 1981: 48–50, 161–5; Brock 1984: VI3–4; Schwaigert 1989: 20). Thus, despite the fact that Zoroastrianism was the ‘state religion’ of the ruling elites of the Sasanian court, the Nestorian church claimed a large share of the populace amongst its members and qualified, in many respects, to the claim of being a second ‘state religion’ (Labourt 1904). Indeed, Nöldeke believed that most of the population of Khuzistan was Christian during the Sasanian period (Nöldeke 1893: 44).

Shapur I’s deportation of prisoners from Antioch in AD 256 was followed by a second deportation, explicitly noted in the *Chronicle of Seert*, in AD 261 (Peeters 1924: 310). Nor were these by any means unique in Sasanian history. Numerous other deportations impacted directly on Khuzistan. Arabic sources, including Yaqut and al-Tha’alibi, report that Shapur II (AD 309–79) deported prisoners from Amida (mod. Diyarbakir in southeastern Turkey; see Dillemann 1962: 326), Bosra, Tuwana, Sinjar and other regions in northern Mesopotamia to Khuzistan. These new groups were meant to have been responsible for making brocade and other fine textiles at Shushtar, garments of silk at Susa, carpets and veils at Basinna and Mattut, and low-quality veils at Birud and Birdawn (Fiey 1979: 226). According to Tabari, Shapur II settled deportees from the Middle Euphrates (Peeters 1924: 305) at Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-sharestan (i.e. Ivan-e Kerkha) around AD 350. In AD 360 he sent around 9,000 inhabitants of Finik, a town located near the eastern end of the Tur Abdin in southeastern Turkey, to Susiana. Shortly thereafter he deported a contingent of Christian Taghlib Arabs to Khuzistan, sending others to Kerman and Tawwag, near Rev-Ardashir on the Bushehr peninsula in the Persian Gulf (Peeters 1924: 306). Between AD 502 and 506 Kawadh I deported part of the population of

Theodosiopolis (mod. Erzerum, eastern Turkey), as well as groups from Amida and nearby Maiperqat, to the borders of Persia and Khuzistan, founding the new city of Weh Amid-i Kavadh. Later deportations of Antiochans in AD 540 by Khusrau I, and of Palestinians by Khusrau II in AD 614, resulted principally in the resettlement of deportees around Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Babylonia (Peeters 1924: 307). In the absence of a clergyman, someone else might be assigned to assist the group of deportees. Thus, according to Tabari, Khusrau I chose a Christian and former inspector of public works from Khuzistan, one Baraz, to assist the Antiochans whom he settled at Rumia (Peeters 1924: 309).

MAJOR SETTLEMENTS OF THE SASANIAN PERIOD IN KHUZISTAN

The influx of deportees, the expansion of irrigation works in Khuzistan, and the foundation of new cities profoundly transformed southwestern Iran. Let us now look at the major settlements of the region during the Sasanian period. As noted earlier, we know that Ardashir himself probably founded or re-founded several cities, including Hormizd-Ardashir and Shushtar (Fiey 1979: 130–40). Each became an important commercial centre as well as a Nestorian bishopric, well attested in Nestorian and later Arabic sources, but neither has been excavated. Two cities associated with Shapur I, however, rank above all others in Sasanian Khuzistan: Gundeshapur and Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan, the former a royal residence and seat of the Christian metropolitan of the region, the latter the new administrative capital of the district.

GUNDESHAPUR

Located c. 10 km south of Dizful in northern Khuzistan, Gundeshapur is a vast site of ‘sprawling, indistinct clusters of low mounds’, over 3 km long and nearly 2 km wide in places, with visible depressions intersecting at right angles, that was investigated briefly in 1963 by R. McC. Adams and D. Hansen (Adams and Hansen 1968: 53; see also Abbott 1968). Numerous scholars have recognized in the rectilinearity of Gundeshapur’s grid-like street plan an example of Hippodamian urban design, almost certainly the work of Antiochan planners (Chaumont 1988: 73, n. 86; Fiey 1979: 228–9). The grid layout surely represents the system of streets described by the Arab geographers, such as Hamza al-Isfahani and Yaqut, who said that the city was traversed in both its length and its width by eight streets at right angles to each other (Chaumont 1988: 72, n. 84). It is possible that smaller sites with rectangular plans and cross streets, such as Choga Kal near Rasvand on the Izeh plain (Eqbal 1979: 116), reflect the same phenomenon.

As the *Chronicle of Seert* attests, Gundeshapur is supposed to have been re-founded by Shapur I, not created *ab novo*, and the distinction is important, for

the name, contrary to the many and varied suggestions put forward over the years, is almost certainly derived from that of a Parthian fortification, made up of *gund* ('military district/settlement'), and *dēz* ('enclosure wall', 'fortress'), which in turn gave its name to the river Gondeisos mentioned in the inscription of Zamaspes from Susa discussed in [Chapter 10](#) (Potts 1989: 332). The Parthian etymology of the name notwithstanding, following Shapur's capture of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, Gundeshapur was given the Middle Persian epithet '(the) better (is the) Antioch of Shapur' (*why-* 'ndywk-šhpwḥry). It is by this name that Gundeshapur is cited in the Pahlavi *Shahrastaniha i Eranshahr*, a listing of the provincial capitals of Iran compiled in the eighth century AD (Marquart 1931: 20; Gyselen 1988; Daryaee 2002). The Syriac name by which Gundeshapur appears throughout the Nestorian sources, in the Talmud and in Procopius, was Beth Lapat/Be Lapat/Belapaton, a name derived, according to a folk etymology preserved by Tabari, from that of its builder, Bel (see the discussion in Nöldeke 1879: 41–2, n. 2; Potts 1989: 324; for an alternative derivation from the Aramaic tribe Labdudu/Labadudu, attested in eighth century BC Assyrian sources, see Hüsing 1916b: 200, n. 1). According to the *Chronicle of Seert*, it was here that the captured Roman emperor Valerian became ill and died (Scher 1907: 220; Chaumont 1988: 63; Schwaigert 1989: 24 with refs. to the late accounts of Valerian's death preserved by Firmianus Lactantius, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Zosimas, Agathias Scholastikos and Zonaras).

According to the Arab historian Masudi, Gundeshapur served as the Sasanian royal winter residence from the reign of Shapur I (AD 240–72) (probably after the second capture of Antioch in AD 260, according to Schwaigert 1989: 24) through the reign of Hormizd II (AD 302–9), although Hamza al-Isfahani says that, prior to the foundation of the new Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon near Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, it continued to function in this capacity during the first thirty years of Shapur II's (AD 309–79) reign as well (Nöldeke 1879: 42, n. 2). Gundeshapur's importance for the history of Manichaeism in the third century AD was also great, since Mani, the founder of the new religion, spent a great deal of time with Shapur I and must therefore have been at his winter residence on a regular basis (Hummel 1963: 2). Moreover, it was there that Mani met his death in AD 276 (Christensen 1936: 193; Fiey 1979: 234). Indeed the eighth/ninth century AD Syriac author Theodore bar Koni (Hespel 1983) says that Mani died at 'Beth Lapat, city of the Elamites' (Fiey 1979: 234).

In AD 270, two years before his death, Shapur is said to have married a daughter of the Roman emperor Aurelian ([Plate 11.8](#)). According to Bar Hebraeus, 'Aurelian gave his daughter to Sapor, and made peace with him. And Sapor built for himself in Persia a city which was like Constantinople. And its name was Gûndîshâbhôr, and he made his Roman wife to live therein. And there came with her distinguished Greek physicians, and they sowed the system of medicine of Hippocrates in the East' (Budge 1932: 56–7). This was the



Plate 11.8. Silver antoninianus of Aurelian, minted AD 270–5 at Antioch-on-the-Orontes (4.13 g, 25.1 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

beginning of a unique medical academy which is attested as late as AD 869 (Hummel 1983: 54; Oppenheimer 1983: 88).

Equally if not more important was the city's role in the hierarchy of the Nestorian church (Table 11.1). At the synod of AD 410 convened by Mar Isaac at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, a major administrative reorganization of the Nestorian church was undertaken and Gundeshapur became the capital of the ecclesiastical province of Beth Huzaye (Braun 1975 [1900]: 28ff.; Chabot 1902: 253ff; Labourt 1904: 98). Several scholars (e.g. Westphal 1901: 63; Fiey 1979: 232) have suggested that, although never an official capital, Gundeshapur's importance as a royal residence accounts for the fact that it was chosen as the seat of the Nestorian metropolitan or archbishop who exercised jurisdiction over the bishops of Karka d'Ledan, Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan, Hormizd-Ardashir, Shushtar, Susa and Ram-Hormizd. Apart from the local importance of Gundeshapur in the Nestorian hierarchy of Khuzistan, the acts of the synod reveal a crucial demographic fact about the city. For in the last of twenty-one Canons or resolutions passed at the synod it was stated expressly that, after Seleucia itself (the ecclesiastical capital of the Nestorian church and comparable, in other words, to the status of the Vatican for the Roman Catholic church), the order and choice of the seats of the metropolitans (archbishops) of the church were based on the *size* of the cities in each region (Braun 1975 [1900]: 28; Chabot 1902: 271). Hence, Gundeshapur was certainly the largest city of its day in Khuzistan and may well have been the second-largest city in the Sasanian empire in AD 410 because of the fact that it is listed directly after Seleucia in the order of metropolitanates (Wiessner 1967: 289).

Interestingly, Canon XXI comments on the presence of two bishops in a single city in Beth Huzaye and the illegality of this state of affairs. It is generally thought that this was a by-product of the presence of two distinctly different Christian groups in Khuzistan at the time, the indigenous 'Aramaic' element,

TABLE 11.1. *Chronological and spatial distribution of early Christian and Nestorian (post AD 409) bishops in Khuzistan*

Date (AD)	Beth Lapat	Karka d'Ledan	Hormizd Ardashir	Shushtar	Susa	
[256–60]	[Demetrianus] [Ardaq ¹ ?]					
[330] 341	Gadyaw ^{†2} M [*] Sabina [†] Amaria ^{†3} Mqayma ^{†4}		John [†]		[Miles]	
? 410	Adona Yazdidad Agapit		John Batai	'Awdisho Simon Barduq	Z/Duqa Bar Shabtha	
420/4	Mare Bar Shabtha Shila Agapit M	Sawmai	'Abda [†] Batai	Gura Miles	'Abdisho	Duqa
486	Papa? M	Paul b. Qaqai	Batai	Pusai		
497	Papa M Mar Marwai M	Salomon Emmanuel Samuel	Shila	Yazdegerd	Papai	
524 534/7	Ya'qub M		Buzaq Paul			
540					Khusrau	Simon
544	Paul M	Salmai	Shila	Elisee		
554	Joseph M	Surin	Shila	Elisee	Khusrau	
576	Dalai M	Moses	David	Daniel	Adhurhormizd	Mihr Shab- ur 'Anan Isho
585 605 630	Baraz M	Pusai Barsauma	David Pusai	Stephen Ahishma	James	
642/3 –646 646	John M Mar Emmeh M Sergius M					
650/9 –659	George of Kafra M		Theodore	George		
680/1	John Bar Marta M	Isaac				

TABLE I I . I . (continued)

Date (AD)	Beth Lapat	Karka d'Ledan	Hormizd Ardashir	Shushtar	Susa
685–700	Narsai M				
751	James M				
773–95	Ephrem M				
795	Sergius M ?				
799/804		Bar Sahde	Emmanuel		Isho bar Nun
803	George b. al- Sayyah M				
828	George M				
835/7	Aba M				
837–48	Theodosius M	Michael			
840					
853			Abraham		
884	Paul M				
891	Shapur M				
893–900	Theodore M	Simon	Salomon		
900					
960/1	George M				
986	Daylam M				
987	Hnanisho M				
987/97	Sawrisho M				
–1012		Emmanuel			
1012	Emmanuel M				
–1064	Sawrisho				
	Zanbur M				
1064	Steven (Abu 'Amr) M				
1075/90	Sawrisho M				
1111/32	Elias M				
	Yohannan M				
1176	Yuwanis M				
1222	'Awdisho M				
1256	Eliya M				
1257					
1265					
1283	Mar Ni'ma M				
1318	Joseph M				

*Notes:*¹ Reading of the name is uncertain.² Gadīmabh of the *Chronicle of Seert*.³ Marias of Sozomenus.⁴ Mokinos of Sozomenus.

* M = metropolitan; † = martyred in that year.

the origins of which may go back to the first century AD, and the ‘Greek’ element, composed of the deportees from Antioch and their descendants (Peeters 1924: 313; Fiey 1979: 236; Wiessner 1967: 293; Schwaigert 1989: 38; Jullien 2006). This cultural schism resulted in the use of two languages, Greek and Syriac, in the Christian liturgy of Khuzistan, and the perpetuation of these two languages is clearly signalled in the names of the rival bishops of Beth Huzaye, one group of which is Greek (e.g. Agapta, Ἀγαπητοῦ) or Greco-Latin (e.g. Miles), while the other is non-Greek, principally Aramaic or Iranian (e.g. Yazdaidad) (Wiessner 1967: 293). One cannot help but be reminded of the much earlier Semitic (Akkadian)-Elamite (Anshanite) duality in Khuzistan and Elam generally of which Amiet and others have long been convinced. Although the reasons for the cultural and linguistic duality of Khuzistan in the Sasanian period were very different from those which characterized earlier periods, the result was perhaps not that dissimilar in that a bicultural milieu, at least amongst the majority Christian community, seems to have prevailed.

ERAN-XWARRAH-SHAPUR-SHAHRESTAN AND ITS CAPITAL

While Gundeshapur enjoyed the status of a royal residence, the centre of local administration from the reign of Shapur II (AD 309–79) onwards lay elsewhere. Without going into detail on the subject of the administrative organization of the Sasanian empire (see e.g. Gignoux 1984 with earlier lit.; Zakeri 1995: 31–48; Gyselen 1989, 2001; Miri 2012), suffice it to say that there existed numerous administrative provinces, each with a provincial capital, and each composed of a variable number of administrative sub-districts. Reconstructing the administrative organization of Khuzistan on the basis of sealed clay bullae, Gyselen identified three sub-districts within the province of Eran-xwarrah-Shapur: Shush i er-kar, Manestan i mar and ... –shahrestan (Gyselen and Gasche 1994: 22; Gyselen 1989). Since the name of the provincial capital was usually composed of the name of the province plus the term *shahrestan*, Gyselen assumed that Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan was the capital of Khuzistan and was identical with the Eran-xwarrah-Shapur, ‘which is called Karkha in Syriac’, according to Tabari and Hamza al-Isfahani (Nöldeke 1879: 58; Marquart 1901: 145; Gyselen and Gasche 1994: 23). This is the Karka d’Ledan of the Nestorian sources, a city long identified with the site of Ivan-e Kerkha, c. 17 km northwest of Susa (e.g. Nöldeke 1879: 58, n. 1; Marquart 1901: 145; Chabot 1902: 674; Christensen 1936: 248).

Although it has sometimes been suggested that Susa was identical with Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan (Ghirshman 1949: 196; see the discussion in Gyselen and Gasche 1994), the two are clearly distinguished in a number of sources. Thus, in the acts of the martyrdom of Yazdpanah of Beth Huzaye, Susa



Plate 11.9. Silver drachm of Shapur II (3.735 g, 26 mm in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

is described as ‘a village close to Karka d’Ledan . . . in which many Magians [i.e. Zoroastrians] lived’ (Hoffmann 1880: 87). In the work of Elias of Damascus, Karka d’Ledan is identified as a ‘sister city’ of Susa (Westphal 1901: 97). Similarly, Tabari says that Shapur II (Plate 11.9) founded ‘two cities in Ahwaz, namely Eran-xwarrah-Shapur, i.e. “Shapur and his land”, called Karkh in Syriac, and Shush, a city which he built beside the fortress in which the sarcophagus with the corpse of the Prophet Daniel lies’ (Nöldeke 1879: 58). Several pages later, in Tabari’s story of an Indian doctor brought to Khuzistan by Shapur II, the physician is settled ‘in Karkh near Susa’ (Nöldeke 1879: 67). Finally, the *Chronicle of Seert* says explicitly that, ‘In the tenth year of his reign’, Shapur II ‘imitated his predecessors and set himself to the construction of towns. He built one in Susiana [Al-Ahwaz], ringed it with fortifications, and called it . . . It is Karka d’Ledan. When he brought the Greeks into captivity, he established them there. Now [c. AD 1036, Schwaigert 1989: 145] it is in ruins. The inhabitants have been transported to Susa’ (Scher 1907: 288).

The author of the *Acts of Pusai* gives a unique if not altogether unbiased perspective on Shapur II’s philosophy in founding Karka d’Ledan. He says, ‘Shapur [II] built the city of Karka d’Ledan, brought captives from various places and settled them there. He also had the idea of bringing about thirty families apiece from each of the ethnic groups living in the cities belonging to his realm, and settling them among the deported captives, so that through intermarriage the latter should become tied down by the bonds of family and affection, thus making it less easy for them to slip away gradually in flight and return to the areas from which they had been deported. Such was Shapur’s crafty plan, but God in his mercy turned it to good use, for thanks to intermarriage between the deported population and the native pagans, the latter were brought to knowledge of the faith’ (Brock 1984: VI4). Fiey suggested that Shapur II forsook Gundeshapur and made Karka d’Ledan his residence (Fiey 1974: 283).

Ivan-e Kerkha had been visited and described many times (e.g. J. Dieulafoy 1887: 642–5; Hüsing 1908a: 46 and Abb. 29; Unvala 1929: 83–4) before it was finally investigated. After a preliminary visit in November 1948 (Ghirshman 1949: 198–9), R. Ghirshman undertook a month of excavations in 1950 at Ivan-e Kerkha, which he described as a rectangular settlement covering an area of roughly 390 ha (c. 3,850 m [W] × 3,600 m [E] × 950 m [N] × 1,000 m [S]; Gyselen and Gasche 1994: 30, n. 46; Kleiss 1975). At that time he excavated a building considered to have been a palace as well as several other structures on which he published brief accounts (Ghirshman 1951: 294–6; 1952a: 11). A royal workshop for silverworking at Karka d’Ledan is mentioned in the acts of the martyrdom of Pusai, the chief of the ‘Greek’ artisans there who was put to death on 18 April AD 341 as part of Shapur II’s persecution of Christians (Fiey 1979: 125; Harper 1993: 151).

SHUSH I ER-KAR OR SUSA

Tabari explicitly attributed the foundation of Eran-xwarrah-Shapur to Shapur II (Nöldeke 1879: 58), a statement taken one step further by Ghirshman, who suggested that this event followed the destruction of Susa by the Sasanian monarch. Up to this point we have scarcely mentioned Susa. What can be said of its fate under the Sasanians?

Although Tha’alibi preserves a tradition according to which Shapur I spent the very end of his life at Susa consulting an Indian physician (Fiey 1979: 140; but Schwaigert 1989: 111 assigned this story to the reign of Shapur II), the history of Sasanian Susa is marked by its destruction c. AD 339 at the hands of Shapur II. Ghirshman believed that the signs of destruction which he detected in level IV of his Ville Royale soundings were attributable to Shapur’s well-known persecution of Christians (Ghirshman 1952a: 7), whom, it is said by Sozomenus, he suspected of harbouring pro-Roman sympathies (II.9; see Hartranft 1989: 264; Westphal 1901: 88; Brock 1984: VI4; Dodgeon and Lieu 1995: 90). But however real Shapur’s persecution of Christians may have been, Fiey noted that Susa was far from a Christian city, as indeed the career of Miles, bishop of Susa c. AD 330, clearly illustrates (Fiey 1979: 141). According to Sozomenus (II.14), Miles laboured for three years to convert the Susians, but ‘failing in his efforts to convert the inhabitants to Christianity, he uttered imprecations against the city, and departed. Not long after, some of the principal citizens offended the king, and an army with three hundred elephants was sent against them; the city was utterly demolished and its land was ploughed and sown’ (Hartranft 1989: 267; cf. Ghirshman 1950a, 1950c: 233–4). As Fiey emphasized, to judge from Miles’ lack of success in converting the population of Susa, the offending ‘principal citizens’ who, one presumes, conspired against Shapur, were more likely to have been Zoroastrians than Christians (Fiey 1979: 141, n. 6a).

Turning to the archaeological evidence, while it is clear that the Sasanian level (IV) in the Ville Royale excavated by Ghirshman is much smaller in size and thickness than the earlier Arsacid occupation (levels V–VI), it did contain some significant architecture, including what has been described as an important building with frescoes depicting a hunting scene (Boucharlat 1987b: 358). Level IV also contained the burials of children in jars, the surfaces of which were distinguished by crosses, a symbol interpreted as a sign that the deceased were Christian (Boucharlat 1987b: 360; Hauser 2007: 106). The later level III ‘intermediate’, attributed by Ghirshman to the late fourth through sixth centuries AD, did not yield much material. More recent excavations by de Miroschedji have shown that in Ville Royale II there is a hiatus between the Parthian period and the beginning of the Islamic era, unless the two walls of level IIA are assigned a Sasanian date (de Miroschedji 1987: 52, Tab. 11), while in the Apadana East area little remained of levels 5a (late Parthian/early Sasanian) and 4b–c (late Sasanian) (Boucharlat 1987a: 238, Tab. 28). Evidence of occupation in the Ville des Artisans also seems to be lacking between a level with Arsacid tombs and the some Islamic-era houses (Ghirshman 1948: 331). Whether a unique, imported Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907) bronze mirror from an excavated yet undisclosed context at Susa, thought to be stylistically early (Ghirshman 1956d: 233, n. 4 and Fig. 1), came from the late Sasanian or early Islamic occupation levels at the site is unclear.

Admittedly this is little material when one compares it to the earlier occupation levels of Susa, particularly those dating to the Arsacid era, and one is tempted to interpret Susa’s decline in light of the massive program of expansion pursued at Gundeshapur and Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-sharestan. Like Sozomenus, however, Ghirshman surely misrepresented the degree of destruction at Susa allegedly caused by Shapur II, for there are numerous other indications that the city continued to exist in the period following his reign. For example, Nestorian bishops (Table 11.1) are attested there from the year AD 410 through AD 605 (Chabot 1902: 683). Furthermore, if Gyselen is correct in her deductions based on sealed Sasanian bullae, Susa was re-christened *Shush i er-kar*, perhaps meaning ‘Susa made Iranian’, by which name it was known in administrative sources (Gyselen and Gasche 1994: 22). At least thirty-three Sasanian bullae, recovered by de Morgan, de Mecquenem and Ghirshman, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Gignoux 1971b: 535). These contain the names of other cities with which Susa was in direct contact, including Rev-Ardashir on the Persian Gulf coast of Fars (near modern Bushehr) and Vahman-Ardashir, a city situated along the Tigris (Gignoux 1971b: 540–1). As their names suggest, both were founded by Ardashir. In addition, the Susa bullae are important in giving us the titles of Sasanian officials connected with the site, including *‘mlkly/hm’lkly*, ‘book-keeper, accountant’, *mǧw*, ‘magus, fire-priest’, and *mǧwpty*, ‘chief magus’, the latter two confirming the ongoing presence of Zoroastrians at Susa.



Plate 11.10. Silver drachm of Khusrau II (4.1 g, 31.5 mm. in dia.) (photo: Yale University Art Gallery).

Evidence of two coin hoards dating to the reign of Khusrau II (AD 591–628) (Plate 11.10) also suggests that Susa, while no longer a major city, was not marginalized. One of the hoards, discovered in 1930–1, contained coins originating in thirty different mints (Unvala 1934a), while the second, found in 1976 and consisting of no fewer than 1,171 coins, consisted of coins from thirty-one mints (Gyselen 1977; Kervran 1985). Still, it is important to note that in contrast to the Seleucid and Arsacid periods, no mint is attested at Susa during the Sasanian period (Boucharlat 1985: 78). Sellwood assigned the mint name AI or AIRAN to Eran-xwarrah-Shapur and, identifying this as an honorific title for Susa, suggested that Susa indeed had a Sasanian mint (Sellwood, Whitting and Williams 1985: 42). As we have seen, however, even if the identification of the abbreviated name AI with Eran-xwarrah-Shapur is correct, it is not Susa that gains a mint, but Ivan-e Kerkha.

Aside from coinage, evidence of movable wealth at Susa in the Sasanian period is provided by two Sasanian boat-shaped silver bowls thought to date to sometime ‘after the middle of the Sasanian period’ (Harper 1988: 336; Overlaet 1993: 228), as well as a high-footed silver bowl (Amiet 1967b; Overlaet 1993: 227). Similarly, a miniature rock crystal bowl in a gold, openwork mount, thought to have perhaps held cosmetics, is an item which bespeaks considerable wealth and social status (Harper 1978: 85; Overlaet 1993: 231). The bronze and iron noseband/halters and cheeked bits found by Ghirshman in level IV of the Ville Royale together with the incomplete skeleton of a horse (Ghirshman 1977; see also Herrmann 1989: Fig. 4) reflect equestrian equipment which is unlikely to have been in circulation amongst any but the elite of Sasanian society, particularly since similar tack is illustrated on royal mounts in rock reliefs and silver vessels (Harper 1978: 81). A white marble bust ‘in Roman Tetrarchic style’

(Carter 1978: 171) of a bearded male, found in the Donjon and dated on stylistic grounds to the late third or early fourth century AD, should probably also be understood as an image reflecting the elite of Sasanian Susa (Martinez-Sève 1996).

Finally, the Anonymous *Syriac Chronicle* shows clearly that Susa was inhabited at the time of the Islamic conquest and was probably of some importance, for in the account of the Arab invasion of Khuzistan ‘the fortress Shushan’ is mentioned directly after Beth Lapat/Gundeshapur and Karka d’Ledan (Nöldeke 1893: 42), which, as we have seen, were the two most important cities in Sasanian Khuzistan (on the Islamic conquest of Iran in general, see Morony 2013).

CONCLUSION

The link between the ancient past of Khuzistan and its Sasanian incarnation was far more profound than one of simple geography. We have seen that as late as the tenth century AD, Arab writers confirm that a language other than Arabic, Persian, Hebrew or Aramaic was still being spoken in the region, and there are not many choices apart from a late form of Elamite. But beyond this, we also have the evidence of the later Nestorian sources. In contrast to earlier Nestorian texts, which generally referred to the district as Beth Huzaye, an Aramaic term derived ultimately from the Old Persian Huza, later Syriac writers preferred to speak of ‘Elam’ (Fiey 1979: 223), and thus we find Theodore bar Koni referring to Beth Lapat as the ‘city of the Elamites’, and a synodal letter of AD 781/2 addressed to Ephrem, metropolitan of Beth Lapat, and to the ‘bishops, priests and faithful of Elam’ (Fiey 1979: 256). Similarly, another synodal letter of AD 790 sent by the catholicos Timothy notes that Ephrem held ‘the seat and the throne of Elam’, while his successor Sergius was called ‘metropolitan of Elam’ (Fiey 1979: 258). The Syriac codex 354 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the tables of Elias of Damascus, sources dating to c. AD 900, list the dioceses belonging to the ecclesiastical province of Elam as Susa or Karkha d’Ledan and Susa, Beth Huzaye or al-Ahwaz, Shushtrin/Tesr or Shushtar and Mahraqan Qadaq (Fiey 1979: 264). In recounting the events surrounding two letters sent by the ‘occidental fathers’ to the catholicos Dadisho in AD 424, the fourteenth century AD writer ‘Awdisho of Nisibis (Gero 1981: 3; Vööbus 1965; Fiey 1977) names ‘Agapit of Elam’, the metropolitan of Beth Lapat, as the bearer of one if not both of the letters (Fiey 1970: 73, n. 38). As the last bishop from the area to attend a Nestorian synod was Joseph, present at the synod of Timothy II in AD 1318, Fiey suggested that the ecclesiastical province of Elam finally succumbed to the onslaught of Timur around AD 1400 (Fiey 1979: 267).

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
AD 205–26	Ardashir defeats Artabanus IV, last king of the Arsacid empire; foundation of new cities in Khuzistan	rise of Ardashir, ‘king’ of Istakhr, revolt and overthrow of Arsacids	conquest by Ardashir, who was crowned ‘king of kings’ at Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia in AD 226	‘kingdom of Ahwaz’ possibly a relic of Elymaean semi-autonomy in late Arsacid era?
AD 240–72	Shapur I deports prisoners from Antioch to Khuzistan, Roman engineers put to work on dams and bridges, rebuilding of Gundeshapur and Eran-xwarreh-Shapur-shahrestan, new capital of area; major influx of Christians; Susa eclipsed by new cities	settlement of Roman prisoners in Fars	under Sasanian control	
AD 309–79	deportations by Shapur II resulted in growth of textile industry in Khuzistan; Susa destroyed in AD 339 by Shapur II, re-founded as Shush i er-kar			
AD 410–605	Nestorian bishops at Susa, Shushtar, Hormizd-Ardashir, Karkad’Ledan (Eran-xwarreh-Shapur-shahrestan), archbishop at Gundeshapur			
AD 605–43	conquest of Khuzistan by Arabs in AD 638/9, revolt,	Sasanian defeats at Jalula, Nihavend and Hamadan at	invasion of Mesopotamia, capture of Khusrau II’s	

(continued)

Date	Lowlands	Highlands	Mesopotamia	‘Elam’
	reconquest in AD 642/3	hands of Arabs, AD 637–43	palace near Ctesiphon in AD 628 by Byzantine emperor Heraclius; destruction of Sasanian army in AD 637 at Qadisiyah by Arabs	
AD 781–1318	Nestorian bishoprics survive Islamic conquest, referred to as being in ‘Elam’	various Islamic dynasties	Abbasids in power in Khuzistan	Elam used to denote ecclesiastical province of Nestorian church

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

The history and archaeology of Elam are marked by the intermittent reconfiguration of the entity which we call by that name. Although continuities can be observed, there is as much if not more evidence of transformation and disjuncture. This chapter considers the archaeological and historical trajectory of Elam in the light of discussions in the field of history which have emphasized both long-term continuities and short-term cycles. It also looks at the problem of centre and periphery within Elam, between Elam and its neighbours, and in the study of Elam vis-à-vis Mesopotamia in modern scholarship. The topic of ethnogenesis, introduced at the beginning of this study, is again broached, while the question is asked whether the foregoing study should be classified as history or archaeology. Finally, some suggestions are made which might have an impact on the enhancement of Elamite studies, and topics for further work are touched upon.

Beginning with the first references to Elam in the written record of the mid third millennium BC, we have surveyed between three and four thousand years of Elamite history and archaeology. Along the way, a host of detailed issues has been explored. Many of the more salient points have been brought together in the summary tables provided in [Chapters 3](#) through [11](#), and these should serve the reader as a ready reference to the main features of Elamite archaeology and history. At this point I would like to address a number of concepts which may prove useful in coming to grips with the mass of data dealt with in the preceding chapters. These are aimed at reorienting the reader from the details to generalities, and at putting some of the issues raised by a study of Elam into a larger perspective.

THE *COURTE DURÉE*

The first issue I would like to raise is one of structure. To what extent do the various incarnations of Elam attested in the archaeological and written record

display evidence of underlying structures which could be said to underpin Elam in all its various manifestations? As we have seen throughout this book, it was not merely the boundaries of Elam which changed through time, but its very nature. We have, in fact, found evidence of many Elams. These include the changing representation of Elam in a variety of external sources. Both the earliest and the largest body of these comes from Mesopotamia, where a series of Elams with differing characteristics appeared over the course of two and a half thousand years.

From the semi-fictive mid-third millennium situation reflected in the *Sumerian King List* and the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash to the parenthetical notes on Elam given in the late Babylonian astronomical diaries, Elam is alternately an enemy (Early Dynastic, late Ur III, Seleucid, Arsacid periods), a subversive ally of other enemies (Neo-Assyrian era), a feared and respected neighbour (*sukkalmah* period), a source of raw materials (most periods), a mosaic of subject communities often dominated directly through provincial governors (Old Akkadian, Ur III periods), an independent force (Puzur-Inshushinak, Shimashkian kings), a land of great families tied to the royal house through dynastic intermarriage (Middle Elamite period), and a religious community (early Islamic era).

A second corpus of ‘external’ sources are in fact local, but non-Elamite. Thus, we see Elam through the eyes of the Achaemenids, the Arsacids and the Sasanians in periods when, in southwestern Iran, Elam was alternately a struggling political force (witness the early rebellions against Darius, the Uxii in the time of Alexander and his Seleucid successors, the Elymaean ‘state’ in the shadow of Arsacid Parthia); a nursery of mountain warriors, feared for their prowess as bowmen (Achaemenid, Seleucid, Arsacid eras); and an enduring linguistic and religious subculture, glimpses of which can be seen in Achaemenid royal and administrative texts and both Greek and Latin sources.

Finally, we have, of course, the testimony of the material and written record from Fars and Khuzistan itself, the vestiges of the Elams described by our external sources. These reflect regional ceramic and other artifactual variety, consistent with the image of a mosaic of constituents rather than a monolithic Elamite entity. Anshan, Marhashi, Shimashki, Zabshali and the many other names which occasionally appear in the external sources no doubt identified subsets of that eastern entity which Mesopotamian scribes most often labelled simply ‘Elam’. Differences abounded between the highland and lowland regions which made up Elam. Susiana came under much greater pressure from Mesopotamia throughout its history and as a result used Akkadian much more than Elamite, worshipping more Mesopotamian deities than was the case in the highlands as well. External sources show us alliances between various highland subregions and the lowlands in response to Mesopotamian aggression, and we get glimpses of alternate periods in which either the lowland or the highland element seems to dominate. Undoubtedly the entire Elamite

area was heterogeneous, and Elamite was more a catch-all for highlanders and lowlanders east of Mesopotamia than an actual group, regardless of a certain degree of linguistic coherence (although non-Elamite names are amply attested in the highlands, suggesting the existence of many more linguistic groups than those to which we can put a name today).

Elam's repeated transformation through time is the defining theme running throughout its long history. Having begun as a Mesopotamian label used to identify certain eastern neighbours, Elam ended up as a designation for an ecclesiastical province of the Nestorian church, with numerous permutations in between. The use of the name Elam in the Nestorian sources was obviously anachronistic, derived from the Biblical tradition since, except in I and II Maccabees where the form *Elymais* occurs, the use of *Elam* by the Nestorian church has its roots in the Books of Genesis, Daniel and Jeremiah (Simons 1959: 27–8). But was the ecclesiastical province of Elam any less a reality than Elam of the *sukkalmah* period or Elymais of the Arsacid period? Elam after the Islamic conquest was every bit as 'real' a concept in the minds of the Nestorian clergy as it was in the minds of Shamshi-Adad, Zimri-Lim, Hammurabi, Nebuchadnezzar I or Assurbanipal. That the tenth century AD and tenth century BC incarnations of Elam were far from identical is irrelevant. Elam was a reality and a construct which was characterized by its mutability and tendency to constantly reshape itself and be reshaped by its observers. That process may have been halted as a result of Timur's conquest of Iran, but it resumed as soon as the first Elamite texts were discovered at Persepolis. It continued throughout the unfolding of modern archaeological work on the subject, it continues in the writing of this book and it will continue long afterwards.

But this is not to say that the various forms of Elam which emerge from the historical and material record necessarily resemble each other either structurally or morphologically. To characterize the transformations (used here because it implies neither a positive progression nor a negative regression) of Elam using banal terms like 'continuity' and 'change' trivializes the often profound changes which it underwent between the middle of the third millennium BC and the middle of the second millennium AD. Some readers may well disagree, but what I personally come away with after reviewing the evidence collected here is not a gradualist vision of adaptive change through time, but one of repeated reconfiguration at many levels.

It may be said of many archaeologists, whether processual or post-processual, as it has been said of historians, that they often tend to display a 'preoccupation . . . with quantitative social science, the *longue durée*, and immobile history', whereas micro-historians have been arguing for a return 'to interpreting utterances and beliefs, to describing brief dramatic events, and to envisioning a past characterized more by abrupt changes than by deep structural continuities' (Muir 1991: vii). Although I may have advocated the *histoire totale* of the *Annalistes* at the beginning

of this book, I indicated that I was not advocating a belief in the *longue durée*, those alleged ‘structures deeply rooted in time and space [which] are almost stationary’ and ‘move at near-imperceptible rates’ (Hérubel 1994: 70). I reject the notion that ‘history of events is . . . anathema, but, when informed by *la longue durée*, can be made useful and instructive’ (Hérubel 1994: 105; Vovelle 1990: 126–53). Indeed, the history of Elam as I read it is the very opposite of the *longue durée*.

To me, it seems characterized much more by what French economic historians have aptly termed *la courte durée* (Hérubel 1994: 8). It is the periodic realignment and transformation of Elam which strikes me most, not the extended historical cycle characterized by structural similarities. Elam emerges transformed after each brutal encounter (which may extend temporally over many years) with an ‘other’, whether Sumerian, Akkadian, Babylonian, Kassite, Assyrian, Macedonian, Seleucid, Arsacid or Sasanian. In my opinion, only a superficial understanding of the archaeology and history of each formation of Elam could leave one with an impression of long-term continuity. And yet, while each Elam may have been structurally different from its predecessor(s), there are lineaments of continuity present such that we still speak of Elam throughout this long sweep of time. How can we do this while simultaneously denying the existence of deep structural continuity in Elam throughout history?

I believe that we must distinguish between a core or ‘little tradition’ of cultural and linguistic heritage, and the ‘great tradition’, which Yoffee described in discussing Mesopotamia (Yoffee 1993). Elements of an Elamite ‘great tradition’ may exist as well. They seem particularly strong in the religious domain, where the repeated restoration of the Inshushinak temple at Susa affords a convenient example. But the manifestations of that ‘great tradition’ are by no means continuous and uninterrupted in the Elamite context, and even if this is more a measure of the evidence than otherwise, I cannot help but think after studying the Elamite example that there seems to be much less of a ‘great tradition’ at work in Elam than in Mesopotamia. One ready explanation for this disparity seems to be afforded by the cultural, ethnic and to some extent linguistic and environmental diversity of Elam vis-à-vis ancient Mesopotamia, for, as emphasized earlier, Elam was a name which subsumed a wide variety of disparate peoples in southwestern Iran who, although sometimes ‘federated’ politically, were not necessarily any more similar internally than the Kurds, Lurs, Bakhtiyari, Arabs, Khamseh or Qashqa’i of the last few centuries. We may see Elamite archers reappearing throughout the historical record, Elamite personal names still attested in the astronomical diaries of the second century BC, ethnic duality in the Susa II period and in Sasanian Khuzistan and other signs of the core cultural-linguistic matrix intact over long periods of time, but these find their place in structurally altered contexts. This is why I reject the concept of the *longue durée* as an operational notion in assessing Elam, and prefer that of the *courte durée* interrupted by events and periods of destabilization

followed by readjustments and reconstruction (for a very different but highly critical appraisal of the *longue durée*, see Östör 1993: 30–2).

OF CENTRES, PERIPHERIES AND MOSAICS

The second area I would like to explore is the domain of centres and peripheries. The fact that yet another book has been devoted to Elam might suggest that I for one do not consider that Elam was anything but central in antiquity, and yet many readers, whether scholars or laypersons, would probably disagree. How do we deal with notions like centre and periphery in the particular case of Elam and its neighbours?

Few archaeologists or historians are ever satisfied with the quantity of evidence which forms the basis of the opinions which they freely hold and express in writing, but this rarely stops them from doing so. When it comes to Elam, no one would deny that the sources – epigraphic, archaeological and literary – are unsatisfactory in their pattern of distribution. Due to the particular history of modern archaeology in Iran, far more is known about Susa than about any other site which falls within the geographic limits of Elam, no matter what the period in question. By comparison, the region and city of Anshan are but poorly known. We live and work today in a world which seems polarized on so many levels that ‘centre’ and ‘periphery’ have become part of our daily vocabulary. Not surprisingly, therefore, centre and periphery have invaded archaeological and historical scholarship. But how is one to speak of centre and periphery, knowing that only a fraction of Tal-i Malyan has been excavated, that the settlements of Awan, Shimashki, Marhashi and others have yet to be identified, or that Seleucia-on-the-Hedyphon, Azara, Gundeshapur/Beth Lapat and numerous other important towns and cities of later antiquity are little more than names in historical sources? How fair is it to compare Susa and Uruk, to characterize the former as a ‘small’ centre and the latter as a ‘world-class’ urban metropolis, when the excavation technique and exposures realized at the two sites are so different? Knowing what was removed at Susa by excavators more adept at working in a mine shaft than an archaeological site, how can one reasonably compare the site with those cities to the west with which it interacted, such as Uruk or Ur? Still, no matter how many caveats one calls forth, comparisons will be made and must be made if we are to get any closer to an understanding of Elam in the wider Western Asiatic context. What then of the centre and periphery model, or the world systems view of ancient Western Asia? Where would Elam fit into schemes such as these? Was it a peer or a poor relation?

A miscellany of ethnically and linguistically diverse groups to the east of the alluvium, Elam nevertheless emerged as a coherent force in the second half of the third millennium BC with pretensions to influence on the political stage of Western Asia. Its fortunes varied considerably, as we have seen throughout this

book. Periods of subjugation by the Old Akkadian and Ur III states were followed by flourishes of independence under the dynasties of Awan and Shimashki. Unprecedented influence and prestige were enjoyed under the *sukkalmahs*, while intermarriage with the Kassite royal family in the later second millennium BC signalled the integration of Elam into a much wider web of interdynastic alliances during the Late Bronze Age. The rise of Assyria and a series of disastrous alliances with numerous Babylonian and several Assyrian leaders brought Elam's political fortunes to a low ebb, and the appearance of a new Iranian dynasty in Fars seemingly threatened to obliterate the ethnic and linguistic individuality of Elamites in southwestern Iran during the Achaemenid period. But the reign of the Achaemenids, the conquest by Alexander the Great, and the accession of the Seleucids all failed to bring about the complete absorption and assimilation of the Elamites, and just when the Arsacids began to alter the balance of power in Western Asia once more, the Elamites re-emerged clearly in the historical record. There are indications that the Elamite language survived into the tenth century AD, but Elam by this time had been transformed from a semi-autonomous polity in the shadow of Arsacid power into an ecclesiastical province of the Nestorian church, sometimes tolerated and sometimes persecuted viciously by the Sasanian government.

So where are the centres and where are the peripheries in all of this? No one would deny that, in terms of sheer population density, there *were* centres in antiquity, just as there are today, and there *were* peripheries, if by that we mean geographically isolated or marginal areas, and areas with diminished political responsibility and prestige. These points do not seem to be in dispute. What is debatable, however, in the context of most centre-periphery studies today, is the implication that centres relied on the continual exploitation of peripheries over time, or that the identification of centres and peripheries is self-evident in the historical and archaeological record. Awan's appearance in the *Sumerian King List*; the desirability of marriages between the princesses of Ur and the princes of Anshan; the *sukkalmah's* influence over Assyria, Mari, Eshnunna or Babylon; Susa's role as an Achaemenid royal residence or Beth Lapat's claim to being the second most important province in the Nestorian church are all counter-arguments to any assertion of marginality or peripheral status on Elam's part vis-à-vis any of the better known states or socio-religious formations of Western Asia. Whether or not tin flowed more freely into Mari as a result of its cordial relations with Elam, this alone can scarcely have been the justification for those relations in the first place, any more than the acquisition of raw materials from the Iranian Plateau can have been the justification for more than one king of the Third Dynasty of Ur giving his daughter in marriage to an Anshanite prince. Anshan may have been provincial and Susa may have been a quarter of the size of Uruk, but this did not stop the seemingly greater powers from entering into alliances, or expending resources in attempting to subjugate this 'periphery'.

Our perception of what is peripheral and what is central must be very different from that of the ancients if we persist in viewing the Iranian Plateau as a periphery on the eastern margins of the greater Mesopotamian world. If that were the case, why would so much time and energy have been expended by the centre on this particular eastern periphery? Clearly, we define peripheries according to criteria which are often far removed from those which must have obtained in the past. All too often, in trying to explain the *raison d'être* behind Mesopotamian-Iranian relations in antiquity, we focus narrowly on natural resources, absent in the former area, abundant in the latter, ignoring the human aspects of such exercises in alliance building. The prestige of being associated with a dynasty which could call up vast reserves of manpower, the honour of marrying into a group which could claim to have once subjugated Kish, the reflected glory of forging a link with a polity whose eastern borders were further than the horizon – these and other justifications may have been behind the push on the part of many a Mesopotamian dynast to build alliances with the Elamites, in the broadest sense of the term. And these are precisely the sorts of dynamics which we find hardest to isolate in the archaeological and epigraphic record.

But more to the point, we must stop looking at Western Asia in terms of diametrically opposed centres and peripheries, and begin to grapple with the far greater complexity posed by the overall matrix of relationships which characterized any moment in time. To understand the relationship between the Nestorian *catholikos* in Seleucia-Ctesiphon and the province of Beth Lapat, we must also appreciate the wider context in which that relationship functioned. We must look beyond the confines of the bilateral relationship itself. Similarly, we can see that in the early second millennium BC a complex network of relations was maintained between a dozen states, the permutations of which would be utterly lost to us were it not for the Mari letters. These and other examples point out the necessity of studying the entire matrix, the web of interrelationships, the mosaic of cultures in Western Asia, rather than focusing narrowly on the so-called centres and peripheries. The constituent parts of the mosaic each demand attention, they each demand their own micro-histories, and the synchronic structure and dynamics of the whole require study in order to appreciate particular developments and outcomes in specific contexts.

ETHNICITY AND ETHNOGENESIS

The third area I would like the reader to think about is one which was introduced at the outset of this book, namely that of ethnogenesis and ethnicity. One of the most intriguing and intractable problems in archaeology revolves around the recognition of historically documented 'cultures' in assemblages of material remains. We are constantly enjoined not to equate 'pots' with 'people', and yet we live in a world in which ethnicity is a strong and pervasive

factor, and nothing suggests that this was otherwise in Western Asia during the periods covered here. At the beginning of this book I noted that Elam's geographical parameters were difficult to define, for the simple reason that in the absence of written sources in Elamite we have little way of knowing whether an area was or was not part of the Elamite body politic simply on the basis of its material culture (e.g. ceramics, burial types, metal weaponry etc.). As noted earlier, the approach here has been a minimalist one, and doubtless other scholars would have incorporated more evidence from eastern Fars, Kerman, Luristan, Kurdistan and possibly even Baluchistan or Seistan in their discussions of Elam.

But the problem of defining Elam archaeologically and historically is not limited to one of assigning ethnic labels to ceramic complexes. As shown in [Chapters 3 and 4](#), when the name Elam appears in the historical record it is a label given by one literate linguistic-cultural group to a heterogeneous group of not-so-near neighbours. Thus, if one is searching for the origins of the 'Elamites', the answer is, in one sense, to be found not in Elam but in Mesopotamia. On the other hand, identifying those groups covered by the name in terms of their material culture is almost impossible. Given the cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of western Iran in the late fourth and early third millennium BC, the term Elam must necessarily encompass culturally and linguistically heterogeneous groups living in an unspecified area to the east of the Mesopotamian alluvium.

The problem of 'becoming' Elamite is another matter. Examples abound both in antiquity and in the modern era of individuals changing nationality, language, tribal membership and material culture within their own lifetimes, and of similar changes being effected effortlessly on the part of a new generation by the children of parents born speaking a different language, on a different continent, with a different material culture. In Seleucid Babylonia we can find parents with Akkadian names and who one assumes were 'Babylonians' yet who freely gave Greek personal names to their children (e.g. Potts [1997a](#): 293). In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries AD the upheavals of wars and subsequent exoduses of refugees from one country to another afford countless examples of nationality changing overnight, and there is nothing to suggest that, in the pre-passport age, given a bit of linguistic facility and desire, individuals were any less able to adopt new identities. This sort of assimilation and acculturation has often been invoked to help explain the disappearance of the Elamites within the Achaemenid melting pot, but the evidence of Elam and Elymais in the second century BC should warn us against the facile assumption that, just because they may pass out of view for a while, a people, whether the Elamites or any other, necessarily dissolves or disintegrates as soon as that group ceases to have a very prominent place in the written record. Archaeologists constantly confront 'new' material culture complexes, often characterized by distinctive pottery or stone tools, and ask themselves how representative these

complexes may or may not be of ethnic groups. We know that material culture, biological identity, and language are all independent variables, and the example of Elam suggests that ethnicity and ethnogenesis are topics which are far from exhausted in the ancient Western Asiatic context.

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The fourth issue which ought to be raised in a book of this sort is the relationship between history and archaeology. Where does one begin and the other end? To what extent are they or are they not pursuing the same or similar goals? How does this study of Elam, at once historical and archaeological, contribute to the ongoing debate amongst archaeologists concerning historical civilizations and peoples without history? This book has provided no new formula for the successful integration of historical (epigraphic or literary) and archaeological evidence, and readers may well be asking: should the present work be considered one of history or of archaeology? It is not out of flippancy that I point out that the author of this book is an archaeologist and that the place of publication is in an archaeology series. These points alone might not satisfy all readers that the present work is a contribution to the archaeology of Elam. But as I hope I have made clear, we cannot hope for an *histoire totale* of Elam without constant recourse to all sorts of evidence – archaeological, epigraphic, literary, environmental, etc. – which must be used in a way which is neither rigidly materialist nor historicist.

Colleagues more accustomed to working at the prehistoric end of the temporal spectrum may wince or merely turn off when confronted with Strabo and Sozomenus, but that probably has more to do with the subject matter than the method of integrating historical and archaeological data. Prehistorians do not often concern themselves with Achaemenid, Seleucid, Arsacid or Sasanian history, let alone the Nestorian church, and scholars embedded in these disciplines scarcely spend their days worrying about the natural resources available in the Zagros mountains, the firing temperature of bitumen compound, the historicity of the Awan-Shimashki king list, or the difficulties of establishing the order of succession in the Middle Elamite period. My own feeling has always been that if I am interested in a topic, then I am interested in it from beginning to end, from the origins of an entity until its final disappearance in the historical and archaeological record. I felt strongly about this long before I had ever heard the term *histoire totale*, or realized that my ‘terrible craving for synthesis’ belonged to a time-honoured intellectual tradition. In the case of Elam, as noted earlier, most treatments of the topic have concluded with the rise of the Achaemenid empire, but, as I hope I have shown, there is no more justification for doing this than there would be for concluding at the end of the Middle Elamite or *sukkalmaḥ* period. The story of Elam and the Elamites lasts much longer, and goes through several more

important transformations, before it can be said to finally elude our grasp. The linguistic and cultural polarity of the Nestorian church in Beth Lapat is just as interesting as the Elamite-Semitic or Susian-Anshanite duality of Elam in its earlier days, and it makes little sense to truncate Elamite history at the expense of the so-called late periods.

None of these problems can be approached, however, by excluding the written evidence, or by acting as though we can reconstruct all that we would wish to know simply on the basis of the material record. Understanding Elam at whatever date is a difficult enough task without setting artificial limits on the data which may or may not be adduced to help illuminate it. The more archaeologists learn to feel familiar with epigraphic and literary sources, and the more historians and philologists learn to deal in more than a superficial manner with material evidence, the better will be the end result. To return to the question posed at the beginning of the section, is this a work of archaeology or a work of history? I have said on several occasions that this study aspires to the kind of *histoire totale* which some of the *Annalistes* have tried to write largely on the basis of written sources. It may well be rejected by historians as *histoire totale* because of the paucity of historical records used, and by archaeologists who believe that history is not archaeology. But if it is to be anything, then I would suggest that it is not *archéologie totale* for the simple reason that there are still far too many prehistorians who look with disdain on written sources and expect one to make all deductions from an analysis of material evidence. Elam is the object of the study, and to get closer to that object we must use all sources, of whatever type, recognizing their different virtues and limitations. My own disciplinary affiliation may be archaeology, but it is to be hoped that the end product of this investigation is not narrowly archaeological in the sense in which that term is normally employed. If it is anything, then perhaps it is *antiquité totale*, a study of one aspect of antiquity in all its totality, using all types of evidence currently available. If dealing as intensively with numismatic, literary, archaeological, epigraphic and environmental data makes one neither an historian nor an archaeologist, then perhaps it is time we reverted to calling ourselves 'antiquaries'. If so, then the pursuit of *antiquité totale* is what this book has been about.

ELAM'S PROGRESS

The fifth area which I would like readers to think about is where we go from here. How is the study of Elam to advance? In the more than fifteen years that have elapsed since the first edition of this book appeared, an enormous amount of new fieldwork has been undertaken, some of it relevant to Elam. Nevertheless, much work remains to be done. At the time of the Iranian Revolution, more than one observer noted that the enforced pause in fieldwork would provide the time necessary to publish many of the excavations

which had been conducted from the 1950s through the late 1970s. Unfortunately, this has only happened in several instances. More often than not, scholars involved in Iranian archaeology prior to the revolution have moved into other parts of Western Asia and become involved in new projects. Important work, therefore, remains to be done on many sites crucial to our understanding of Elamite and non-Elamite Iranian archaeology and history.

But there is a more insidious side to the interruption of fieldwork in Iran which is making itself felt more and more. Because it remains difficult to involve students from Western universities in fieldwork in Iran, the subject of Iranian archaeology is being taught much less than it should be. I understand the logic of this argument, but in my opinion the logic is flawed. If we recall the 'mosaic' approach to Western Asia adumbrated earlier, then the question immediately arises: how are we to truly understand Mesopotamia, Arabian, Central Asia or the Indus Valley if we neglect Iran? To cease teaching Iranian archaeology because the country is less accessible for purposes of fieldwork is to commit a far graver academic sin. By this act, scholars are excising an enormously important piece of the ancient Western Asiatic mosaic, just at a time when the number of Iranian excavations by archaeologists from universities all across Iran, and from the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research in Tehran, has reached an unprecedented pace. This, in my opinion, is the most potent justification for teaching the archaeology of as many subregions of Western Asia as possible wherever the subject is represented in universities around the world. Accessibility is desirable but should never be confused with the intrinsic importance of the many different areas of Western Asia which we must strive to understand in order to make sense of developments there in the past.

On the other hand, one must ask: how common have courses in Elamite or Iranian archaeology ever been? The answer is, surely, not very. Compared to the number of scholars working in the fields of Egyptology, Syro-Palestinian archaeology, or Mesopotamian studies, Iran has never claimed a large share of scholarship on a worldwide level. This is not to say that there is a shortage of first-class material available for research and teaching. But it is surely true to say that we have lacked the same sorts of teaching materials in the field of Iranian and Elamite archaeology as those available in some of our neighbouring disciplines. And speaking from the perspective of one who teaches in an Anglophone university, the number of Anglophone students able to read modern European languages (principally French and German) seems to shrink annually in inverse proportion to the number of detailed studies produced by Austrian, Belgian, French, German, Italian, Spanish and other European colleagues. We suffer from the lack of an up-to-date, general text on Iranian archaeology in English with which to teach the subject. The present work is far narrower in scope, limited only to Elam, but hopefully provides some basis for invigorating the teaching of a subject which deserves to be given as much

attention as any other archaeology in Western Asia, and which grows increasingly difficult to teach to Anglophone students for whom the specialist literature in European languages grows ever more inaccessible. If the subject isn't taught, it surely can't advance, and if basic texts are unavailable, the number of students likely to become interested in Elam or Iranian archaeology in general will decline to catastrophic levels.

STORIES REMAINING TO BE WRITTEN

Finally, I would like to conclude this study with a brief word about two subjects which have not been dealt with at all, but which hold out exciting prospects for scholars and students of a dozen different disciplines.

The first of these might be labelled 'Elamica in the mythical history of early Iran'. Although not the only source of this legendary history, the *Shah Nameh* or Book of Kings (completed in AD 1010) by the celebrated Persian poet Firdawsi (c. AD 935–1020) is the obvious place to start in any attempt to see whether anything of the remote Elamite past, whether mythical or historical, had filtered down into the tenth-century traditions gathered by Daqiqi (d. c. AD 980) and later amalgamated and amplified by Firdawsi (Spiegel 1971: 508ff.). The early Pishdadiyan dynasty's first kings were identified with developments such as the discovery of fire and the introduction of domesticated animals (by Hoshang), or the introduction of writing and the creation of important urban centres, such as Merv, Babylon and Seleucia-on-the-Tigris (by Tahmurath). Zohak or Dahak, of Babylonian origin, was conceived as a human with a snake emanating from each of his shoulders. Can this latter image be connected with the Elamite imagery of a deity with snakes or the serpent throne (Pl. 6.7) of the *sukkalmaḥ* era? These and many other points of possible congruence between Elamite and mythical Iranian tradition remain to be thoroughly investigated by scholars and students with the required background in the language, literature, iconography and history of Elam and Sasanian and early Islamic Iran.

A second topic of potential interest to archaeologists, historians of science, scholars in cultural studies and anthropologists concerned with early modern Europe is an investigation of the Elam reinvented in Paris by Maurice Pézard and Edmond Pottier in the Louvre Museum in 1913 (Pézard and Pottier 1926). Archaeologists have long been interested in the intellectual history of their discipline, but many of their studies have followed the course of scientific discovery without paying sufficient attention to its impact on the population at large and the reception of Near Eastern antiquity by Western audiences in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Studies of the French expedition to Khorsabad (Fontan 1994) and the impact of Layard's discoveries at Nineveh on British taste and sensibilities (Russell 1997) have shown, however, that there is a fertile field here for exploration. The intellectual reception of Elam in the West

as a result of the French discoveries at Susa has yet to be analysed, although some early twentieth century literature does show that the ‘scientific conquests’ which did so much to honour France (Pézard and Pottier 1926: 5) had an impact in some circles (e.g. Cruveilhier 1921). Curiously, a survey of intellectual trends in French archaeology in the second half of the twentieth century makes absolutely no mention of the ongoing achievements of the French mission at Susa (Schnapp 1995), but there is no doubt in my mind that a study undertaken along the lines of McClellan’s analysis of the origins and sociopolitical context of the Louvre in the eighteenth century (McClellan 1994), focusing particularly on the display, ideology and reception of Susa and Elamite antiquities more broadly in early twentieth century Paris, would be an interesting one. But that must be another book about yet another Elam, an Elam reinvented on the banks of the Seine.

REFERENCES

- Anonymous (2001), *Les recherches archéologiques Françaises en Iran*, Tehran: National Museum of Iran.
- Abbott, N. (1968), 'Jundi Shahpur: A preliminary historical sketch', *Ars Orientalis* 7, 71–3.
- Abdi, K. (2003), 'From écriture to civilization: Changing paradigms of Proto-Elamite archaeology', *YBYN*, 140–51.
- Abdi, K. and Atayi, M.-T. (2014), 'The pre-imperial Persians at the land of Anshan: Some preliminary observations', in Daryaei, T., Mousavi, A. and Rezakhani, K., eds., *Excavating an empire: Achaemenid Persia in longue durée*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 73–87.
- Abdi, K. and Beckman, G. (2007), 'An early second-millennium cuneiform archive from Chogha Gavaneh, western Iran', *JCS* 59, 39–91.
- Abraham, K. (1995), 'The Egibi in Elam', *Languages and Cultures in Contact: Programme and Abstracts of the 42e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit (unpaginated).
- . (1997a), 'TCL 13 193: Šušān and Bāš', *NABU* 1997, 53.
- . (1997b), 'Šušān in the Egibi texts from the time of Marduk-nāšir-apli', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 28, 55–85.
- . (2004), *Business and politics under the Persian Empire: The financial dealings of Marduk-nāšir-apli of the House of Egibi (521–487 B.C.E.)*, Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Ackroyd, P.R. (1990), 'The Biblical portrayal of Achaemenid rulers', *AH* 5, 1–16.
- Adams, R.McC. (1962), 'Agriculture and urban life in early Southwestern Iran', *Science* 136, 109–22.
- Adams, R.McC. and Hansen, D.P. (1968), 'Archaeological reconnaissance and soundings in Jundi Shahpur', *Ars Orientalis* 7, 53–73.
- Adler, M.N. (1907), *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London: Henry Frowde.
- Ainsworth, W.F. (1846), 'The passes of the Persian Apennines', *The New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* 1846, Part the Second, 475–81.
- Aitchison, J.E.T. (1890), *Notes on the products of western Afghanistan and of north-eastern Persia*, Edinburgh: Neill and Co.
- Alberti, A. (1985), 'A reconstruction of the Abu Salabikh god-list', *SEL* 2, 3–23.
- Alden, J.R. (1982a), 'Trade and politics in Proto-Elamite Iran', *Current Anthropology* 23, 613–40.
- . (1982b), 'Marketplace exchange as indirect distribution: An Iranian example', in Ericson, J.E. and Earle, T.K., eds., *Contexts for prehistoric exchange*, New York: Academic Press, 83–101.
- . (2003), 'Appendix D. Excavations at Tal-e Kureh', in Sumner, W.M., ed., *Proto-Elamite civilization in the land of Anshan*, Philadelphia: University Museum Monograph 117, 187–98.
- . (2013), 'The Kur River Basin in the Proto-Elamite era – surface survey, settlement patterns, and the appearance of full-time transhumant pastoral nomadism', *AIN*, 207–32.
- Alden, J. et al. (2005), 'Fars Archaeology Project 2004: Excavations at Tal-e Malyan', *Iran* 43, 39–47.
- Alder, K. (1997), *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763–1815*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Algaze, G. (1993), *The Uruk world system: The dynamics of expansion of early Mesopotamian civilization*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Alizadeh, A. (1985a), 'A tomb of the Neo-Elamite period at Arjan, near Behbahan', *AMI* 18, 49–73.
- . (1985b), 'Elymaean occupation of Lower Khuzestan during the Seleucid and Parthian periods: A proposal', *IrAnt* 20, 175–95.
- . (1988), 'Socio-economic complexity in southwestern Iran during the fifth and fourth millennia BC: The evidence from Tall-i Bakun A', *Iran* 26, 17–34.
- . (1992), *Prehistoric settlement patterns and cultures in Susiana, southwestern Iran: The analysis of the F.G.L. Gremliza Survey Collection*, Ann Arbor: Museum of Anthropology Technical Report 24.
- . (1994), 'Social and economic complexity and administrative technology in a late prehistoric context', in Ferioli, P., Fiandra, E., Fissore, G.G. and Frangipane, M., eds., *Archives before writing*, Rome: Centro Internazionale di Ricerche Archeologiche, Antropologiche e Storiche 1, 35–54.
- . (2003), 'Some observations based on the nomadic character of Fars prehistoric cultural development', *YBYN*, 83–97.
- . (2008), *Chogha Mish II: The development of a prehistoric regional center in lowland Susiana, southwestern Iran. Final report on the last six seasons of excavations, 1972–1978*, Chicago: OIP 130.
- . (2009), 'Prehistoric mobile pastoralists in south-central and southwestern Iran', in Szuchman, J., ed., *Nomads, tribes, and the state in the ancient Near East: Cross-disciplinary perspectives*, Chicago: OIS 5, 129–46.
- . (2010), 'The rise of the highland Elamite state in southwestern Iran: "Enclosed" or enclosing nomadism?', *Current Anthropology* 51, 353–83.
- . (2013), 'The problem of locating ancient Huhnuri in the Ram Hormuz region', *NABU* 2013, 37.
- Alizadeh, A., Kouchokos, N., Bauer, A.M., Wilkinson, T.J. and Mashkour, M. (2004), 'Human-environment interactions on the Upper Khuzestan plains, southwest Iran: Recent investigations', *Paléorient* 30, 69–88.
- Allotte de la Fuy , F.-M. (1902), 'La dynastie des Kamnaskir s', *Revue Numismatique* 4th ser. 6, 92–114.
- . (1905), 'Monnaies de l'Elyma ide', *MDP* 8, 177–243.
- . (1906), ' tude sur la numismatique de la Perside', in *Corolla numismatica: Numismatic essays in honour of Barclay V. Head*, London/New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 63–97.
- . (1919), 'Les monnaies d'Elyma ide: Modifications au classement propos  en 1907', *Revue Numismatique* 4th ser. 22, 45–84.
- Alram, M. (1986), *Nomina propria Iranica in nummis: Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken M nzen*, Vienna:  sterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Altaweel, M., Marsh, A., M hl, S., Nieuwenhuys, O., Radner, K., Rasheed, K. and Saber, A.H. (2012), 'New investigations in the environment, history, and archaeology of the Iraqi hilly flanks: Shahrizor Survey Project 2009–2011', *Iraq* 74, 1–35.
-  lvarez-Mon, J. (2004), 'Imago mundi: Cosmological and ideological aspects of the Arjan bowl', *IrAnt* 39, 203–37.
- . (2005a), 'Elamite funerary clay heads', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 68, 114–22.
- . (2005b), 'Aspects of Elamite wall painting: New evidence from Kabnak (Haft Tappeh)', *IrAnt* 40, 149–64.
- . (2008), "'Give to drink, o cup-bearer!" The Arjan beaker in the context of lion-headed drinking vessels in the ancient Near East', *IrAnt* 43, 127–52.
- . (2009a), 'Notes on the "Elamite" garment of Cyrus the Great', *The Antiquaries Journal* 89, 21–33.
- . (2009b), 'Ashurbanipal's feast: A view from Elam', *IrAnt* 44, 131–80.
- . (2010a), 'Elite garments and head-dresses of the late Neo-Elamite period (7th–6th century BC)', *AMIT* 42, 207–34.
- . (2010b), *The Arj n tomb: At the crossroad of the Elamite and the Persian empires*, Leuven: AcIr 49.
- . (2010c), 'Platform bearers from KF III and VI', *Iran* 48, 27–41.
- . (2011), 'The golden griffin from Arjan', *EP*, 299–373.
- . (2012), 'Elam: Iran's first empire', in Potts, D.T., ed., *A companion to the archaeology*

- of the ancient Near East, vol. 2, Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 740–57.
- . (2013a), ‘Khuzestan in the Bronze Age’, *OHAI*, 217–32.
- . (2013b), ‘Elam in the Iron Age’, *OHAI*, 457–77.
- . (2013c), ‘Braids of glory: Elamite sculptural reliefs from the highlands: Kūl-e Farah IV’, *SE*, 207–48.
- . (2014), ‘Aesthetics of the natural environment in the arts of the ancient Near East: The Elamite rock-cut sanctuary of Kurangun’, in Brown, B.A. and Feldman, M.H., eds., *Critical approaches to ancient Near Eastern art*, Boston: De Gruyter, 741–71.
- . (2015a), ‘A highland Elamite archer from Kūl-e Farah IV, CI:4’, *IrAnt* 50, 249–75.
- . (2015b), ‘Platforms of exaltation: Elamite sculptural reliefs from the highlands: Kūl-e Farah VI’, *Elamica* 4, 1–48.
- . (in press), ‘The storm-gods of western Elam’, *AMIT*.
- Álvarez-Mon, J. and Basello, G.P. (in press), ‘Like a thunderstorm: Storm-gods “Sibitti” warriors from highland Elam’, *AION*.
- Ambos, C. (2003), ‘Nanaja – eine ikonographische Studie zur Darstellung einer altorientalischen Göttin in hellenistisch-parthischer Zeit’, *ZA* 93, 231–72.
- Amerie, S.M. (1925), ‘The three major commodities of Persia’, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 122, 247–64.
- Amiet, P. (1967a), ‘Éléments émaillées du décor architectural néo-élamite’, *Syria* 44, 27–46.
- . (1967b), ‘Nouvelles acquisitions: Antiquités parthes et sassanides’, *La Revue du Louvre* 17, 273–82.
- . (1972a), *Glyptique susienne*, Paris: MDP 43.
- . (1972b), ‘Les ivoires achéménides de Suse’, *Syria* 49, 167–91, 319–37.
- . (1973a), ‘Glyptique élamite, à propos de nouveaux documents’, *Arts Asiatiques* 26, 3–64.
- . (1973b), ‘La glyptique de la fin de l’Elam’, *Arts Asiatiques* 28, 3–45.
- . (1974a), ‘Antiquités du désert de Lut: A propos d’objets de la Collection Foroughi’, *RA* 68, 97–110.
- . (1974b), ‘Quelques observations sur le palais de Darius à Suse’, *Syria* 51, 65–73.
- . (1976), ‘Disiecta membra aelamica: Le décor architectural en briques émaillées à Suse’, *Arts Asiatiques* 32, 13–18.
- . (1979a), ‘Archaeological discontinuity and ethnic duality in Elam’, *Antiquity* 53, 195–204.
- . (1979b), ‘Alternance et dualité: Essai d’interprétation de l’histoire élamite’, *Akkadica* 15, 2–22.
- . (1979c), ‘L’iconographie archaïque de l’Iran: Quelques documents nouveaux’, *Syria* 56, 333–52.
- . (1980a), ‘Antiquités de serpentine’, *IrAnt* 15, 155–66.
- . (1980b), ‘Roman Ghirshman (1895–1979)’, *StIr* 9, 143–5.
- . (1980c), ‘La glyptique du second millénaire en provenance des chantiers A et B de la Ville Royale de Suse’, *IrAnt* 15, 133–47.
- . (1985a), ‘Quelques témoins des contacts de Suse avec les pays du Levant au IIIe et IIe millénaire’, in Durand, J.-M. and Kupper, J.-R., eds., *Miscellanea Babylonica: Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 9–15.
- . (1985b), ‘A propos de l’usage et de l’iconographie des sceaux à Suse’, *Paléorient* 11, 37–8.
- . (1986a), ‘Antiquités trans-élamites’, *RA* 80, 97–104.
- . (1986b), ‘Au-delà d’Elam’, *AMI* 19, 11–20.
- . (1986c), *L’âge des échanges inter-iraniens, 3500–1700 avant J.-C.*, Paris: Notes et Documents des Musées Nationaux 11.
- . (1986d), ‘Kassites ou Elamites?’, in Kelly-Buccellati, M., ed., *Insight through images: Studies in honor of Edith Porada*, Malibu: BiMes 21, 1–6.
- . (1986e), ‘L’usage des sceaux à l’époque initiale de l’histoire de Suse’, *FHE* 17–24.
- . (1986f), ‘Susa and the Dilmun culture’, in Al Khalifa, Shaikha H.A. and Rice, M., eds., *Bahrain through the ages: The archaeology*, London, New York and Sydney and Henley: Kegan Paul International, 262–8.
- . (1987a), ‘Nouvelles acquisitions du département des antiquités orientales’, *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 13–25.
- . (1987b), ‘Temple sur terrasse ou forteresse?’, *RA* 81, 99–104.
- . (1987c), ‘Approche physique de la comptabilité à l’époque d’Uruk: Les bulles-

- enveloppes de Suse', in Huot, J.-L., ed., *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 331–44.
- . (1988a), 'Antiquités élamites et trans-élamites au musée du Louvre', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 361–9.
- . (1988b), 'Les modes d'utilisation des sceaux à Sue au IV^e millénaire', *AMI* 21, 7–16.
- . (1988c), *Suse, 6000 ans d'histoire*, Paris: Monographies des Musées de France.
- . (1989), 'Autour de Marlik', *AIO*, 311–22.
- . (1990a), 'Marlik et Tchoga Zanbil', *RA* 84, 44–7.
- . (1990b), 'Quelques épaves de la vaisselle royale perse de Suse', *MJP*, 213–24.
- . (1992a), 'Sur l'histoire Elamite', *IrAnt* 27, 75–94.
- . (1992b), 'Tiares élamites', *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 30, 257–65.
- . (1992c), 'Bronzes élamites de la collection George Ortiz', *AMI* 25, 81–9.
- . (1994a), 'Un sceau trans-élamite à Suse', *RA* 88, 1–4.
- . (1994b), review of Algaze, G., *The Uruk World System*, *RA* 88, 92–3.
- . (1994c), 'Quelques sceaux élamites', *CDR*, 59–66.
- . (1994d), 'Un étage au palais de Darius à Suse?', in Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., eds., *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients: Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1–5.
- . (1994e), 'Response', in Ferioli, P., Fiandra, E., Fissore, G.G. and Frangipane, M., eds., *Archives before writing*, Rome: Centro Internazionale di Ricerche Archeologiche, Antropologiche e Storiche 1, 55–8.
- . (1994f), 'Sceaux et administration à Suse à l'époque d'Uruk', in Ferioli, P., Fiandra, E., Fissore, G.G. and Frangipane, M., eds., *Archives before writing*, Rome: Centro Internazionale di Ricerche Archeologiche, Antropologiche e Storiche 1, 87–94.
- . (1996), 'Observations sur les sceaux de Haft Tépé (Kabnak)', *RA* 90, 135–43.
- . (1999), 'Les sceaux de Kabnak (Haft Tappeh)', *IW*, 101–13.
- . (2000), 'Glans élamites', *VD*, 1–8.
- . (2005), 'Les sceaux de l'Administration princière de Suse à l'Époque d'Agadé', *RA* 99, 1–12.
- . (2006), 'Bronzes oubliés de Suse', *RA* 100, 71–4.
- . (2007), 'Elam et trans-Elam: À propos de sceaux-cylindres de la collection du Dr. Serge Rabenou', *RA* 101, 51–8.
- . (2010), 'Princesses de Bactriane ou "Gracieuses mères" trans-élamites?', *RA* 104, 3–7.
- André, B. and Salvini, M. (1989), 'Réflexions sur Puzur-Insusinak', *IrAnt* 24, 53–72.
- Andreas, F.C. (1894a), 'Aginis', *RE* 1, 810–16.
- . (1894b), 'Ampe', *RE* 1, 1877–80.
- . (1894c), 'Aple', *RE* 1, 2810–12.
- . (1904), 'Über einige Fragen der ältesten persischen Geschichte', *Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, September 1902*, Leiden: Brill, 93–7.
- André-Salvini, B. (1992), 'Historical, economic, and legal texts', in Harper, P.O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F., eds., *The royal city of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern treasures in the Louvre*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 261–5.
- André-Salvini, B. and Descamps-Lequime, S. (2005), 'Remarques sur l'astragale en bronze de Suse', *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 47, 17–25.
- Anthonioz, S. and Malbran-Labat, F. (2013), 'Approche historique et philologique du titre royale "likame/we rišakki"', *SE*, 417–28.
- Aperghis, G.G. (1997), 'Surplus, exchange and price in the Persepolis fortification texts', in Andreau, J., Briant, P. and Descat, R., eds., *Économie antique: Prix et formation des prix dans les économies antiques*, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Entretiens d'archéologie et d'histoire 3, 277–90.
- . (1999), 'Storehouses and systems at Persepolis: Evidence from the Persepolis fortification tablets', *JESHO* 42, 152–93.
- Arfaee, A. (1999), 'La grande route Persépolis-Suse: Une lecture des tablettes provenant des fortifications de Persépolis', *Topoi* 9, 33–45.
- . (2008), *Persepolis fortification tablets*, Tehran: The Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopedia.
- Ascalone, E. (2006), *Archeologia dell'Iran antico: Interazioni, integrazioni e discontinuità nell'Iran dell'III millennio a.C.*, Messina: Nisaba 14.
- . (2010), 'Sigilli paleoelamiti dei primi secoli del II millennio A.C. I codici figurativi della glittica paleoelamita e le nuove formule di espressione dinastica dei sovrani Simashki', in Matthiae, P. et al., eds., *Proceedings of the 6th*

- International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 629–39.
- Asher, A. (1840), *The itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, vol. 1, London and Berlin: A. Asher & Co.
- Ashrafian, H. (2010), 'Familial stroke 2700 years ago', *Stroke* 2010; 41:e187 (published online February 25, 2010).
- Askari Chaverdi, A., Callieri, P. and Gondet, S. (2013), 'Tol-e Ājori, a new monumental building in Pārsa', *ARTA* 2013.006, 1–45.
- Askari Chaverdi, A., Khosrowzadeh, A., McCall, B., Petrie, C.A., Potts, D.T., Roustaei, K., Seyedin, M., Weeks, L. and Zaidi, M. (2010), 'Archaeological evidence for Achaemenid settlement within the Mamasani valleys, western Fars, Iran', *WAP*, 287–98.
- Askari Chaverdi, A., Petrie, C.A. and Taylor, H. (2008), 'Early villages on the Persian Gulf littoral: Revisiting Tol-e Pir and the Galehdār Valley', *Iran* 46, 21–42.
- Askari Chaverdi, A., Potts, D.T. and Petrie, C. (2014), *Achaemenid and post Achaemenid studies, Mamasani region, northwest and western Fars, Iran*, Shiraz: Shiraz University of Arts (in Persian with English summary).
- Assar, G.R.F. (2004–5), 'History and coinage of Elymais during 150/149–122/121 BC', *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 4/2, 27–91.
- . (2009), 'Artabanus of Trogus Pompeius' 41st Prologue', *Electrum* 15, 119–40.
- Atkinson, J.E. (1994), *A commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' Historiae Alexandri Magni* Books 5 to 7.2, Amsterdam: Acta Classica Supplement 1.
- Aubin, J. (1977), 'La question de Sirgan au XIIIe siècle', *StIr* 6, 285–90.
- Augé, C., Curiel, R. and Le Rider, G. (1979), *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman: Les trouvailles monétaires*, Paris: MDP 44.
- Azarnoush, M. and Helwing, B. (2005), 'Recent archaeological research in Iran – Prehistory to Iron Age', *AMIT* 37, 189–246.
- Azarpay, G. (1999), 'Elamite terracotta figurines', *IW*, 131–6.
- Azzoni, A. (2008), 'The Bowman manuscript and the Aramaic tablets', *AFP*, 253–74.
- Azzoni, A. and Dusingberre, E. (2014), 'Persepolis fortification Aramaic tablet seal 0002 and the keeping of horses', *EC*, 1–16.
- Babelon, E. (1890), *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène*, Paris: C. Rollin & Feuardent.
- . (1906), *Manual of Oriental antiquities including the architecture, sculpture, and industrial arts of Chaldaea, Assyria, Persia, Syria, Judaea, Phœnicia, and Carthage*, London: H. Grevel and Co.
- Badian, E. (1975), 'Nearchus the Cretan', *Yale Classical Studies* 24, 147–70.
- Bae, C.-H. (2003), 'Literary stemma of King Darius's (522–486 B.C.E.) Bisitun inscription: Evidence of the Persian Empire's multilingualism', *Eoneohag* 36, 3–32.
- Baghbidi, H.R. (2009), 'Darius and the Bisotun inscription: A new interpretation of the last paragraph of Column IV', *Journal of Persianate Studies* 2, 44–61.
- Bahrani, Z. (2004), 'The king's head', *Iraq* 66, 115–19.
- . (2008), *Rituals of war: The body and violence in Mesopotamia*, New York: Zone Books.
- Balandier, G. (1972), *Political anthropology*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Balatti, S. (2014), *Mountain people in the Ancient Near East: The case of the Zagros in the 1st millennium BC*, Kiel: Christian-Albrechts-University, unpubl. PhD dissertation.
- Balkan, K. (1954), *Kassitenstudien 1. Die Sprache der Kassiten*, New Haven: AOS 37.
- Bányai, M. (2014), 'Chronologie und Eponymen der späten Zeit Tukultī-Ninurta I', *NABU* 2014, 2, 48.
- Bar-Kochva, B. (1976), *The Seleucid army: Organization and tactics in the great campaigns*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barth, F. (1961), *Nomads of south Persia: The Basseri tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy*, Boston: Little, Brown.
- . (1969), 'Introduction', in Barth, F., ed., *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of cultural difference*, Boston: Little, Brown, 9–38.
- Barthélemy, A.J.-B.A. de (1866), *Nouveau manuel complet de numismatique ancienne*, Paris: Librairie Encyclopédique de Roret.
- Bartholomaei, I.A. (1852), 'Lettre au rédacteur des Mémoires, sur deux monnaies inédites de Syrie et d'Arménie', *Mémoires de la Société Impériale d'Archéologie de St. Pétersbourg* 6/3, 173–5.
- Bartlett, J.R. (1973), *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Basello, G.P. (2011), 'Elamite as administrative language: From Susa to Perspolis', *EP*, 61–88.
- . (2012), 'Doorknobs, nails or pegs? The function(s) of the Elamite and Achaemenid inscribed knobs', *DS II*, 1–66.
- . (2013), 'From Susa to Persepolis: The pseudo-sealing of the Persepolis bronze plaque', *SE*, 249–62.
- Bayani, M.I. (1979), 'The Elamite periods on the Izeh Plain', in Wright, H.T., ed., *Archaeological investigations in northwestern Xuzestan, 1976*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Technical Report No. 10, 99–105.
- Beale, T.W. (1973), 'Early trade in highland Iran: A view from a source area', *World Archaeology* 5, 133–48.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. (1989), *The reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 BC*, New Haven and London: Yale Near Eastern Researches 10.
- Beckman, G. (1991), 'A stray tablet from Haft Tépé', *IrAnt* 26, 81–3.
- Behm-Blancke, M.R. (1979), *Das Tierbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik: Eine Untersuchung zum Stilwandel des frühsumerischen Rundbildes*, Mainz: Baghdader Forschungen 1.
- Bell, B.R. (2002), 'A new model for Elymaean royal chronology', *The Celerator* 16/5, 34–9, 50.
- Bellelli, G.M. (2002), *Vasi iranici in metallo dell'Età del Bronzo*, Stuttgart: Prähistorische Bronzefunde II/17.
- Bellinger, A.R. (1950–1), 'An Alexander hoard from Byblos', *Berytus* 10, 37–49.
- Bengtson, H. (1964²), *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit: Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht*, 2 vols. Munich: Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 32.
- Berger, P.-R. (1967), 'Akkadisches aus Elam: Zu dem akkadischen Passus eines elamischen Backsteins aus Tschogha Sambil', *Or* 36, 421–5.
- . (1973), *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, Kevelaer und Neukirchen-Vluyn: AOAT 4/1.
- Bernard, P. (1980), 'Héraclès, les grottes de Karafto et le sanctuaire du mont Sambulos en Iran', *StIr* 9, 302–24.
- Bernbeck, R., Fazeli, H. and Pollock, S. (2005), 'Life in a fifth-millennium BCE village: Excavations at Rahmatabad, Iran', *Near Eastern Archaeology* 68/3, 94–105.
- Bernshtam, A. (1962), 'On the origin of the Kirgiz people', in Michael, H.N., ed., *Studies in Siberian ethnogenesis*, Toronto: Arctic Institute of North America Anthropology of the North, Translations from Russian Sources/No. 2, 119–28.
- Berthelot, A. (1935), 'La côte méridionale de l'Iran d'après les géographes grecs', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis*, Toulouse: E. Privat, 11–24.
- Berthoud, T., Bonnefous, S., Dechoux, M. and Françaix, J. (1980), 'Data analysis: Towards a model of chemical modification of copper from ores to metal', in Craddock, P.T., ed., *Proceedings of the XIXth Symposium on Archaeometry*, London: British Museum Occasional Paper 20, 87–102.
- Berve, H. (1926), *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, 2 vols. Munich: Beck.
- Bewley, R.H. (1984), 'The Cambridge University archaeological expedition to Iran 1969, excavations in the Zagros mountains: Houmian, Mir Malas, and Barde Spid', *Iran* 22, 1–38.
- Biggs, R.D. and Stolper, M.W. (1983), 'A Babylonian omen text from Susiana', *RA* 77, 155–62.
- Billerbeck, A. (1893), *Susa: Eine Studie zur alten Geschichte Westasiens*, Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Billows, R.A. (1990), *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the creation of the Hellenistic state*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press.
- Binder, A.-B. (2012), 'Varianten der Götterkronen in der Ikonographie Elams', *Elamica* 2, 1–32.
- . (2013), 'Von Susa nach Anšan – zu Datierung und Ursprung des Felsreliefs von Kūrāngūn', *Elamica* 3, 35–88.
- Bintliff, J. (1991), ed., *The Annales School and archaeology*, New York: New York University Press.
- Birch, T. (1756), *The history of the Royal Society of London, for improving of Natural Knowledge . . .*, vol. 2, London: A. Millar.
- Bischof, G. and Pelinka, A. (1997), eds., *Austrian Historical Memory and National Identity*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, Contemporary Austrian Studies 5.
- Bittner, S. (1987²), *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaimeniden*, Munich: Klaus Friedrich Verlag.
- Bivar, A.D.H. (1983), 'The political history of Iran under the Arsacids', *CHI* 3/1, 21–99.

- Bivar, A.D.H. and Shaked, S. (1964), 'The inscriptions at Shimbar', *BSOAS* 27, 265–90.
- Black, J. and Green, A. (1992), *Gods, demons and symbols of ancient Mesopotamia*, London: British Museum Press.
- Blackman, M.J. (1982), 'The manufacture and use of burned lime plaster at Proto-Elamite Anshan (Iran)', in Wertime, T. and S., eds., *Early pyrotechnology: The evolution of fire using industries*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 107–16.
- Blau, O. (1858), *Commercielle Zustände Persiens, aus den Erfahrungen einer Reise im Sommer 1857*, Berlin: Verlag der Königlichen Geheimen Ober-Hofbuchdruckerei.
- . (1877), 'Die elymaäischen Pyraethen und ihre Münzen', *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschrift* 9, 63–90.
- Blažek, V. (1999), 'Elam: A bridge between ancient Near East and Dravidian India?', in Blench, R. and Spriggs, M., eds., *Archaeology and language IV: Language change and cultural transformation*, London and New York: Routledge, 48–78.
- Bloch, Y. (2014), 'Judeans in Sippar and Susa during the first century of the Babylonian exile: Assimilation and perseverance under Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid rule', *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 1/2, 119–72.
- Blois, F. de (1994, app. 1996), 'Elamite survivals in Western Iranian: A preliminary survey', *Studia Iranica, Mesopotamica & Anatolica* 1, 13–19.
- Bobek, H. (1968), 'Vegetation', *CHI* 1, 280–93.
- Bochart, S. (1651), *Geographiae sacrae pars prior: Phaleg, seu de dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in aedificatione turris Babel (Geographiae sacrae pars altera: Chanaan, seu de coloniis et sermone Phoenicum*, Cadomi [Caen]: Typis Petri Cardonelli.
- Bode, Baron C.A. de (1843), 'Extracts from a journal kept while travelling, in January, 1841, through the country of the Mamásení and Khógilú (Bakhtiyári), situated between Kázerún and Behbahan', *JRGS* 13, 75–112.
- . (1845), *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, vol. 1, London: J. Madden and Co.
- Boese, J. (1971), *Altmesopotamische Weihplatten: Eine sumerische Denkmalsgattung des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Berlin and New York: De Gruyter.
- Bökönyi, S. (1977), *Animal remains from the Kermanshah Valley, Iran*, Oxford: BAR Supplement Series 34.
- Bollweg, J. (1988), 'Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder', *AMI* 21, 53–61.
- Bonatz, D. (2004), 'Ashurbanipal's headhunt: An anthropological perspective', *Iraq* 66, 93–101.
- Bongenaar, A.C.V.M. (1997), *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple*, Istanbul: Publications de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais à Stamboul.
- Borchardt, J. and Bleibtreu, E. (2011), 'Aspekte und Perspektive im neuassyrischen Flachbild', in Selz, G., ed., *The empirical dimension of ancient Near Eastern studies / Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen*, Vienna: Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6, 477–542.
- Borger, R. (1956), *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, Graz: Afo Beiheft 9.
- . (1982), *Die Chronologie des Darius-Denkmal am Behistun-Felsen*, Göttingen: Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse 3.
- . (1996), *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bork, F. (1906), 'Zur Erklärung der elamischen Briefe', *BA* 5, 401–4.
- . (1910), 'Nochmals das Alter der altpersischen Keilinschrift', *ZDMG* 64, 569–80.
- . (1925), 'Elam', *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 3, 69–83.
- Börker, C. (1974), 'Griechische Amphorenstempel vom Tell Halaf bis zum persischen Golf', *BaM* 7, 31–49.
- Born, H. and Seidl, U. (1995), *Schutzwaffen aus Assyrien und Urartu*, Mainz: Von Zabern.
- Bosworth, A.B. (1980a), 'Alexander and the Iranians', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 100, 1–21.
- . (1980b), *A historical commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander I*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . (1987), 'Nearchus in Susiana', in Will, W. and Heinrichs, J., eds., *Zu Alexander d. Gr.: Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86*, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 541–66.
- . (1996), *Alexander and the East: The tragedy of triumph*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bosworth, C.E. (1999), *The history of al-Ṭabarī (Ta'rikh al-rusul wal mulūk) Volume V. The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Bottema, S. (1978), 'The Late Glacial in the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East', in Brice, W.C., ed., *The environmental history of*

- the Near and Middle East since the last Ice Age*, London, New York and San Francisco: Academic Press, 15–28.
- Bottéro, J. (1982), 'Les inscriptions cunéiformes funéraires', in Gnoli, G. and Vernant, J.-P., eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge and Paris: Cambridge University Press and Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 373–406.
- Boucharlat, R. (1984), 'Monuments religieux de la Perse achéménide: Etat des questions', in Roux, G., ed., *Temples et sanctuaires*, Lyon: TMO 7, 119–35.
- . (1985), 'Suse, marché agricole ou relais du grand commerce: Suse et la Susiane à l'époque des grands empires', *Paléorient* 11, 71–81.
- . (1987a), 'Les niveaux post-achéménides à Suse, secteur nord', *CDAFI* 15, 145–311.
- . (1987b), 'Suse à l'époque sasanide: Une capitale prestigieuse devenue ville de province', *Mesopotamia* 22, 357–66.
- . (1989), 'Cairns et pseudo-cairns du Fars: L'utilisation des tombes de surface au 1^{er} millénaire de notre ère', *AIO*, 675–712.
- . (1990a), 'Suse et la Susiane à l'époque Achéménide: Données archéologiques', *AH* 4, 149–75.
- . (1990b), 'La fin des palais Achéménides de Suse: Une mort naturelle', *MJP*, 225–33.
- . (1993), 'Pottery in Susa during the Seleucid, Parthian and early Sasanian periods', in Finkbeiner, U., ed., *Materialien zur Archäologie der Seleukiden- und Partherzeit im südlichen Babylonien und im Golfgebiet*, Tübingen: Wasmuth, 41–57.
- . (1997), 'Susa under Achaemenid rule', in Curtis, J., ed., *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian period: Conquest and imperialism, 539–331 BC*, London: British Museum, 54–67.
- . (2001), 'The palace and the Royal Achaemenid city: Two case studies – Pasargadae and Susa', in Nielsen, I., ed., *The royal palace institution in the first millennium BC: Regional development and cultural interchange between East and West*, Athens: Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 4, 113–23.
- . (2003), 'The Persepolis area in the Achaemenid period: Some reconsiderations', *YBYN*, 260–5.
- . (2010), 'Autres travaux de Darius et successeurs', *PDS*, 374–419.
- . (2013), 'Southwestern Iran in the Achaemenid period', *OHAI*, 503–27.
- Boucharlat, R. and Gasche, H. (2010), 'Suse dans l'architecture iranienne et orientale', *PDS*, 420–65.
- Boucharlat, R. and Haerinck, E. (1994), 'Das Ewig-weibliche: Figurines en os d'époque parthe de Suse', *IrAnt* 29, 185–99.
- . (2011), *Tombes d'Époque parthe (Chantiers de la Ville des Artisans)*, Leiden: MDAI 35.
- Boucharlat, R. and Labrousse, A. (1979), 'Le palais d'Artaxerxès II sur la rive droite du Chaour à Suse', *CDAFI* 10, 19–136.
- Boucharlat, R. and Lombard, P. (2001), 'Le bâtiment G de Rumeilah (oasis d'Al Ain). Remarques sur les salles à poteaux de l'âge du Fer en Péninsule d'Oman', *IrAnt* 36, 213–38.
- Boucharlat, R. and Shahidi, H. (1987), 'Fragments architecturaux de type achéménide: Découvertes fortuites dans la ville de Shoush 1976–1979', *Cahiers de la DAFI* 15, 313–27.
- Boyce, M. (1982), *A history of Zoroastrianism II: Under the Achaemenians*, Leiden/Cologne: HdO 8.1.2.
- . (1988), 'The religion of Cyrus the Great', *AH* 3, 5–31.
- Braun, O. (1975; repr. of 1900 ed.), *Das Buch der Synhados oder Synodicon Orientale: Die Sammlung nestorianischer Konzilien, zusammengestellt im neunten Jahrhundert*, Amsterdam: Philo.
- Braun-Holzinger, E. (1991), *Mesopotamische Weihgaben der frühdynastischen bis altbabylonischen Zeit*, Heidelberg: HSAO, 3.
- Brentjes, B. (1991), 'Humut-tabal ("nimm schnell hinweg") – ein Wunschnamen für eine Waffe?', *AMI* 24, 3–11.
- . (1993), 'Waffen der Steppenvölker 1: Dolch und Schwert im Steppenraum vom 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bis in die alttürkische Zeit', *AMI* 26, 5–45.
- Briant, P. (1973), *Antigone le borgne: Les débuts de sa carrière et les problèmes de l'assemblée macédonienne*, Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 152.
- . (1982), 'La campagne d'Alexandre contre les Ouxiens (début 330)', in *Rois, tributs et paysans*, Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 269, 161–73.
- . (1984), 'La Perse avant l'empire (un état de la question)', *IrAnt* 19, 71–118.
- . (1990), 'The Seleucid kingdom, the Achaemenid empire and the history of the

- Near East in the first millennium BC', in Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L. and Zahle, J., eds., *Religion and religious practice in the Seleucid kingdom*, Aarhus: Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1, 40–65.
- . (1991), 'De Sardes à Suse', *AH* 6, 67–82.
- . (1992a), *Darius, les Perses et l'empire*, Paris: Gallimard.
- . (1992b), 'Thémistocle sur la route royale', *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, 6.
- . (1993), 'Hérodote, Udjahorresnet et les palaces de Darius à Suse', *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, 2.
- . (1996), *Histoire de l'empire perse*, Paris: Fayard.
- . (2001), *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide: II – 1997–2000*, Paris: Persika 1.
- . (2010), 'Suse et l'Elam dans l'Empire achéménide', *PDS*, 22–45.
- Brice, W.C. (1966), *South-West Asia*, London: A Systematic Regional Geography VIII.
- . (1978), 'The dessication of Anatolia', in Brice, W.C., ed., *The environmental history of the Near and Middle East since the last Ice Age*, London, New York and San Francisco: Academic Press, 141–7.
- Bridges, S.J. (1981), *The Mesag archive: A study of Sargonic society and economy*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- Brinkman, J.A. (1964), 'Merodach-Baladan II', in *Studies presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 6–53.
- . (1965), 'Elamite military aid to Merodach-Baladan', *JNES* 24, 161–6.
- . (1968), *A political history of post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158–722 BC*, Rome: Analecta Orientalia 43.
- . (1973), 'Sennacherib's Babylonian problem: An interpretation', *JCS* 25, 89–95.
- . (1976), *Materials and studies for Kassite history I: A catalogue of cuneiform sources pertaining to specific monarchs of the Kassite dynasty*, Chicago: The Oriental Institute.
- . (1977), 'Mesopotamian chronology of the historical period', in Oppenheim, A.L., *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a dead civilization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 335–48.
- . (1978), 'Notes on Arameans and Chaldeans in southern Babylonia in the early seventh century BC', *Or* 46, 304–25.
- . (1984), *Prelude to empire: Babylonian society and politics, 747–626 BC*, Philadelphia: Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 7.
- . (1986), 'The Elamite-Babylonian frontier in the Neo-Elamite period, 750–625 BC', *FHE*, 199–207.
- . (1990), 'The Babylonian Chronicle revisited', in Abusch, T., Huehnergard, J. and Steinkeller, P., eds., *Lingering over words: Studies in ancient Near Eastern literature in honor of William L. Moran*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 73–104.
- . (1991), 'Babylonia in the shadow of Assyria', *CAH* 3/2, 1–70.
- . (1993a), 'Meerland', *RLA* 8, 6–10.
- . (1993b), 'Babylonian influence in the Šēh Ḥamad texts dated under Nebuchadnezzar II', *SAAB* 7, 133–8.
- . (1995), 'Mušezib-Marduk', *RLA* 8, 455.
- Brinkman, J.A. and Kennedy, D.A. (1983), 'Documentary evidence for the economic base of early Neo-Babylonian society: A survey of dated Babylonian economic texts, 721–626 BC', *JCS* 35, 1–90.
- Brinton, D.G. (1895), 'The protohistoric ethnography of Western Asia', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 34, 71–102.
- Brock, S. (1984), 'Christians in the Sasanid empire: A case of divided loyalties', in Brock, S., *Syriac perspectives on late antiquity*, London: Variorum, VI1–19.
- Brookes, I.A. (1982), 'Geomorphological evidence for climatic change in Iran during the last 20,000 years', in Bintliff, J.L. and Van Zeist, W., eds., *Palaeoclimates, palaeoenvironments and human communities in the eastern Mediterranean region in later prehistory*, Oxford: BAR International Series 133(i), 191–228.
- . (1989), *The physical geography, geomorphology and Late Quaternary history of the Mahidasht Project Area, Qara Su Basin, Central West Iran*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum Mahidasht Project Vol. 1.
- Brosius, M. (1998), 'Artemis Persike and Artemis Anaitis', *AH* 11, 227–38.
- Bruins, E.M. and Rutten, M. (1961), *Textes mathématiques de Suse*, Paris: MDP 34.
- Budge, E.A.W. (1932), *The chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the son of Aaron, the Hebrew physician, commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, being the first part of his political history of the world*, translated from the Syriac by Ernest A. Wallis Budge, London: Oxford University Press.

- Büdingen, M. (1881), 'Die neuentdeckten Inschriften über Cyrus: Eine kritische Untersuchung', *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Cl.* 97/3, 711–25.
- Burtea, B. (2008), 'Zur Entstehung der mandäischen Schrift: Iranischer oder aramäischer Ursprung?', in Voigt, R., ed., 'Und das Leben ist siegreich!' *Mandäische und samaritanische Literatur. Im Gedenken an Rudolph Macuch (1919–1993)*, Wiesbaden: Mandäistische Forschungen 1, 47–62.
- Butterlin, P. (1995), 'Problèmes de colonisation et de contacts à l'époque d'Uruk', *Sources Travaux Historiques* 36–7, 17–24.
- . (2003), *Les temps proto-urbains de Mésopotamie: Contacts et aculturation à l'époque d'Uruk au Moyen-Orient*, Paris: CNRS Éditions.
- Butz, K. and Schroeder, P. (1985), 'Zu Getreideerträgen in Mesopotamien und dem Mittelmeergebiet', *BaM* 16, 165–209.
- Callieri, P. (2007), *L'archéologie du Fārs à l'époque hellénistique*, Paris: Persika 11.
- Callieri, P. and Askari Chaverdi, A. (2013), 'Media, Khuzestan, and Fars between the end of the Achaemenids and the rise of the Sasanians', *OHAI*, 690–717.
- Calmeyer, P. (1987), 'Greek historiography and Achaemenid reliefs', *AH* 2, 11–26.
- . (1988), 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive X. Die elamisch-persische Tracht', *AMI* 21, 27–51.
- . (1989), 'Beobachtungen an der Silbervase aus Persepolis', *IrAnt* 24, 79–83.
- . (1992), 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive XI. "Eingewebte Bildchen" von Städten', *AMI* 25, 95–124.
- . (1995a), 'Museum', *RLA* 8, 453–5.
- . (1995b), 'Middle Babylonian art and contemporary Iran', in Curtis, J., ed., *Later Mesopotamia and Iran: Tribes and empires 1600–539 BC*, London: British Museum, 33–45.
- . (2009), *Die Reliefs der Gräber V und VI in Persepolis*, Mainz: AIT 8.
- Cameron, G.G. (1936), *History of early Iran*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- . (1948), *Persepolis treasury tablets*, Chicago: OIP 65.
- . (1957), 'An Elamite bronze plaque', in Schmidt, E.F., *Persepolis II: Contents of the treasury and other discoveries*, Chicago: OIP 69, 64–5.
- Canal, D. (1978), 'La haute terrasse de l'Acropole de Suse', *Paléorient* 4, 169–76.
- Canali di Rossi, F. (2004), *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco*, Bonn: Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 65.
- Cantineau, J. (1939), 'La Susiane dans une inscription palmyrénienne', in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud I*, Paris: Geuthner, 277–9.
- Carlson, E. (2014), 'Inscribed and uninscribed spaces in Al Untash Napirisha: Interaction and segregation in a late second-millennium *de novo* capital', *Iran* 52, 29–52.
- Carter, E. (1980), 'Excavations in Ville Royale I at Susa: The third millennium BC occupation', *CDAFI* 11, 11–134.
- . (1981), 'Elamite ceramics', in Wright, H.T., *An early town on the Deh Luran plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 13, 196–223.
- . (1985), 'Notes on archaeology and the social and economic history of Susiana', *Paléorient* 11, 43–8.
- . (1987), 'The Piedmont and the Pusht-i Kuh in the early third millennium BC', in Huot, J.-L., ed., *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 73–83.
- . (1989), review of Seidl, U., *Die elamischen Felsreliefs von Kurangun und Naqš-e Rostam*, *ZA* 79, 145–8.
- . (1990), 'Elamite exports', *MJP*, 89–100.
- . (1994a), 'The Middle Elamite building at Anshan (Tal-e Malyan)', *Iranian Journal of Archaeology and History* 7, 12–26.
- . (1994b), 'Bridging the gap between the Elamites and the Persians in southeastern Khuzistan', *AH* 8, 65–95.
- . (1996), *Excavations at Anshan (Tal-e Malyan): The Middle Elamite period*, Philadelphia: University Museum Monograph 82 [= Malyan Excavation Reports 2].
- . (1999), 'Kabnak (Haft Tappeh) and Al Untash-Napirisha (Chogha Zanbil): Elamite cities of the Late Bronze Age', *IW*, 114–30.
- . (2007), 'Resisting empire: Elam in the first millennium BC', in Stone, E., ed., *Settlement and society: Essays dedicated to Robert McCormick Adams*, Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 139–56.

- . (2011), 'Landscapes of death in Susiana during the last half of the 2nd millennium B.C.', *EP*, 45–58.
- . (2014), 'Royal women in Elamite art', *EC*, 41–62.
- Carter, E. and Stolper, M. (1984), *Elam: Surveys of political history and archaeology*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Publications, Near Eastern Studies 25.
- Carter, M.L. (1978), 'White marble bust of a male', in Harper, P.O., *The royal hunter: Art of the Sasanian empire*, New York: The Asia Society, 170–1.
- Carter, R.A. et al. (2006), 'The Bushehr hinterland: Results of the first season of the Iranian-British Archaeological Survey of Bushehr Province, November–December 2004', *Iran* 44, 63–103.
- Cassin, E. (1982), 'Le mort: Valeur et représentation en Mésopotamie ancienne', in Gnoli, G. and Vernant, J.-P., eds., *La mort, les morts dans les sociétés anciennes*, Cambridge and Paris: Cambridge University Press and Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 355–72.
- Castellino, G.R. (1972), *Two Šulgi hymns (BC)*, Rome: Studi Semitici 42.
- Cavigneaux, A. (2003), 'Fragments littéraires susiens', *LPR*, 53–62.
- Chabot, J.B. (1902), *Synodicon orientale ou recueil de synodes nestoriens*, Paris: Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale 37.
- Chamaza, G.W. (1994), 'Der VIII. Feldzug Sargons II', *AMI* 27, 91–118.
- Charpin, D. (1986), 'Les Elamites à Šubat-Enlil', *FHE*, 129–37.
- . (1987), 'A propos du site de Tell Harmal', *NABU*, 117.
- . (1990), 'Une alliance contre l'Elam et le rituel du *lipit napištim*', *MJP*, 109–18.
- . (1992), 'L'enterrement du roi d'Ur Šu-Sîn à Uruk', *NABU*, 106.
- . (2013), '"Ainsi parle l'empereur" à propos de la correspondance des sukkal-mah', *SE*, 341–54.
- Charpin, D. and Durand, J.-M. (1991), 'La suzeraineté de l'empereur (sukkal-mah) d'Elam sur la Mésopotamie et le "nationalisme" Amorrite', *MHEOP* 1, 59–66.
- . (2003), 'Des volontaires contre l'Élam', *LPR*, 63–76.
- Chaumont, M.-L. (1969), *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie de l'avènement des Sassanides à la conversion du royaume*, Paris: Geuthner.
- . (1988), *La christianisation de l'empire iranien: Des origines aux grandes persécutions du IV^e siècle*, Louvain: CSCO 499 [= *Subsidia* 80].
- Chevalier, N. (1997), *Une mission en Perse: 1897–1912*, Paris: Dossiers du Musée du Louvre 52.
- . (2009), *Chroniques des premières Missions Archéologiques Françaises à Suse d'après les photographies et mémoires de l'architecte Maurice Pillet (1912–1913)*, Tehran: Bibliothèque Iranienne 66.
- . (2010), 'Les découvreurs du palais de Suse', *PDS*, 74–115.
- . (2012), 'Early excavations (pre-1914)', in Potts, D.T., ed., *A companion to the archaeology of the ancient Near East*, vol. 1, Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 48–69.
- Choksy, J.K. (1990), 'Gesture in ancient Iran and Central Asia i: The raised hand', in *Iranica Varia: Papers in honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater*, Leiden: *AcIr* 30, 30–7.
- Christensen, A. (1936), *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen and Paris: Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études 48.
- Christensen, P. (1993), *The decline of Iranshahr: Irrigation and environments in the history of the Middle East, 500 BC to AD 1500*, Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum.
- Christesen, P. (2006), 'Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and military reform in Sparta', *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 126, 47–65.
- Civil, M. (1996), 'Sin-iddinam in Emar and SU. A = Šimaški', *NABU*, 41.
- Clairmont, C. (1957), 'Greek pottery from the Near East II: Black vases', *Berytus* 11/2, 85–142.
- Codrington, O. (1906), review of Allotte de la Fuÿe, F.-M., *Monnaies de l'Élymaïde*, *JRAS* 38/2, 507–8.
- Cogan, M. and Tadmor, H. (1981), 'Ashurbanipal's conquest of Babylon: The first official report – Prism K', *Or* 50, 229–40.
- Cohen, G.M. (1978), *The Seleucid colonies: Studies in founding, administration and organization*, Wiesbaden: Historia Einzelschriften 30.
- Cole, S.W. and De Meyer, L. (1999), 'Tepti-aḫar, king of Susa, and Kadašman-^dKUR. GAL', *Akkadica* 112, 44–5.
- Colledge, M.A.R. (1979), 'Sculptors' stone-carving techniques in Seleucid and Parthian Iran, and their place in the "Parthian" cultural

- milieu: Some preliminary observations', *EW* 29/1, 221–40.
- Collins, P. (2014), 'Gods, heroes, rituals, and violence: Warfare in Neo-Assyrian art', in Brown, B.A. and Feldman, M.H., eds., *Critical approaches to ancient Near Eastern art*, Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 619–44.
- Colpe, C. (1983), 'Development of religious thought', *CHI* 3/2, 819–65.
- Connan, J. and Deschesne, O. (1996), *Le bitume à Suse: Collection du Musée du Louvre*, Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Connan, J. et al. (2008), 'The bituminous mixtures of Tall-e Abu Chizan: A Vth millennium BC settlement in southwestern Iran', *Organic Geochemistry* 39, 1772–89.
- Cooley, J. (2006), 'III. Middle Babylonian texts. A. Text from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I', in Chavalas, M., ed., *Historical sources in translation: The ancient Near East*, Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 160–4.
- Córdoba, J.M. (1997), 'Die Schlacht am Ulaya-Fluß: Ein Beispiel assyrischer Kriegführung während der letzten Jahre des Reiches', in Waetzoldt, H. and Hauptmann, H., eds., *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten: XXXIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg 6.–10. Juli 1992*, Heidelberg: HSAO 6, 7–18.
- Cressey, G.B. (1958), 'The Shatt al-Arab basin', *Middle East Journal* 12, 448–60.
- Cripps, E. (2013), 'Messengers from Šuruppak', *CDLJ* 2013, 3.
- Cruveilhier, P. (1921), *Les principaux résultats des nouvelles fouilles de Suse*, Paris: Geuthner.
- Cumont, F. (1928), 'Inscriptions grecques de Suse publiées d'après les notes de Bernard Haussoullier', *MDP* 20, 77–98.
- . (1930), 'Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de Suse', *CRAIBL* 74/3, 208–20.
- . (1931), 'Inscriptions grecques de Suse', *CRAIBL* 75/3, 233–50.
- . (1932a), 'Une lettre du roi Artaban III à la ville de Suse', *CRAIBL* 76/3, 238–60.
- . (1932b), 'Nouvelles inscriptions grecques de Suse', *CRAIBL* 76/3, 271–86.
- . (1933), 'Deux inscriptions de Suse', *CRAIBL* 77/2, 260–8.
- Cuq, E. (1931a), 'Les caractères du droit élamite selon les récentes fouilles de Susiane', *CRAIBL* 75/3, 209–10.
- . (1931b), 'Les actes juridiques susiens', *RA* 28, 47–71.
- . (1932), 'Le droit élamite d'après les fouilles de Suse', *CRAIBL* 76/4, 353–4.
- Curtis, J. (1993), 'William Kennett Loftus and his excavations at Susa', *IrAnt* 28, 1–55.
- Curtis, V.S. (2010), 'The frataraka coins of Persis: Bridging the gap between Achaemenid and Sasanian Persia', *WAP*, 379–94.
- Dąbrowa, E. (1998a), 'Philhellén. Mithridate Ier et les Grecs', *Electrum* 2, 35–44.
- . (1998b), 'Zeugnisse zur Geschichte der parthischen Elymais und Susiane', in Wiesehöfer, J., ed., *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, Stuttgart: Historia Einzelschriften 122, 417–24.
- . (1999), 'L'expédition de Démétrios II Nicator contre les Parthes (139–138 avant J.-C.)', *Parthica* 1, 9–18.
- . (2004), 'Les Séleucides et l'Élymaïde', *Parthica* 6, 107–15.
- . (2014), 'A troublesome vassal? Elymais and Parthia (141 BC–AD 228)', *Parthica* 16, 9–16.
- Dahl, J. (2002), 'Proto-Elamite sign frequencies', *CDLB* 2002, 1.
- . (2005a), 'Animal husbandry in Susa during the Proto-Elamite period', *SMEA* 47, 81–134.
- . (2005b), 'Complex graphemes in Proto-Elamite', *CDLJ* 2005, 3.
- . (2009), 'Early writing in Iran, a reappraisal', *Iran* 47, 23–31.
- . (2012), 'The marks of early writing', *Iran* 50, 1–12.
- . (2013), 'Early writing in Iran', *OHAI*, 233–62.
- Dahl, J., Petrie, C.A. and Potts, D.T. (2013), 'Chronological parameters of the earliest writing system in Iran', *AIN*, 353–78.
- Dalley, S. (1993), 'Nineveh after 612 BC', *AoF* 20, 134–47.
- Dalley, S. and Postgate, J.N. (1984), *The tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq [= Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud 3].
- Damerow, P. and Englund, R.K. (1985), 'Die Zahlzeichensysteme der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk', in Green, M.W. and Nissen, H.J., *Zeichenliste der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann [= Archaische Texte aus Uruk 2], 117–56.

- . (1989), *The Proto-Elamite texts from Tepe Yahya*, Cambridge: American School of Prehistoric Research Bulletin 39.
- Dan, R. (2015), *From the Armenian Highland to Iran: A study on the relations between the Kingdom of Urartu and the Achaemenid Empire*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma N.S. 4.
- Dandama(y)ev, M.A. (1976), *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden (6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- . (1977), 'The dynasty of the Achaemenids in the early period', *AAASH* 25, 39–42.
- . (1982), 'Abirādūš', *EnIr* 1/2, 218.
- . (1991), 'Elamite workers in Achaemenid Babylonia', *Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan* 5, 17–20.
- . (1992), *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- . (1993a), 'Achaemenid estates in Lahiru', *IrAnt* 27, 117–23.
- . (1993b), 'Cyrus III. Cyrus II the Great', *EnIr* 6, 516–21.
- . (2003), 'Susa, the capital of Elam, and Babylonian Susa', in Selz, G., ed., *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast zu seinem 70. Geburtstag dargestellt von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen*, Münster: AOAT 274, 7–14.
- Dandamaev, M.A. and Lukonin, V.G. (1989), *The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daneshmand, P. (2004), 'An extispicy text from Haft-Tappe', *JCS* 56, 13–17.
- Daneshmand, P. and Abdoli, M. (2015), 'A new king of Susa and Anshan', *CDLIB* 2015: 1.
- Darabi, H. (2012), 'Towards reassessing the Neolithisation process in western Iran', *Documenta Praehistorica* 39, 103–10.
- Darabi, H. and Glascock, M.D. (2013), 'The source of obsidian artefacts found at East Chia Sabz, western Iran', *JAS* 40, 3804–9.
- Daryaei, T. (2002), *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērānšahr: A Middle Persian text on Late Antique geography, epic, and history, with English and Persian translations and commentary*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- . (2008), *Sasanian Iran (224–651 CE)*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- Davis, N. and Kraay, C.M. (1973), *The Hellenistic kingdoms: Portrait coins and history*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- De Graef, K. (1999), 'Les étrangers dans les textes paléobabyloniens tardifs de Sippar (Abi-ešuh – Samsuditana), 1^{ère} partie: Sur les inconnus "connus": Cassites, Elamites, Sutéens, Suhéens, Gutéens et Subaréens', *Akkadica* 111, 1–48.
- . (2004), 'Les noms d'année du roi simaškéen Ebarat I', *Akkadica* 125, 107–8.
- . (2005), *Les archives d'Igibuni. Les documents Ur III du Chantier B à Suse*, Ghent: MDP 54.
- . (2006), *De la dynastie Simaški au Sukkalmahat. Les documents fin PE IIB – début PE III du Chantier B à Suse*, Ghent: MDP 55.
- . (2007a), 'Les textes de V récent du Chantier B à Suse (fin Sukkalmahat – c. 1575–1530 av. notre ère)', *IrAnt* 42, 41–60.
- . (2007b), 'Another brick in the wall: Dūrum in the Old-Elamite Susa texts', *Akkadica* 128, 85–98.
- . (2008a), 'Annus Simaškensis: L'usage des noms d'année pendant la période simaškéenne (c. 1930–1880 av. notre ère) à Suse', *IrAnt* 43, 67–87.
- . (2008b), 'Rest in pieces: The archive of Igibuni', in Garfinkle, S.J. and Johnson, J.C., eds., *The growth of an early state in Mesopotamia: Studies in Ur III administration*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 225–34.
- . (2009), 'Count your sheep! Doings and dealings of Kûyâ, trader in small stock during the early sukkalmahat', *RA* 103, 5–18.
- . (2010), 'Inšušinak lu dārū! Lawsuits in Old Babylonian Susa', *Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 16, 27–48.
- . (2011a), 'The silence of the lambs: To be plucked or not in Susa', *IrAnt* 46, 133–43.
- . (2011b), 'Siruktuh', *RIA* 12, 555.
- . (2011c), 'Sukkalmah, Dynastie der', *RIA* 13, 267–8.
- . (2011d), 'Tan-Ruhurate/ir', *RIA* 13, 443–4.
- . (2011e), 'Tan-Uli', *RIA* 13, 445.
- . (2011f), 'Tem(p)ti-Agun', *RIA* 13, 584–5.
- . (2011g), 'Tem(p)ti-Ahar', *RIA* 13, 585.
- . (2011h), 'Tem(p)ti-Halki', *RIA* 13, 585–6.
- . (2012), 'Dual power in Susa: Chronicle of a transitional period from Ur III via Šimaški to the Sukkalmahs', *BSOAS* 75, 525–46.
- . (2013), 'The use of Akkadian in Iran', *OHAI*, 263–82.
- Del Bravo, F. (2013), 'The Luristan-Hamrin cultural sphere (4th–3rd millennium BC):

- Pottery identity as intra-societies interactions', in Guarducci, G., Orsi, V. and Valentini, S., eds., *Identity and connectivity: Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012*, vol. 1, Oxford: BAR International Series 2581 (I), 3–10.
- Delitzsch, F. (1884), *Die Sprache der Kossäer: Linguistisch-historische Funde und Fragen*, Leipzig.
- della Valle, P. (1845), *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, il Pellegrino, descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari all'erudito suo amico Mario Schipano . . .*, vol. 2, Brighton: G. Gancia.
- Delougaz, P. (1952), *Pottery from the Diyala region*, Chicago: OIP 63.
- De Maaijer, R. (1996), 'Recently acquired cuneiform texts', *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 76, 69–84.
- De Meyer, L. (1961), 'Une famille susienne du temps des *sukkalmahū*', *IrAnt* 1, 8–19.
- . (1962), *L'Accadien des contrats de Suse*, Leiden: *IrAnt* Supplement 1.
- . (1966), 'Een Tilmoeniet te Suse', *Orientalia Gandensia* 3, 115–17.
- . (1982), 'Les structures politiques en Susiane à l'époque des *sukkalmah*', in Finet, A., ed., *Les pouvoirs locaux en Mésopotamie et dans les régions adjacentes*, Brussels: Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique, 92–7.
- . (1986), 'Les archives d'Igibuni', *FHE*, 75–7.
- De Schacht, T. and Haerinck, E. (2013), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Irān ancien. Supplément 5: 2004–2010*, Leuven, Paris and Walpole: Peeters.
- Desset, F. (2012), *Premières écritures iraniennes: Les systèmes proto-élamite et élamite linéaire*, Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Dipartimento Asia Africa Mediterraneo Series Minor 76.
- Dewan, M.L. and Famouri, J. (1968), 'Soils', *CHI* 1, 250–63.
- Dezsö, T. (2004), 'Panzer', *RLA* 10, 319–23.
- . (2006), 'The reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian army as depicted on the Assyrian palace reliefs, 745–612 BC', *AAASH* 57, 87–130.
- Diakonoff, I.M. (1991), 'The cities of the Medes', in Cogan, M. and Eph'al, I., eds., *Ah, Assyria . . . Studies in Assyrian history and ancient Near Eastern historiography presented to Hayim Tadmor*, Jerusalem: Scripta Hierosolymitana 33, 13–20.
- . (2000), 'The Near East on the eve of the Achaemenian rule (Jeremiah 25)', *VD*, 223–30.
- Dietrich, M. (1970), *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700–648)*, Neukirchen-Vluyn: AOAT 7.
- Dieulafoy, J. (1887), *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris: Hachette.
- . (1888), *A Suse: Journal des fouilles, 1884–1886*, Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- Dieulafoy, M. (1885), 'Expédition en Susiane', *CRAIBL* 29/3, 240–2.
- . (1893), *L'acropole de Suse d'après les fouilles exécutées en 1884, 1885, 1886 sous les auspices du Musée du Louvre*, Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- Dillemann, L. (1962), *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents: Contribution à la géographie historique de la région du ve s. avant l'ère chrétienne au VIe s. de cette ère*, Paris: BAH 72.
- Dittmann, R. (1986), 'Susa in the Proto-Elamite period and annotations on the painted pottery of Proto-Elamite Khuzestan', in Finkbeiner, U. and Röllig, W., eds., *Ĝamdat Našr: Period or regional style?*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 62, 171–98.
- Djamali, M. et al. (2009a), 'Vegetation history of the SE section of the Zagros Mountains during the last five millennia: A pollen record from the Maharlou Lake, Fars Province, Iran', *VHA* 18, 123–36.
- . (2009b), 'A late Holocene pollen record from Lake Almalou in NW Iran: Evidence for changing land-use in relation to some historical events during the last 3700 years', *JAS* 36, 1364–75.
- . (2010), 'Indian summer monsoon variations could have affected the early-Holocene woodland expansion in the Near East', *The Holocene* 20, 813–20.
- Dodgeon, M.H. and Lieu, S.N.C. (1991), *The Roman eastern frontier and the Persian wars AD 226–363: A documentary history*, London: Routledge.
- . (1995), 'Libanius and the Persian wars of Constantius II', in Cannuyer, C., Ries, J. and Van Tongerloo, A., eds., *War and peace – Guerre et paix*, Brussels/Louvain: Acta Orientalia Belgica, 83–109.
- Dolce, R. (1978), *Gli intarsi mesopotamici dell'epoca protodinastica*, 2 vols., Rome: Serie Archeologica 23.
- Dollfus, G. (1978), 'Djaffarabad, Djowi, Bendebal: Contribution à l'étude de la

- Susiane au V^e millénaire et au début du IV^e millénaire', *Paléorient* 4, 141–67.
- . (1985), 'L'occupation de la Susiane au V^e millénaire et au début du IV^e millénaire avant J.-C.', *Paléorient* 11, 11–20.
- Dombart, T. (1929), 'Das Zikkuratrelief aus Kujundschik', *ZA* 38, 39–64.
- Dossin, G. (1927), *Autres textes sumériens et accadiens*, Paris: MDP 18.
- . (1962), 'Bronze inscrits du Luristan de la Collection Foroughi', *IrAnt* 2, 149–64.
- Drouin, E. (1895), 'Onomastique arsacide: Essai d'explication des noms des rois parthes', *Revue Numismatique* 3rd ser. 13, 360–88.
- Dubovský, P. (2013) 'Dynamics of the fall: Ashurbanipal's conquest of Elam', *SE*, 451–70.
- Duchene, J. (1986), 'La localisation de Huhnur', *FHE*, 65–74.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (1979), 'Kambyses 2', *KP* 3, 99–100.
- . (1983), 'Zoroastrian religion', *CHI* 3/2, 866–908.
- Durand, J.-M. (1986), 'Fragments rejoints pour une histoire élamite', *FHE*, 111–28.
- . (1990), 'Commerce de l'étain à Mari', *NABU*, 69.
- . (1992), 'Rapports entre l'Élam et Ourouk', *NABU*, 62.
- . (1994), 'L'empereur d'Elam et ses vasaux', *CDR*, 15–22.
- . (2013), 'La "suprématie Élamite" sur les Amorrites: Réexamen, vingt ans après la XXXVI^e RAI (1989)', *SE*, 329–40.
- Dyson, R.H., Jr. (1987), 'The relative and absolute chronology of Hissar II and the Proto-Elamite horizon of northern Iran', in Aurenche, O., Evin, J. and Hours, F., eds., *Chronologies in the Near East*, Oxford: BAR International Series 379, 647–78.
- Edel, E. and Mayrhofer, M. (1971), 'Notizen zu Fremdnamen in ägyptischen Quellen', *Or* 40, 1–10.
- Edzard, D.O. (1957), *Die 'zweite Zwischenzeit' Babylonians*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . (1959–60), 'Neue Inschriften zur Geschichte von Ur III unter Šūsuen', *AfO* 19, 1–32.
- . (1967a), 'The Early Dynastic period', in Bottéro, J., Cassin, E. and Vercoutter, J., eds., *The Near East: The early civilizations*, New York: Delacorte Press, 52–90.
- . (1967b), 'The Third Dynasty of Ur – its empire and its successor states', in Bottéro, J., Cassin, E. and Vercoutter, J., eds., *The Near East: The early civilizations*, New York: Delacorte Press, 133–76.
- Egmond, F. and Mason, P. (1997), *The mammoth and the mouse: Microhistory and morphology*, Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Eidem, J. (1985), 'News from the eastern front: The evidence from Tell Shemshara', *Iraq* 47, 83–107.
- . (1992), *The Shemshara Archives 2: The administrative texts*, Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 15.
- Eilers, W. (1954), 'Der Name Demawend', *ArOr* 22, 267–374.
- . (1964), 'Kyros', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 15, 180–236.
- . (1974), 'The name of Cyrus', in *Commemoration Cyrus: Hommage Universel III*, Leiden: AclR 3, 3–9.
- . (1982), 'Geographische Namengebung in und um Iran', *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte*. 5, 3–67.
- Engels, D. (2013), 'A new frataraka chronology', *Latomus* 72, 28–80.
- Englund, R.K. (1994), *Archaic administrative texts from Uruk: The early campaigns*, Berlin: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 15 [= Archaische Texte aus Uruk 5].
- . (1998), 'Texts from the Late Uruk period', in Bauer, J., Englund, R.K. and Krebernik, M., eds., *Mesopotamien: Späturuk- und Frühdynastische Zeit*, Fribourg: OBO 160/1, 13–233.
- . (2006), 'An examination of the "textual" witnesses to Late Uruk world systems', in Gong, Y. and Chen, Y., eds., *A collection of papers on ancient civilizations of Western Asia, Asia Minor and North Africa*, Beijing: Oriental Studies Special Issue, 1–38.
- Englund, R.K. and Grégoire, J.-P. (1991), *The Proto-Cuneiform texts from Jemdet Nasr I: Copies, transliterations and glossary*, Berlin: MSVO 1.
- Englund, R.K. and Nissen, H.J. (1993), *Die lexikalischen Listen der archaischen Texte aus Uruk*, Berlin: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 13 [= Archaische Texte aus Uruk 3].
- Eqbal, H. (1979), 'The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian periods on the Izeh Plain', in Wright,

- H.T., ed., *Archaeological investigations in north-eastern Xuzestan, 1976*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Technical Report No. 10, 114–23.
- Falconer, S.E. and Savage, S.H. (1995), 'Heartlands and hinterlands: Alternative trajectories of early urbanization in Mesopotamia and the southern Levant', *American Antiquity* 60, 37–58.
- Fales, F.M. (1973), *Censimenti e catasti di epoca Neo-Assira*, Rome: Studi Economici e Tecnologici 2.
- Fales, F.M. and Postgate, J.N. (1992), *Imperial administrative records, pt. 1: Palace and temple administration*, Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria 7.
- Falkenstein, A. (1950), 'Ibbišin – Išbi'erra', *ZA* 49, 59–79.
- Farber, W. (1975), 'Eine elamische Inschrift aus der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends', *ZA* 64, 74–86.
- Fassbinder, J., Becker, H. and van Ess, M. (2005), 'Prospections magnétiques à Uruk (Warka), la cité du roi Gilgamesh (Irak)', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 308, 20–5.
- Felix, W. (1985), *Antike literarische Quellen zur Außenpolitik des Sasanidenstaates i (224–309)*, Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse 456 [= Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission 18].
- Fiandra, E. (1982), 'Porte e chiusure di sicurezza nell'antico oriente', *Bollettino d'Arte* (6th ser.) 67, 1–18.
- Fiey, J.M. (1970), *Jalons pour une histoire de l'église en Iraq*, Louvain: CSCO 310 [= *Subsidia* 36].
- . (1974), 'Les communautés syriaques en Iran des premiers siècles à 1552', in *Hommage universel* 3, Leiden: AclR 3, 279–97.
- . (1977), *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, Louvain: CSCO 388 [= *Subsidia* 54].
- . (1979), 'L'Elam, la première des métropoles ecclésiastiques syriennes orientales', in Fiey, J.M., *Communautés syriaques en Iran et Irak des origines à 1552*, London: Variorum, 123–53, 221–67.
- Fincke, J. (1993), *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Nuzi-Texte*, Wiesbaden: RGTC 10.
- Finkel, I. (2013), *The Cyrus Cylinder: The king of Persia's proclamation from ancient Babylon*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Fischer, T. (1971), 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚ(Ε)-ΙΠΟΥ', *Chiron* 1, 169–75.
- Fisher, W.B. (1968), 'Physical geography', *CHI* I, 3–110.
- Flannery, K.V. (1969), 'Origins and ecological effects of early domestication in Iran and the Near East', in Ucko, P.J. and Dimbleby, G. W., eds., *The domestication and exploitation of plants and animals*, London: Duckworth, 73–100.
- . (1983), 'Early pig domestication in the Fertile Crescent: A retrospective look', in Young, T.C., Jr., Smith, P.E.L. and Mortensen, P., eds., *The hilly flanks and beyond: Essays on the prehistory of Southwestern Asia presented to Robert J. Braidwood, November 15, 1982*, Chicago: SAOC 36, 163–88.
- Floigl, V. (1881), *Cyrus und Herodot nach den neugefundenen Keilinschriften*, Leipzig: Wilhelm Friedrich Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Floor, W. (2003), *Traditional crafts in Qajar Iran (1800–1925)*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- Flower, S. (1693), 'An exact draught or copy of the several characters engraven in marble at the mountains of Nocturestand and Chahelminar in Persia, as they were taken in November 1667', *Philosophical Transactions* 17, 776–7.
- Fontan, E. (1994), *De Khorsabad à Paris: La découverte des Assyriens*, Paris: Notes et documents des musées de France 26.
- Forbiger, A. (1844), *Handbuch der alten Geographie aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, ii, Leipzig: Mayer and Wigand.
- Foster, B.R. (1982), 'Archives and record-keeping in Sargonic Mesopotamia', *ZA* 72, 1–27.
- . (1985), 'The Sargonic victory stele from Telloh', *Iraq* 47, 15–30.
- . (1993), *Before the muses: An anthology of Akkadian literature*, 2 vols., Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Foy, W. (1898), 'Beiträge zur Erklärung der susischen Achaemenideninschriften', *ZDMG* 52, 564–605.
- . (1900), 'Altpersisches und Neu-elamisches', *ZDMG* 54, 341–77.
- Foy-Vaillant, J. (1775), *Arsacidarum Imperium sive Regum Parthorum Historia: Ad fidem Numismatum accomodata*, vol. 1, Paris: Caroli Moette.
- Frahm, E. (1997), *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, Horn: AfO Beiheft 26.
- Frame, G. (1992), *Babylonia 689–627 BC: A political history*, Leiden: Uitgaven van het

- Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 69.
- Francfort, H.-P. and Tremblay, X. (2010), 'Marhaši et la Civilisation de l'Oxus', *IrAnt* 45, 51–224.
- Frankfort, H. (1954; rev. 1970), *The Art and architecture of the ancient Near East*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- . (1955), *Stratified cylinder seals from the Diyala region*, Chicago: OIP 72.
- Fraser, J.A. (2008), 'An alternate view of complexity at Tall-e Bakun A', *Iran* 46, 1–19.
- Fraser, J.B. (1826), *Travels and adventures in the Persian provinces on the southern banks of the Caspian Sea: With an appendix, containing short notices on the geology and commerce of Persia*. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green.
- Fraser, P.M. (1996), *Cities of Alexander the Great*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Frayne, D.R. (1991), 'Historical texts in Haifa: Notes on R. Kutscher's "Brockmon Tablets"', *BiOr* 48, 378–409.
- . (1992), *The early dynastic list of geographical names*, New Haven: AOS 74.
- . (1993), *Sargonic and Gutian periods (2334–2113 BC)*, Toronto: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, vol. 2.
- . (1997), *Ur III period (2112–2004 BC)*, Toronto: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, vol. 3/2.
- . (2008), 'The Zagros campaigns of the Ur III kings', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies* 3, 33–56.
- Friberg, J. (1978), *The third millennium roots of Babylonian mathematics I: A method for the decipherment, through mathematical and metrological analysis, of Proto-Sumerian and Proto-Elamite semi-pictographic inscriptions*, Gothenburg: Chalmers University of Technology and the University of Gothenburg.
- . (1979), *The early roots of Babylonian mathematics II: Metrological relations in a group of semi-pictographic tablets of the Jemdet Nasr type, probably from Uruk-Warka*, Gothenburg: Chalmers University of Technology and the University of Gothenburg.
- . (1994), 'Preliterate counting and accounting in the Middle East', *OLZ* 89, 477–502.
- Frye, R.N. (1962), *The heritage of Persia*, London: Widenfeld and Nicolson.
- . (1971), 'History and Sasanian inscriptions', in *La Persia nel medioevo*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Quaderno 160, 215–24.
- . (1983), 'The political history of Iran under the Sasanians', *CHI* 3/1, 116–80.
- . (1984), 'Religion in Fars under the Achaemenids', in *Hommages et Opera Minora 9: Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata*, Leiden: AcIr 23, 171–8.
- Frymer-Krensky, T. (1981), 'Suprarational legal procedures in Elam & Nuzi', in Morrison, M. A. and Owen, D.I., eds., *Studies on the civilization and culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in honor of Ernest R. Lacheman on his seventy-fifth birthday, April 29, 1981*, Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 115–31.
- Fuchs, A. (1994), *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag.
- . (2000), 'Māt Ḥabḥi', in Marzahn, J. and Neumann, H., eds., *Assyriologica et Semitica. Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner*, Münster: AOAT 252, 73–94.
- . (2003), review of Waters 2000, *ZA* 93, 128–37.
- . (2011), 'Das Osttigrisgebiet von Agum II. bis zu Darius I.' (ca. 1500 bis 500 v. Chr.), in Miglus, P.A. and Mühl, S., eds., *Between the cultures: The central Tigris region from the 3rd to the 1st millennium BC. Conference at Heidelberg January 22nd–24th, 2009*, Heidelberg: HSAO 14, 229–320.
- Fullbrook, M. (1993), ed., *National histories and European history*, London: UCL Press.
- Fürst, J. (1867), *Geschichte der biblischen Literatur und des jüdisch-hellenistischen Schriftthums*, vol. 1, Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz.
- Ganji, M.H. (1968), 'Climate', *CHI* 1, 212–49.
- . (1978), 'Post-glacial climatic changes on the Iranian Plateau', in Brice, W.C., ed., *The environmental history of the Near and Middle East since the last Ice Age*, London/New York/San Francisco: Academic Press, 149–63.
- Gardner, P. (1873), 'On some interesting Greek coins – Athens, Achaia, Sicyon, Susiana', *The Numismatic Chronicle* NS 13, 177–86.
- . (1877), *The Parthian coinage*, London: Trübner & Co.
- Garrison, M.B. (1991), 'Seals and the elite at Persepolis: Some observations on early Achaemenid Persian art', *Ars Orientalis*, 1–29.
- . (1996), 'A Persepolis fortification seal on the tablet MDP 11 308 (Louvre Sb 13078)', *JNES* 55, 15–35.

- . (2011), 'The seal of "Kuraš the Anzanite, son of Šešpes" (Teispes), PFS 93*: Susa – Anšan – Persepolis', *EP*, 375–405.
- . (2014), 'The impressed image: Glyptic studies as art and social history', in Brown, B. A. and Feldman, M.H., eds., *Critical approaches to ancient Near Eastern art*, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 481–513.
- Garrison, M.B. and Root, M.C. (1996), 'Persepolis seal studies: An introduction with provisional concordances of seal numbers and associated documents on Fortification Tablets 1–2087', *AH* 9, 1–141.
- Gasche, H. (2002), 'Une résidence parthe dans le quartier nord de la ville royale de Suse', *Akkadica* 123, 183–9.
- . (2004), ed., 'The Persian Gulf shorelines and the Karkheh, Karun, and Jarrahi Rivers: First progress report', *Akkadica* 125, 141–215.
- . (2005), ed., 'The Persian Gulf shorelines and the Karkheh, Karun, and Jarrahi Rivers: A geo-archaeological approach', *Akkadica* 126, 1–43.
- . (2011), 'Coïncidence ou lien culturel entre Suse et Qatna vers le milieu du 2^e millénaire?', *Eretz-Israel* 30, 13*–17*.
- . (2013), 'Transferts culturels de la Babylonie vers Suse au milieu du 2^e millénaire av. n. ère', *SE*, 71–82.
- Gaslain, J. (2010), 'Mithridate I^{er} et Suse', *Anabasis* 1, 135–43.
- Gassan, M., (1986), 'Une inscription cassite d'Iran', *FHE*, 187–9.
- . (1989), 'Hurpatila, roi d'Elammat', *AION* 49, 223–9.
- Gatier, P.-L. (2013), 'Des péliganes à Suse', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 184, 205–10.
- Gautier, J.-É. (1909), 'Le "sit šamši" de Šilḫak In Šušinak', *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 31, 41–9.
- Gelb, I.J. and Kienast, B. (1990), *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Stuttgart: Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 6.
- Gensheimer, T.R. (1984), 'The role of shell in Mesopotamia: Evidence for trade exchange with Oman and the Indus Valley', *Paléorient* 10, 65–73.
- Gentili, P. (2012), 'Chogha Gavaneh: An outpost of Ešnunna on the Zagros mountains', *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 35, 165–73.
- George, A.R. (1996), 'The Akkadian word for "moustache"', *NABU* 1996, 60.
- Gera, D. and Horowitz, W. (1997), 'Antiochus IV in life and death: Evidence from the Babylonian astronomical diaries', *JAOS* 117, 240–52.
- Gerardi, P. (1987), *Assurbanipal's Elamite campaigns: A political and literary study*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- . (1992), 'The Arab campaigns of Assurbanipal: Scribal reconstruction of the past', *SAAB* 6/2, 67–103.
- Gero, S. (1981), *Barsauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the fifth century*, Louvain: CSCO 426 [= *Subsidia* 63].
- Gershevitch, I. (1969), 'Iranian nouns and names in Elamite garb', *TPS* 67, 16–200.
- . (1979), 'The alloglottography of Old Persian', *TPS* 77, 114–90.
- . (1987), 'Literacy in transition from the Anshanian to the Achaemenian period', in Gignoux, P., ed., *Transition periods in Iranian history*, Leuven: Cahiers de *StIr* 5, 49–57.
- Ghirshman, R. (1947a), 'Une saison de fouilles à Suse', *CRAIBL* 91/1, 444–9.
- . (1947b), 'Nouvelles des fouilles d'automne à Suse', *CRAIBL* 91/4, 676–80.
- . (1948), 'Campagne de fouilles à Suse en 1947–1948', *CRAIBL* 92/3, 328–36.
- . (1949), 'Campagne de fouilles à Suse en 1948–1949', *CRAIBL* 93/3, 196–9.
- . (1950a), 'The town which three hundred elephants raised to the ground: The newly excavated fourth level of Susa and the Partho-Seleucid necropolis', *Illustrated London News* (7 October), 571–3.
- . (1950b), 'Un bas-relief d'Artaban V avec inscription en Pehlevi Arsacide', *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 44, 97–107.
- . (1950c), 'Fouilles de Suse: Campagne 1949–1950', *CRAIBL* 94/2, 233–8.
- . (1951), 'Campagne de fouilles à Suse en 1950–1951', *CRAIBL* 95/3, 293–301.
- . (1952a), 'Cinq campagnes de fouilles à Suse (1946–1951)', *RA* 46, 1–18.
- . (1952b), 'Recherches archéologiques dans la Susiane au cours de l'hiver 1951–1952', *CRAIBL* 96/2, 282–7.
- . (1953), 'Nouvelles des fouilles en Iran', *CRAIBL* 97/2, 135–6.
- . (1954a), 'La ziggourat de Tchoga-Zanbil (Susiane)', *CRAIBL* 98/2, 233–8.

- . (1954b), *Village perse-achéménide*, Paris: MDP 36.
- . (1955a), 'Campagne de fouilles à Tchoga-Zanbil, près de Suse', *CRAIBL* 99/1, 112–13.
- . (1955b), 'Travaux de la mission archéologique en Iran (hiver 1954–1955)', *CRAIBL* 99/3, 322–7.
- . (1956a), 'Les fouilles de Tchoga-Zanbil, près de Suse (1956)', *CRAIBL* 100/2, 137–8.
- . (1956b), *Bîchâpour II. Les mosaïques sassanides*, Paris: Musée du Louvre, Dépt. des Antiquités Orientales, Série Archéologique 7.
- . (1956c), 'Cinquième campagne de fouilles à Tchoga-Zanbil, près Suse (1955–1956): Rapport préliminaire', *CRAIBL* 100/3, 335–45.
- . (1956d), 'Un miroir T'ang de Suse', *Artibus Asiae* 19/3–4, 230–3.
- . (1957), 'VI^e campagne de fouilles à Tchoga-Zanbil, près de Suse (1956–1957), rapport préliminaire', *CRAIBL* 101/3, 231–41.
- . (1959a), 'Fouilles de Tchoga-Zanbil près de Suse, complexe de quatre temples', *CRAIBL* 103/1, 74–6.
- . (1959b), 'VII^e campagne de fouilles à Tchoga-Zanbil, près de Suse (1958–1959)', *CRAIBL* 103/2, 287–97.
- . (1960), 'Une hache votive au nom du roi élamite Šilhak-inšušinak (c. 1165–1151)', *Iraq* 22, 210–12.
- . (1962), 'Fouilles de Tchoga-Zanbil (Iran)', *CRAIBL* 106/1, 45–6.
- . (1963), 'Fouilles de Suse dans l'hiver 1962–1963', *CRAIBL* 107/2, 187–96.
- . (1964a), 'Bard-è Nechandeh: Rapport préliminaire', *Syria* 41/3, 301–21.
- . (1964b), 'Bard-è Nechandeh', *CRAIBL* 108/1, 185–96.
- . (1964c), 'Suse: Campagne de fouilles 1962–1963: Rapport préliminaire', *Arts Asiatiques* 10/1, 3–20.
- . (1965a), 'L'architecture élamite et ses traditions', *Iran* 5, 93–102.
- . (1965b), 'Suse au début du II^e millénaire avant notre ère et un sanctuaire iranien dans les monts des Zagros', *CRAIBL* 109/2, 375–82.
- . (1965c), 'Suse du temps des SUKKALMAH. Campagne de fouilles 1963–1964: Rapport préliminaire', *Arts Asiatiques* 11/2, 3–21.
- . (1966a), *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) I. La ziggurat*, Paris: MDP 39.
- . (1966b), 'Travaux de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran, hiver 1965–1966', *CRAIBL* 110/3, 360–71.
- . (1967a), 'Suse au III^e millénaire avant notre ère', *CRAIBL* 111/3, 402–10.
- . (1967b), 'Suse: Campagne de l'hiver 1965–1966: Rapport préliminaire', *Arts Asiatiques* 15/1, 3–27.
- . (1968a), 'Suse au tournant du III^e au II^e millénaire avant notre ère: Travaux de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran – Hiver 1966–1967: Rapport préliminaire', *Arts Asiatiques* 17/1, 3–44.
- . (1968b), *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) II: Temenos, temples, palais, tombes*, Paris: MDP 40.
- . (1968c), 'Masjid-i Solaiman ou Mosquée de Salomon, campagne de fouilles dans les montagnes des Bakhtiari (Iran) au printemps 1967', *CRAIBL* 112/1, 8–15.
- . (1969), 'La terrasse sacrée de Masjid-i Solaiman', *CRAIBL* 113/3, 482–94.
- . (1970), 'La terrasse sacrée de Masjid-i Solaiman (Iran), campagne de 1970', *CRAIBL* 114/4, 653–65.
- . (1971), *Bîchâpour I*, Paris: Musée du Louvre, Dépt. des Antiquités Orientales, Série Archéologique 6.
- . (1972), 'Les sanctuaires de Masjid-i Solaiman (Iran)', *CRAIBL* 116/1, 30–40.
- . (1973), 'Les tribus perses et leur formation tripartite', *CRAIBL* 117/2, 210–21.
- . (1976), *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman*, Paris: MDP 45.
- . (1977), 'Le harnais de tête en Iran', in Rosen-Ayalon, M., ed., *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1–5.
- Ghirshman, R. and Steve, M.-J. (1966), 'Suse: Campagne de l'hiver 1964–1965: Rapport préliminaire', *Arts Asiatiques* 13/1, 3–32.
- Gibson, McG. (1974), 'Violation of fallow and engineered disaster in Mesopotamian civilization', in Downing, T.E. and Gibson, McG., eds., *Irrigation's impact on society*, Tucson: Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona 25, 7–19.
- Gignoux, P. (1971a), 'La liste des provinces de l'Érân dans les inscriptions de Šābuhr et de Kirdīr', *AAASH* 19, 83–94.
- . (1971b), 'Les collections de sceaux et de bulles sassanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale

- de Paris', in *La Persia nel medioevo*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Quaderno 160, 535–42.
- . (1984), 'L'organisation administrative sassanide: Le cas du *marzbān*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 4, 1–29.
- Gilbert, A.S. (1991), 'Equid remains from Godin Tepe, Western Iran: An interim summary and interpretation, with notes on the introduction of the horse into Southwest Asia', in Meadow, R.H. and Uerpmann, H.-P., eds., *Equids in the ancient world*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft A 19/2, 75–122.
- Gillis, J.R. (1994), ed., *Commemorations: The politics of national identity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Glassner, J.-J. (1986), *La chute d'Akkadé, l'événement et sa mémoire*, Berlin: BBVO 5.
- . (1988), 'La chute d'Akkadé: Addenda et corrigenda', *NABU* 1988, 51.
- . (1991), 'Les textes de Haft Tépé, la Susiane et l'Elam au 2ème millénaire', *MHEOP* 1, 109–26.
- . (1994), 'Ruḥuṣak – mār aḥatim: La transmission du pouvoir en Elam', *JA* 282, 219–36.
- . (1996), 'Les dynasties d'Awan et de Šimaški', *NABU* 1996, 34.
- . (2000), '4KUR.GAL à Suse et Haft-Tépé', *NABU* 2000, 36.
- . (2013), 'Les premiers sukkalmah et les derniers rois de Šimaški', *SE*, 319–28.
- . (2014), 'Une inscription inédite du sukkalmah Temti-agun I^{er}', in Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C., Genito, B. and Cerasetti, B., eds., *'My life is like the summer rose': Maurizio Tosi e l'archeologia come modo di vivere: Papers in honour of Maurizio Tosi for his 70th birthday*, Oxford: BAR Int Ser 2690, 323–4.
- Gnoli, G. (1980), *Zoroaster's time and homeland*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di Studi Asiatici Series Minor 7.
- Godard, A. (1949), 'Badr Neshandi', *Athar-e Iran* 4, 153–62.
- Goeje, M.J. de (1885), 'Zur historischen Geographie Babylonien', *ZMDG* 39, 1–16.
- Goetze, A. (1963), 'Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire', *JCS* 17, 1–31.
- Goldberg, J. (2004), 'The Berlin letter, Middle Elamite chronology and Šutruk-Nahhunte I's genealogy', *IrAnt* 39, 33–42.
- Gomi, T. (1984), 'On the critical economic situation at Ur early in the reign of Ibbisin', *JCS* 36, 211–42.
- Gondet, S. (2011), *Occupation de la plaine de Persépolis au 1er millénaire av. J.-C. (Fars central, Iran)*, Lyons: Université Lumière Lyon 2, unpublished dissertation.
- Goodarzi-Tabrizi, S. (1999), 'Elamite terracotta figurines in the Rosicrucian Egyptian Museum', *IW*, 137–45.
- Gorris, E. (2013), 'Syro Asianica Scripta Minora – IX. V. Remarques sur la lettre ninivite quatorze (BM 83–1–18, 307) en langue élamite', *Le Muséon* 126, 8–15.
- . (2014), *Power and politics in the Neo-Elamite kingdom*, Louvain: Catholic University of Louvain, unpublished PhD dissertation.
- Graadt van Roggen, D.L. (1905), 'Notice sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane', *MDP* 7, 166–208.
- Grayson, A.K. (1975), *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Locust Valley: Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5.
- . (1991), 'Assyria 668–635 BC: The reign of Ashurbanipal', *CAH* 3/2, 142–61.
- Green, M.W. (1978), 'The Eridu lament', *JCS* 30, 127–67.
- . (1981), 'The construction and implementation of the cuneiform writing system', *Visible Language* 15, 345–72.
- Green, P. (1990), *Alexander to Actium*, London: Thames and Hudson.
- Gregg, M.W., Brettell, R. and Stern, B. (2007), 'Bitumen in Neolithic Iran: Biomolecular and isotopic evidence', in Glascock, M.D., Speakman, R.J. and Popelka-Filcoff, R.S., eds., *Archaeological chemistry: Analytical techniques and archaeological interpretation*, Washington, DC: American Chemical Society, 137–51.
- Grégoire, J.-P. (1970), *Archives administratives sumériennes*, Paris: Geuthner.
- Grenet, F. (2003), *La geste d'Ardashir fils de Pâpag: Kāmāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān*, Die: Éditions A Die.
- Griffiths, H.I., Schwalb, A. and Stevens, L.R. (2001), 'Environmental change in south-western Iran: The Holocene ostracod fauna of Lake Mirabad', *The Holocene* 11, 757–64.
- Grillot, F. and Glassner, J.-J. (1990), 'L'inscription élamite de Siwepalarhuhpak', *NABU*, 65.
- . (1991), 'Problèmes de succession et cumuls de pouvoirs: Une querelle de famille chez les premiers sukkalmah?', *IrAnt* 26, 85–99.
- . (1993), 'Chronologie susienne', *NABU* 1993, 18.

- Grillot, F. and Vallat, F. (1978), 'Le verbe élamite "pi(š)ši"', *CDAFI* 8, 81–4.
- . (1984), 'Dédicace de Šilhak-Inšušinak à Kiririša', *IrAnt* 19, 21–9.
- Grillot(-Susini), F. (1983), 'Le *suhter* royal de Suse', *IrAnt* 18, 1–23.
- . (1986), 'Kiririša', *FHE*, 175–80.
- . (2001), 'Le monde d'en bas en Susiane', *RA* 95, 141–8.
- . (2014), 'De vie à trépas', *EC*, 105–8.
- Gropp, G. (1989), 'Ein elamischer Baderitus', *AIO*, 239–72.
- Guépin, J.P. (1965–6), 'A contribution to the location of Ta Azara, the chief sanctuary of Elymais', *Persica* 2, 19–26.
- Guichard, M. (1996), 'À la recherche de la pierre bleue', *NABU* 1996, 36.
- Gunter, A. (1982), 'Representations of Urartian and western Iranian fortress architecture in the Assyrian reliefs', *Iran* 20, 103–12.
- Gutschmid, A. von (1888), *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*, Tübingen: Laupp'schen Buchhandlung.
- Gyselen, R. (1977), 'Trésor de monnaies sassanides trouvés à Suse', *CDAFI* 7, 61–74.
- . (1988), 'Les données de géographie administrative dans le "Šahrestānīhā-ī Ērān"', *StIr* 17, 191–206.
- . (1989), *La géographie administrative de l'empire sassanide: Les témoignages sigillo-graphiques*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Res Orientales 1.
- . (2001), 'La désignation territoriale des quatre *spāhbed* de l'empire Sassanide d'après les sources primaires sigillographiques', *StIr* 30, 137–41.
- Gyselen, R. and Gasche, H. (1994), 'Suse et Ivān-e Kerkha, capitale provinciale d'Ērān-Xwarrah-Šāpūr', *StIr* 23, 19–35.
- Häberl, C. (2006), 'Scripts for Aramaic languages: The origin of the Mandaic script', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 321, 53–62.
- Hachmann, R. (1995), 'Die Völkerschaften auf den Bildwerken von Persepolis', in Finkbeiner, U., Dittmann, R. and Hauptmann, H., eds., *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens: Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, Mainz: von Zabern, 195–223.
- Haerincx, E. (1975), 'Quelques monuments funéraires de l'île de Kharg dans le Golfe persique', *IrAnt* 11, 134–67.
- . (1983), *La céramique en Iran pendant la période parthe (ca. 250 av. J.C. à 225 après J.C.): Typologie, chronologie et distribution*, Leuven: Peeters.
- . (1986), 'The chronology of Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh in the late fourth and first half of the third millennium BC', in Huot, J.-L., ed., *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 55–72.
- . (1997), 'Babylonia under Achaemenid rule', in Curtis, J., ed., *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian period: Conquest and imperialism, 539–331 BC*, London: British Museum, 26–34.
- . (2008), 'Le Luristan à l'âge du bronze (vers 3100–1300 av. J.-C.)', in Engel, N., ed., *Bronzes du Luristan: Énigmes de l'Iran ancien, III^e–I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C.*, Paris: Paris Musées, 33–41.
- Haerincx, E. and Overlaet, B. (2003), 'Soundings at Tall-i Qaleh (Hasanabad), Fars Province, Iran', *YBYN*, 192–200.
- . (2006), *Bani Sumrah: An Early Bronze Age graveyard in Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*, Leuven: AcIr 43.
- . (2008), *The Kalleh Nisar Bronze Age graveyard in Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*, Leuven: AcIr 46.
- . (2010), *Early Bronze Age graveyards to the west of the Kabir Kuh (Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan)*, Leuven: AcIr 50.
- Haerincx, E. and Stevens, K.G. (2005), *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien: Supplément 4: 1996–2003*, Leiden: Brill.
- Haller, A. (1954), *Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur*, Berlin: WVD OG 65.
- Hallo, W.W. (1956), 'Zariquim', *JNES* 15, 220–5.
- . (1957), *Early Mesopotamian royal titles: A philologic and historical analysis*, New Haven: AOS 43.
- . (1960), 'A Sumerian amphictyony', *JCS* 14, 88–114.
- . (1971), 'Gutium', *RLA* 3, 708–20.
- . (1976), 'Women of Sumer', in Schmandt-Besserat, D., ed., *The legacy of Sumer*, Malibu: BMes 4, 24–40.
- . (1980), 'Royal titles from the Mesopotamian periphery', *Anatolian Studies* 30, 189–95.
- Hallock, R.T. (1969), *Persepolis fortification tablets*, Chicago: OIP 92.
- Hämeen-Anttila, J. (1987), 'A new text relating to Ashurbanipal's Elamite wars', *SAAB* 1/1, 13–16.

- Hamilton, J.R. (1987), 'Alexander's Iranian policy', in Will, W., ed., *Zu Alexander d.Gr.: Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 467–86.
- Hannestad, L. and Potts, D.T. (1990), 'Temple architecture in the Seleucid kingdom', in Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L. and Zahle, J., eds., *Religion and religious practice in the Seleucid kingdom*, Aarhus: Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1, 91–124.
- Hansman, (1976), 'Gilgamesh, Humbaba and the land of the Erin-trees', *Iraq* 38, 23–35.
- . (1978), 'Seleucia and the three Dauraks', *Iran* 16, 154–61.
- . (1985), 'The great gods of Elymais', in *Papers in honour of Professor Mary Boyce, Hommages et Opera Minora, deuxième série*, Leiden: AclR 24, 229–46.
- . (1990), 'Coins and mints of ancient Elymais', *Iran* 28, 1–11.
- Harmatta, J. (1976), 'Inscriptions élyméennes', in Ghirshman, R., *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman*, Paris: MDP 45, 287–303.
- . (1981), 'Parthia and Elymais in the 2nd century BC', *AAASH* 29, 189–217.
- . (1982–4), 'King Kabneškir son of King Kabneškir', *AAASH* 30, 167–80.
- Harper, P.O. (1978), *The royal hunter: Art of the Sasanian empire*, New York: Asia House Gallery.
- . (1988), 'Boat-shaped bowls of the Sasanian period', *Iran* 23, 331–45.
- . (1993), 'Evidence for the existence of state controls in the production of Sasanian silver vessels', in Boyd, S.A. and Mango, M. M., eds., *Ecclesiastical silver plate in sixth-century Byzantium*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 147–53.
- Harper, P.O., Aruz, J. and Tallon, F. (1992), eds., *The royal city of Susa: Ancient Near Eastern treasures in the Louvre*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Hartranft, C.D. (1989), 'Sozomenus: Church history from AD 323–425', in Schaff, P. and Wace, H., eds., *A select library of Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian Church II*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 179–454.
- Häser, J. (1988), *Steingefäße des 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends im Gebiet des Arabischen/Persischen Golfes: Typologie der Gefäße und Deckel aus Serpentin, Chlorit, Steatit und verwandten Steinarten*, Berlin: Free University, unpublished MA thesis.
- Haul, M. (2009), *Stele und Legende: Untersuchungen zu den keilschriftlichen Erzählwerken über die Könige von Akkade*, Göttingen: Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 4.
- Haupt, P. (1886), 'The battle of Halûle, 691 B. C.', *The Andover Review* 5, 542–7.
- Hauser, S. (2007), 'Christliche Archäologie im Sasanidenreich: Grundlagen der Interpretation und Bestandaufnahme der Evidenz', in Mustafa, A. and Tubach, J., eds., *Inkulturation des Christentums im Sasanidenreich*, Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 93–136.
- Haussoullier, B. (1902), 'Inscriptions grecques de l'extrême-orient grec', in *Mélanges Perrot, recueil de mémoires concernant l'archéologie classique, la littérature et l'histoire anciennes dédié à Georges Perrot*, Paris: Fontemoing, 155–9.
- Heinrichs, J. and Müller, S. (2008), 'Ein persisches Statussymbol auf Münzen Alexanders I. von Makedonien. Ikonographie und historischer Hintergrund des Tetrobols SNG ABC, Macedonia I, 7 und 11', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 167, 283–309.
- Helbaek, H. (1969), 'Plant collecting, dry-farming, and irrigation agriculture in prehistoric Deh Luran', in Hole, F., Flannery, K.V., and Neely, J.A., *Prehistory and human ecology of the Deh Luran Plain*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan 1, 383–426.
- Heltzer, M. (1994), 'Mordekhai and Demaratos and the question of historicity', *AMI* 27, 119–21.
- Helwing, B. (2009), 'Rethinking the tin mountains: Patterns of usage and circulation of tin in greater Iran from the 4th to the 1st millennium BC', *TÜBA-AR* 12, 209–21.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. (2003a), 'Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite period', in Lanfranchi, G.B., Roaf, M. and Rollinger, R., eds., *Continuity of empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, Padua: History of the Ancient Near East Monographs 5, 181–231.
- . (2003b), 'An Elamite memorial: The *šumar* of Cambyses and Hystaspes', *AH* 13, 101–72.
- . (2003c), 'Defining Neo-Elamite history', *BiOr* 60, 251–63.
- . (2008a), *The other gods who are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian acculturation based on the Persepolis orification texts*, Leiden: AH 14.

- . (2008b), 'From Gabae to Taoce: The geography of the central administrative province', *AFP*, 303–16.
- . (2010a), 'Šemti-šilhak', *RLA* 12, 388–9.
- . (2010b), 'Šerihum', *RLA* 12, 398.
- . (2010c), 'Šilhaha', *RLA* 12, 491–2.
- . (2010d), 'Šilhak-Inšušinak', *RLA* 12, 492–5.
- . (2010e), 'Šilhina-ḥamru-Lag/kamar', *RLA* 12, 495–6.
- . (2011a), 'Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Elamite: A case of mistaken identity', in Rollinger, R., Truschnegg, B. and Bichler, R., eds., *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich/Herodotus and the Persian Empire*, Wiesbaden: Classica et Orientalia 3, 577–634.
- . (2011b), 'Parnakka's feast: šip in Pārsa and Elam', *EP*, 89–166.
- . (2011c), 'Of Tapyroi and tablets, states and tribes: The historical geography of pastoralism in the Achaemenid heartland in Greek and Elamite sources', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 54, 1–16.
- . (2012a), 'The Achaemenid heartland: An archaeological-historical perspective', in Potts, D.T., ed., *A companion to the archaeology of the ancient Near East*, vol. 2, Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 931–62.
- . (2012b), 'Šutruk-Nahhunte', *RLA* 13, 369–72.
- . (2012c), 'Tammaritu', *RLA* 13, 432–3.
- . (2013a), 'Te(m)pti-Huban-Inšušinak', *RLA* 13, 586–7.
- . (2013b), 'Te-Umman', *RLA* 13, 616–17.
- . (2013c), 'Administrative realities: The Persepolis archives and the archaeology of the Achaemenid heartland', *OHAI*, 528–46.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. and Khaksar, S. (2014), 'Elam's dormant sound: Landscape, music and the divine in ancient Iran', in Eneix, L.C., ed., *Archaeoacoustics: The archaeology of sound*, Myakka: OTS Foundation, 211–31.
- Henning, W.B. (1952), 'A farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān', *BSOAS* 14, 501–22.
- . (1977), 'The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak', in *W. B. Henning Selected Papers*, vol. 2, *Hommages et Opera Minora* 6, Leiden: Aclr 15, 359–86.
- Henrickson, R.C. (1984), 'Šimaški and central western Iran: The archaeological evidence', *ZA* 74, 98–122.
- Herbert, T. (1677), *Some years travels into divers parts of Africa, and Asia the Great . . .*, London: R. Everingham.
- Herbordt, S. (1992), *Neuassyrische Glyptik des 8.-7. Jh. v. Chr.*, Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria Studies 1.
- Herrenschmidt, C. (1993a), 'La poste achéménide', *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, 4.
- . (1993b), 'Aggarêion-aggaros', *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter*, 5.
- Herrero, P. (1976), 'Tablettes administratives de Haft-Tépé', *CDAFI* 6, 93–116.
- Herrero, P. and Glassner, J.-J. (1990), 'Haft-Tépé: Choix de textes I', *IrAnt* 25, 1–45.
- . (1991), 'Haft-Tépé: Choix de textes II', *IrAnt* 26, 39–80.
- . (1993), 'Haft-Tépé: Choix de textes III', *IrAnt* 28, 126–32.
- Herrmann, G. (1977), *The Iranian revival*, Oxford: Elsevier-Phaidon.
- . (1989), 'Parthian and Sasanian saddlery: New light from the Roman west', *AIO*, 757–809.
- Hérubel, J.-P.V.M. (1994), *Annales historiography and theory: A selective and annotated bibliography*, Westport/London: Greenwood Press.
- Herzfeld, E. (1908), 'Pasargadae: Untersuchungen zur persischen Archäologie', *Klio* 8, 1–68.
- . (1910), 'Das Alter der altpersischen Keilschrift', *ZDMG* 64, 63–4.
- . (1920), *Am Tor von Asien: Felsdenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- . (1926), 'Reisebericht', *ZDMG* 80, 225–84.
- . (1928), 'Drei Inschriften aus persischem Gebiet', *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 4, 81–6.
- . (1929), 'Masjid-i-Sulaiman', *The Naft Magazine* 5/6, 5–8.
- . (1968), *The Persian empire*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.
- Hespel, R. (1983), *Théodore Bar Koni, Livre des scolies (recension d'Urmiah)*, Louvain: CSCO 448 [= *Scriptores Syri* 194].
- Hessari, M. and Yousefi Zoshk, R. (2013), 'New evidences on emergence of complex societies in the Central Iranian Plateau', *SE*, 27–42.
- Hesse, B. (1979), 'Rodent remains and sendentism in the Neolithic: Evidence from Tepe Ganj Dareh, western Iran', *Journal of Mammalogy* 60, 856–7.

- . (1982), 'Slaughter patterns and domestication: The beginnings of pastoralism in western Iran', *Man* NS 17, 403–17.
- Heyvaert, V.M.A. and Baeteman, C. (2007), 'Holocene sedimentary evolution and palaeo-coastlines of the Lower Khuzestan plain (southwest) Iran', *Marine Geology* 242, 83–108.
- Heyvaert, V.M.A., Verkinderen, P. and Walstra, J. (2013), 'Geoarchaeological research in lower Khuzestan: State of the art', *SE*, 494–534.
- Hill, G.F. (1922), *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London: British Museum.
- Hinz, W. (1957–71), 'Gott C. Nach elamischen Texten', *RLA* 3, 546–7.
- . (1962), 'Die elamischen Inschriften des Hanne', in Henning, W.B. and Yarshater, E., eds., *A locust's leg: Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co., Ltd., 105–16.
- . (1963), 'Zwei neuentdeckte parthische Felsreliefs', *IrAnt* 3, 169–73.
- . (1966), 'Nachlese elamischer Denkmäler', *IrAnt* 6, 43–7.
- . (1967), 'Elams Vertrag mit Narâm-Sîn von Akkade', *ZA* 24, 66–96.
- . (1968), 'Die Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift', *AMI* 1, 95–8.
- . (1969), *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- . (1971a), 'Eine altelamische Tonkrugaufschrift vom Rande der Lut', *AMI* 4, 21–4.
- . (1971b), 'Persia, c. 2400–1800 BC', *CAH* 1/2, 644–80.
- . (1972), *The lost world of Elam*, London: Sidgwick and Jackson.
- . (1973), *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden: Göttinger Orientforschungen III/1.
- . (1972–5), 'Hallušu-Inšušinak', *RLA* 4, 61–2.
- . (1976–80), 'Inšušinak', *RLA* 5, 117–19.
- . (1987), 'Elams Übergang ins Perserreich', in Gignoux, P., ed., *Transition periods in Iranian history: Actes du symposium de Fribourg-en-Brisgau 22–24 mai 1985*, Leuven: Cahiers de *StIr* 5, 125–34.
- Hinz, W. and Koch, H. (1987), *Elamisches Wörterbuch I–II*, Berlin: *AMI* Ergänzungsband 17.
- Hirsch, H. (1973), 'Zum Fluß-Ordal in Elam', *RA* 67, 75–7.
- Hirsch, S.W. (1985), *The friendship of the barbarians: Xenophon and the Persian empire*, Hanover and London: University Press of New England.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. (1990), *Nations and nationalism since 1780: Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. and Ranger, T. (1983), eds., *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffmann, G. (1880), *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig: Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes VII/3.
- Hole, F. (1977), *Studies in the archaeological history of the Deh Luran plain: The excavation of Chagha Sefid*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan 9.
- . (1983), 'Symbols of religion and social organization at Susa', in Young, T.C., Jr., Smith, P.E.L. and Mortensen, P., eds., *The hilly flanks and beyond: Essays on the prehistory of southwestern Asia presented to Robert J. Braidwood, November 15, 1982*, Chicago: SAOC 36, 315–31.
- . (1984), 'Analysis of structure and design in prehistoric ceramics', *World Archaeology* 15, 326–47.
- . (1985), 'The organization of Susiana society: Periodization of site distributions', *Paléorient* 11, 21–4.
- . (1987), 'Archaeology of the village period', in Hole, F., ed., *The archaeology of western Iran: Settlement and society from prehistory to the Islamic conquest*, Washington, DC and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 29–78.
- . (1989), 'Patterns of burial in the fifth millennium', in Henrickson, E.F. and Thuesen, I., eds., *Upon this foundation – the 'Ubaid reconsidered*, Copenhagen: CNIP 10, 149–80.
- . (1990), 'Cemetery or mass grave? Reflections on Susa I', *MJP*, 1–13.
- . (2010), 'A monumental failure: The collapse of Susa', in Carter, R.A. and Philip, G., eds., *Beyond the Ubaid: Transformation and integration in the late prehistoric societies of the Middle East*, Chicago: SAOC 63, 227–43.
- Hole, F., Flannery, K.V., and Neely, J.A. (1969), *Prehistory and human ecology of the Deh Luran plain*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology of the University of Michigan 1.

- Holladay, W.L. (1989), *Jeremiah 2: A commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah chapters 26–52*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press.
- Holleaux, M. (1942), 'La mort d'Antiochos IV Epiphanès', *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques III*, Paris: De Boccard, 255–79.
- Honigmann, E., and Maricq, A. (1953), *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis*, Brussels: Memoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques 47/4.
- Hoover, O.D. (2002), 'The identity of the helmeted head on the "victory" coinage of Susa', *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 81, 51–60.
- . (2008), review of van't Haaff, P.A., *Catalogue of Elymaean coinage, ca. 147 BC–AD 228*, *American Numismatic Society Magazine* 7/2, unpaginated (<http://ansmagazine.com/Summero8/Elymaean>).
- Houghton, A. (1980), 'Notes on the early Seleucid victory coinage of "Persepolis"', *Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau* 59, 5–14.
- . (1983), *Coins of the Seleucid empire from the collection of Arthur Houghton*, New York: Ancient Coins in North American Collections 4.
- Houghton, A. and Le Rider, G. (1966), 'Un trésor de monnaies hellénistiques trouvé près de Suse', *RN* 6th ser. 8, 111–27.
- Hrouda, B. (1976), *Sarpol-i Zohab*, Berlin: Iranische Denkmäler 7/ii/c.
- . (1994), 'Der elamische Streitwagen', *CDR*, 53–7.
- Hubbard, R. (1990), 'Archaeobotany of Abdul Hosein', in Pullar, J., *Tepe Abdul Hosein: A Neolithic site in western Iran, excavations 1978*, Oxford: BAR Int Ser 563, 217–21.
- Huff, D. (1984), 'Das Felsrelief von Qir (Fars)', *AMI* 17, 221–47.
- . (1994), 'Iranische Steinbruchtechniken', in Wartke, R.-B., ed., *Handwerk und Technologie im Alten Orient: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Technik im Altertum*, Mainz: Von Zabern, 31–6.
- Hummel, K. (1963), 'Die Anfänge der iranischen Hochschule Gundischapur in der Spätantike', *Tübinger Forschungen* 9, 1–4.
- . (1983), 'Die medizinische Akademie von Gundischapur', *Iranzamin* 2, 54–61.
- Hüsing, G. (1898), 'Elamische Studien', *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 3/7, 1–42.
- . (1900), 'Die iranische Keilschrift', *OLZ* 3/11, 401–3.
- . (1908a), 'Der Zagros und seine Völker: Eine archäologisch-ethnographische Skizze', *AO* 9/3–4, 3–66.
- . (1908b), 'Über die Sprache Elams', *Jahresbericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur (IV. Abteilung B. Orientalisch-sprachwissenschaftliche Sektion)* 86, 1–18.
- . (1908c), 'Die Namen der Könige von Ančan', *OLZ* 11/7, 318–22.
- . (1916a), *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams, I. Teil. Altelamische Texte*, Leipzig: Assyriologische Bibliothek 24/1.
- . (1916b), 'Völkerschichten in Iran', *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 46, 199–250.
- Huyse, P. (1995), 'Die Begegnung zwischen Hellenen und Iranern. Griechische epigraphische Zeugnisse von Griechenland bis Pakistan', in Reck, C. and Zieme, P., eds., *Iran und Turfan: Beiträge Berliner Wissenschaftler, Werner Sundermann zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Wiesbaden: Iranica 2, 99–126.
- . (1996), 'Die Rolle des Griechischen im "hellenistischen" Iran', in Funck, B., ed., *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 57–76.
- . (1999), *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, 2 vols., London: CII II/1/1.
- Hyldahl, N. (1990), 'The Maccabean rebellion and the question of "Hellenization"', in Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L. and Zahle, J., eds., *Religion and religious practice in the Seleucid kingdom*, Aarhus: Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1, 188–203.
- Ingham, B. (1994), 'Ethno-linguistic links between southern Iraq and Khuzistan', in McLachlan, K., ed., *The boundaries of modern Iran*, London: UCL Press, 93–100.
- Intelligence Department (1918), *Geology of Mesopotamia and its borderlands*, London: H.M. Stationery Office, Admiralty Naval Staff I.D. 1177.
- Iossif, P. (2004), 'Les monnaies de Suse frappées par Séleucos I^{er}: Une nouvelle approche', *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche* 33, 249–71.

- Jackson, A.V.W. (1909), *Persia past and present: A book of travel and research*, New York: Macmillan.
- Jacobs, B. (1994), *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III.*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 87.
- Jacobs, L. (1980), *Darvazeh Tepe and the Iranian highlands in the second millennium BC*, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- . (1994), 'Darvaza Tepe', *EnIr* 7, 71–2.
- Jacobsen, T. (1939), *The Sumerian king list*, Chicago: AS 11.
- . (1953), 'The myth of Inanna and Bilulu', *JNES* 12, 160–87.
- . (1970), 'The reign of Ibbī-Suen', in Moran, W.L., ed., *Toward the image of Tammuz and other essays on Mesopotamian history and culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 173–86.
- . (1982), *Salinity and irrigation agriculture in antiquity: Diyala basin archaeological projects: report on essential results, 1957–1958*. Malibu: BiMes 14.
- Jafari, M.J. (2014), 'Report of the third season of archaeological excavations in Chal Shahin Lama cemetery (Yasouj)', in Kharanaghi, M. H.A., Khanipour, M. and Naseri, R., eds., *Proceedings of the International Conference of Young Archaeologists*, Tehran: Archaeological Scientific Association, School of Literature and Humanities, University of Tehran, 237–56 (in Persian).
- Jahangirfar, M. (2015), *A bibliography of ancient Elam*, Perth: Crusader eBooks.
- Jalilvand Sadafi, S. (2013), 'Prosopographische Untersuchungen anhand der Rechtsurkunden aus Susa', *SE*, 355–64.
- . (2014), *Die altbabylonischen Kaufurkunden aus Susa*, Tübingen: Eberhard Karls University, unpublished PhD dissertation.
- James, T.G.H. (1991), 'Egypt: The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties', *CAH* III/2, 677–747.
- Jaunay, A. (1997), *Mémoires de Jacques de Morgan, 1857–1924: Souvenirs d'un archéologue*, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Jean, C.-F. (1922), 'L'Élam sous la dynastie d'Ur: Les indemnités allouées aux "chargés de mission" des rois d'Ur', *RA* 19, 1–44.
- Jenkins, G.K. (1978), 'Coins', in Stronach, D., *Pasargadae*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 185–98.
- Jensen, P. (1892), 'Elamitische Eigennamen', *WZKM* 6, 47–70, 209–26.
- . (1901), 'Alt- und Neu-elamitisches', *ZDMG* 55, 223–40.
- Jéquier, G. (1905), 'Fouilles de Suse de 1899 à 1902', *MDP* 7, 9–41.
- Jeyes, U. (1980), 'The act of extispicy in ancient Mesopotamia: An outline', *Assyriological Miscellanies* 1, 13–32.
- Joannès, F. (1988), '★ig-gur^{ki} = Suse', *NABU* 1988, 1.
- . (1990), 'Textes babyloniens de Suse d'époque achéménide', *MJP*, 173–80.
- . (1991), 'L'étain, de l'Elam à Mari', *MHEOP* 1, 68–76.
- Johnson, G.A. (1973), *Local exchange and early state development in southwestern Iran*, Ann Arbor: Anthropological Papers of the Museum of Anthropology 51.
- . (1988–9), 'Late Uruk in greater Mesopotamia: Expansion or collapse?', *Origini* 14, 595–613.
- Jones, C.E. and Stolper, M.W. (2008), 'How many Persepolis fortification tablets are there?', *AFP*, 27–50.
- Jones, M.D. (2013), 'Key questions regarding the paleoenvironment of Iran', *OHAI*, 17–28.
- Jones, T.B. and Snyder, J.W. (1961), *Sumerian economic texts from the third Ur dynasty*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jullien, C. (2006), 'La minorité chrétienne "grecque" en terre d'Iran à l'Époque sassanide', in Gyselen, R., ed., *Chrétiens en terre d'Iran: Implantation et acculturation*, Paris: Studia Iranica Cahier 33, 105–42.
- Jursa, M. (2013), 'Epistolographic evidence for trips to Susa by Borsippian priests and for the crisis in Borsippa at the beginning of Xerxes' reign', *ARTA* 2013.003.
- Jusifov, see Yusifov.
- Justi, F. (1899), 'Zur Inschrift von Behistān I, 63', *ZDMG* 53, 89–92.
- Kaelin, O. (1999), *Ein assyrisches Bildexperiment nach ägyptischem Vorbild: Zu Planung und Ausführung der 'Schlacht am Ulai'*, Münster: AOAT 266.
- Kantor, H.J. (1977), 'The Elamite cup from Chogha Mish', *Iran* 15, 11–14.
- Kantor, H.J. and Delougaz, P. (1996), *Chogha Mish, Vol. 1: The first five seasons, 1961–1971*, Chicago: OIP 101.
- Kawami, T. (2013), 'Parthian and Elymaean rock reliefs', *OHAI*, 751–65.
- Kawase, T. (1986), 'Kapnuški in the Persepolis fortification texts', *FHE*, 263–75.

- Kehl, M. (2009), 'Quaternary climate change in Iran – the state of knowledge', *Erdkunde* 63, 1–17.
- Kennedy, E.S. and Kennedy, M.-H. (1987), *Al-Kāshī's geographical table*, Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 77/7.
- Kent, R.G. (1953), *Old Persian: Grammar, texts, lexicon*, New Haven: AOS 33.
- Ker Porter, R. (1822), *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c. during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820*, vol. 2, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.
- Kervran, M. (1985), 'Transformations de la ville de Suse et de son économie de l'époque sassanide à l'époque abbasside', *Paléorient* 11, 91–100.
- Kervran, M., Stronach, D., Vallat, F. and Yoyotte, J. (1972), 'Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse', *JA* 260, 235–66.
- Kettenhofen, E. (1982), *Die römisch-persischen Kriege des 3. Jh. n. Chr. nach der Inschrift Šāhpuhrs I. an der Ka'be-ye Zartošt (ŠKZ)*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 55.
- . (1995), *Tirdad und die Inschrift von Paikuli: Kritik der Quellen zur Geschichte Armeniens im späten 3. und frühen 4. Jh. n. Chr.*, Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Keylor, W.R. (1975), *Academy and community: The foundation of the French historical profession*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Khačikjan, M. (1998), *The Elamite language*, Rome: Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici.
- Khosravi, L., Kouhpar, S.M.M., Neyestani, J. and Nobari, A.H. (2010), 'Unknown rulers of Neo-Elamite in Loristan during 1st millennium B.C.', *International Journal of Humanities* 17/2, 39–54.
- King, L.W., and Campbell Thompson, R. (1907), *The sculptures and inscription of Darius the Great on the rock of Behistūn in Persia*, London: British Museum.
- Kingsley, B.M. (1981), 'The cap that survived Alexander', *AJA* 85, 39–46.
- . (1991), 'Alexander's kausia and Macedonian tradition', *Classical Antiquity* 10, 59–76.
- Kinneir, J.M. (1813), *A geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London: John Murray.
- Kirkby, M.J. (1977), 'Land and water resources of the Deh Luran and Khuzistan plains', in Hole, F. ed., *Studies in the archaeological history of the Deh Luran plain: The excavation of Chagha Sefid*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology 9, 251–88.
- Kiyani, M.Y. (1982), *Parthian sites in Hyrcania: The Gurgan plain*, Berlin: AMI Ergänzungsband 9.
- Klauber, E. (1910), *Assyrisches Beamtentum nach Briefen aus der Sargonidenzeit*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Kleiss, W. (1975), 'Eywan-e Karkheh', *AMI* 8, 11–14.
- . (1993), 'Kurangun, die Burganlage am elamischen Felsrelief in Südwest-Iran', in Mellink, M., Porada, E. and Özguç, T., eds., *Aspects of art and iconography, Anatolia and its neighbors: Studies in honor of Nimet Özguç*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 357–60.
- . (1995), 'Qal'eh Tall-e Kabud, eine eisenzeitliche Befestigung südlich von Shiraz', in Finkbeiner, U., Dittmann, R. and Hauptmann, H., eds., *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens: Festschrift für Rainer Michael Boehmer*, Mainz: Von Zabern, 289–93.
- Klíma, J. (1960), 'Untersuchung zum elamischen Erbrecht (auf Grund der akkadischen Urkunden aus Susa)', *ArOr* 28, 5–54.
- . (1963), 'Le droit élamite au II^{ème} millénaire av. n. è. et sa position envers le droit babylonien', *ArOr* 31, 287–309.
- . (1971), 'Das Wasserordal in Elam nach den akkadischen Urkunden aus Susa und Huhnur (Malamir)', *ArOr* 39, 401–24.
- . (1972), 'L'ordalie par le fleuve en Élam (d'après les documents akkadiens de Suse et de Huhnur-Malamir)', *RA* 66, 39–59.
- Klinkott, H. (2000), *Die Satrapienregister der Alexander- und Diadochenzeit*, Stuttgart: Historia Einzelschriften 145.
- . (2005), *Der Satrap: Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume*, Frankfurt: Oikumene 1.
- Klose, D.O.A. and Müseler, W. (2008), *Statthalter, Rebellen, Könige: Die Münzen aus Persepolis von Alexander dem Großen zu den Sasaniden*, Munich: Staatliche Münzsammlung.
- Klugkist, A. (1986), 'The origin of the Mandaic script', in Vanstiphout, H.L.J., Jongeling, K., Leemhuis, F. and Reinink, G.J., eds., *Scripta signa vocis: Studies about scripts, scriptures and languages in the Near East, presented to J.H.*

- Hospers by his pupils, colleagues, and friends*, Groningen: Forsten, 111–20.
- Knapp, A.B. (1992), ed., *Archaeology, annales and ethnohistory*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Koch, H. (1977), *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit: Untersuchungen an Hand der elamischen Persepolistafelchen*, Wiesbaden: Göttinger Orientforschung III.4.
- . (1986), 'Die achämenidische Poststrasse von Persepolis nach Susa', *AMI* 19, 33–147.
- . (1987), 'Götter und ihre Verehrung im achämenidischen Persien', *ZA* 77, 239–78.
- . (1988a), 'Zur Religion der Achämeniden', *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 100, 393–405.
- . (1988b), 'Herrscher in der Persis unter Seleukiden und Parthern', *WO* 19, 84–95.
- . (1989), 'Tribut und Abgaben in Persis und Elymais', in Briant, P. and Herrenschmidt, C., eds., *Le tribut dans l'empire perse*, Paris: Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle 13, 121–28.
- . (1990), *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft im persischen Kernland zur Zeit der Achämeniden*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 89.
- . (1991), 'Zu Religion und Kulte im achämenidischen Kernland', in Kellens, J., ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*, Ghent: IrAnt Supplement 5, 87–109.
- . (1993), *Achämeniden-Studien*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . (1996), review of Vallat, F., *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites*, *BiOr* 53, 144–50.
- . (1997), review of Malbran-Labat, F., *Les inscriptions royales de Suse*, *Or* 66, 109–10.
- König, F.W. (1931), 'Geschichte Elams', *AO* 29/4, 1–38.
- . (1938), 'Elam (Geschichte)', *RLA* 2, 324–38.
- . (1957–71), 'Geschwisterehe in Elam', *RLA* 3, 224–31.
- . (1965), *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, Graz: AfO Beiheft 16.
- König, M. (2014), 'Erste Ergebnisse zu Landwirtschaft und pflanzlicher Ernährung in Haft Tappeh, Iran', *Elamica* 4, 51–66.
- Koppen, F. van (2004), 'The geography of the slave trade and northern Mesopotamia in the late Old Babylonian period', in Hunger, H. and Pruzsinszky, R. eds., *Mesopotamian Dark Age revisited*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 9–33.
- . (2013), 'Abiesuh, Elam and Ashurbanipal: New evidence from Old Babylonian Sippar', *SE*, 377–98.
- Koppen, F. van and Lacambre, D. (2008/9), 'Sippar and the frontier between Ešnunna and Babylon: New sources for the history of Ešnunna in the Old Babylonian period', *JEOL* 41, 151–77.
- Koschaker, P. (1931), 'Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus', *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie* 42, 68–83.
- . (1933), 'Fatriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten', *ZA* 41, 1–89.
- . (1935), 'Göttliches und weltliches Recht nach den Urkunden aus Susa: Zugleich ein Beitrag zu ihrer Chronologie', *Or* 4, 38–80.
- Kosmin, P.J. (2014), *The land of the elephant kings: Space, territory, and ideology in the Seleucid empire*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kouchoukos, N. and Hole, F. (2003), 'Changing estimates of Susiana's prehistoric settlement', *YBYN*, 53–9.
- Kozuh, M. (2014), 'Elamite and Akkadian inscribed bricks from Bard-e Karezgar (Khuzistan, Iran)', *EC*, 131–62.
- Krebernik, M. (2005), 'Elamisch', in Streck, M. P., ed., *Sprachen des Alten Orients*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 159–82.
- . (2006), 'Philologische Aspekte elamisch-mesopotamischer Beziehungen im Überblick', *Babel und Bibel* 3, 59–99.
- Kritt, B. (1997), *The early Seleucid mint of Susa*, Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Studies 2.
- Kuhrt, A. (1995), *The Ancient Near East, c. 3000–330 BC*, vol. 1, London and New York: Routledge History of the Ancient World.
- . (2007), *The Persian empire: A corpus of sources from the Achaemenid period*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Kuhrt, A. and Sherwin-White, S. (1987), 'Xerxes' destruction of Babylonian temples', *AH* 2, 69–78.
- Kutscher, R. (1979), 'A note on the early careers of Zariqum and Šamsi-illat', *RA* 73, 81–2.
- . (1989), *The Brockmon tablets at the University of Haifa: The royal inscriptions*, Haifa: Haifa University Press.

- Labat, R. (1975), 'Elam, c. 1600–1200 BC', *CAH* II/2³, 482–506.
- Labat, R. and Edzard, D.O. (1974), *Textes littéraires de Suse*, Paris: MDP 57.
- Labourt, J. (1904), *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide 224–632*, Paris: Victor Lecoffre.
- Lackenbacher, S. (1994), 'Les bénédictions dans les lettres de Suse', *NABU* 1994, 54.
- Ladiray, D. (2010), 'Les données archéologiques', *PDS*, 160–223.
- Læssøe, J. (1963), *People of ancient Assyria: Their inscriptions and correspondence*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. (1978), 'The Proto-Elamites on the Iranian Plateau', *Antiquity* 52, 114–20.
- . (1988), 'The "Intercultural Style" carved vessels', *IrAnt* 23, 45–95.
- . (1996a), *Beyond the Tigris and Euphrates: Bronze Age civilizations*, Jerusalem: Beer-Sheva 9.
- . (1996b), 'The archaeological evidence for international commerce: Public and/or private enterprise in Mesopotamia?', in Hudson, M. and Levine, B.A., eds., *Privatization in the ancient Near East and classical world*, Cambridge: Peabody Museum Bulletin 5, 73–108.
- Lambert, M. (1967), 'Shutruk-Nahunte et Shutur-Nahunte', *Syria* 44, 47–51.
- . (1970), 'Objets inscrits du Musée du Louvre', *RA* 64, 69–72.
- . (1971), 'Investiture de fonctionnaires en Elam', *JA* 259, 217–21.
- . (1972), 'Hutélutush-Inshushinak et le pays d'Anzan', *RA* 66, 61–76.
- . (1974), 'Deux textes élamites du III^e millénaire', *RA* 68, 3–14.
- . (1975), 'Cinq textes scolaires de Suse', *JA* 265, 39–50.
- . (1976), 'Tablette de Suse avec cachet du Golfe', *RA* 70, 71–2.
- . (1978), 'Disjecta Membra Aelamica (II). Inscriptions du décor architectural construit par Shilhak-Inshushinak', *Arts Asiatiques* 34, 3–27.
- . (1979), 'Le prince de Suse Ilshmani et l'Elam, de Naramsin à Ibisîn', *JA* 267, 11–40.
- Lambert, W.G. (1979), 'Near Eastern seals in the Gulbenkian Museum of Oriental Art, University of Durham', *Iraq* 41, 1–46.
- . (1991), 'The Akkadianization of Susiana under the Sukkalmahs', *MHEOP* 1, 53–7.
- . (1992), 'Further notes on a seal of Ebarat', *RA* 86, 85–6.
- . (1994), 'The fall of the Cassite dynasty to the Elamites: An historical epic', *CDR*, 67–72.
- Lampre, G. (1900), 'Travaux de l'hiver, 1897–1898, tranchées nos. 7 et 7a', *MDP* 1, 100–10.
- Landsberger, B. (1933), review of Unger, E., *Babylon die heilige Stadt nach der Beschreibung der Babylonier*, *ZA* 41, 255–99.
- Langdon, S. (1905–6), 'Les inscriptions de Nebuchadnezzar trouvées à Suse', *ZA* 29, 142–7.
- . (1912), *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig: VAB 4.
- Langlès, L. (1811), *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, vol. 8, Paris: Le Normant.
- Langsdorff, A. and McCown, D.E. (1942), *Tall-i-Bakun A: Season of 1932*, Chicago: OIP 59.
- Lantos, Z.G. (2013), 'Essai d'application de la méthode de la psychologie environnementale à travers l'exemple de la ville méso-élamite de Dûr-untāš (Tchoga-zanbil, Iran), site inscrit au patrimoine mondial de l'Unesco', *SE*, 139–60.
- . (2014), *Architecture urbaine et Anthropologie culturelle de la Ville nouvelle élamite de Dûr-Untāš (Tchoga-Zanbil)*, Paris: Atelier National de Reproduction des Thèses.
- Larsen, J.O. and Rhodes, P.J. (1996), 'Federal states', *Oxford Classical Dictionary* 3, 591–2.
- Lassere, F. (1979), 'Strabon', *KP* 5, 381–5.
- Laufer, B. (1919), *Sino-Iranica: Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran*, Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History Publication 201, Anthropological Series, Vol. 15, 3.
- Layard, A.H. (1842), 'Ancient sites among the Baktiyari mountains, with remarks on the rivers of Susiana, and the site of Susa, by Professor Long, V.P.', *JRGS* 12, 102–9.
- . (1846), 'A description of the province of Khûzistân', *JRGS* 16, 1–105.
- . (1853), *Discoveries among the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the desert: Being the result of a second expedition undertaken for the trustees of the British Museum*, New York: Harper & Brothers.
- . (1882), *Nineveh and Babylon: A narrative of a second expedition to Assyria during the years 1849, 1850, and 1851*, London: John Murray.

- Leake, W.M. (1856), *Numismata Hellenica: A catalogue of Greek coins*, London: John Murray.
- . (1859), *A supplement to Numismata Hellenica: A catalogue of Greek coins*, London: John Murray.
- LeBrun, A. (1971), 'Recherches stratigraphiques à l'Acropole de Suse, 1969–1971', *CDAFI* 1, 163–216.
- . (1978), 'Suse, chantier "Acropole 1"', *Paléorient* 4, 177–92.
- . (1985), 'Le niveau 18 de l'acropole de Suse: Mémoire d'argile, mémoire du temps', *Paléorient* 11, 31–6.
- . (1990), 'Les documents économiques du niveau 18 de l'Acropole de Suse et leurs modes de groupement', *MJP*, 61–6.
- LeBrun, A. and Vallat, F. (1978), 'L'origine de l'écriture à Suse', *CDAFI* 8, 11–59.
- Lecoq, P. (1997), *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, Paris: Gallimard.
- Legrain, L. (1913), 'Tablettes de comptabilité, etc. de l'époque de la dynastie d'Agadè', *MDP* 14, 62–126.
- Lehmann, C.F. (1892), 'Noch einmal Kassû: *Kîssioi*, nicht *Kossâioi*', *ZA* 7, 328–34.
- Lenfant, D. (2011), *Les Perses vus par les Grecs: Lire les sources classiques sur l'Empire achéménide*, Paris: Armand Colin.
- Lenormant, F. (1874), *Choix de textes cunéiformes*, Fascicle 2, Paris: Maisonneuve.
- Leriche, P. (1977), 'Problèmes de la guerre en Iran et en Asie Centrale dans l'empire perse et à l'époque hellénistique', in Deshayes, J., ed., *Le Plateau Iranien et l'Asie Centrale des origines à la conquête islamique*, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 297–312.
- Le Rider, G. (1959), 'Monnaies de Characène', *Syria* 36, 229–53.
- . (1965a), *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, Paris: MDP 38.
- . (1965b), 'Un atelier monétaire séleucide dans la province de la Mer Érythrée?', *RN*, 36–43.
- . (1969), 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet de Paris', *RN* 6, 7–27.
- . (1978), 'Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes frappés à Suse', *RN* 20, 33–7.
- LeStrange, G. (1905), *The lands of the eastern caliphate*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levine, L. (1972), *Two Neo-Assyrian stelae from Iran*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 23.
- . (1973), 'Geographical studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros I', *Iran* 11, 1–27.
- . (1974), 'Geographical studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros II', *Iran* 12, 99–124.
- . (1982), 'Sennacherib's southern front: 704–689 BC', *JCS* 34, 28–58.
- Levine, L. and Young, T.C., Jr. (1987), 'A summary of the ceramic assemblages of the central western Zagros from the middle Neolithic to the late third millennium BC', in Huot, J.-L., ed., *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 15–53.
- Lindemeyer, E. and Martin, L. (1993), *Uruk Kleinfunde III. Kleinfunde im Vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin: Steingefäße und Asphalt, Farbreste, Fritte, Glas, Holz, Knochen/Elfenbein, Muschel/Perlmutter/Schnecke*, Mainz: Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte 9.
- Littauer, M.A. and Crouwel, J.H. (1979), *Wheeled vehicles and ridden animals in the ancient Near East*, Leiden/Cologne: HdO 7/1.
- . (1989), 'Metal wheel tyres from the ancient Near East', *AIO*, 111–26.
- Littauer, M.A., Crouwel, J.H. and Hauptmann, H. (1991), 'Ein spätbronzezeitliches Speichenrad vom Lidar Höyük in der Südost-Türkei', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 349–58.
- Liu, C. (2014), 'Notes on Elamites and the date of three Drehem texts', *CDLN* 2014, 17.
- Liverani, M. (1993), ed., *Akkad, the first world empire: Structure, ideology, traditions*, Padua: Sargon.
- . (1995), 'The Medes at Esarhaddon's court', *JCS* 47, 57–62.
- Lockhart, L. (1939), 'Iranian petroleum in ancient and medieval times', *Journal of the Institute of Petroleum* 25, 1–16.
- Loftus, W.K. (1856), 'On the excavations undertaken at the ruins of Susa in 1851–52', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* 5, 422–53.
- . (1857a), 'On the determination of the river "Eulæus" of the Greek historians', *JRGS* 27, 120–33.
- . (1857b), *Travels and researches in Chaldaea and Susiana; with an account of excavations at Warka, the "Erech" of Nimrod, and Shush, "Shushan the Palace" of Esther, in 1849–52*, New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.
- Long, G. (1833), 'On the site of Susa', *JRGS* 3, 257–67.

- Longpérier, A. de (1882), *Mémoires sur la chronologie et l'iconographie des rois parthes arsacides*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Lonsdale, D.J. (2007), *Alexander the Great: Lessons in strategy*, Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
- Luckenbill, D.D. (1924), *The annals of Sennacherib*, Chicago: OIP 2.
- Lukonin, V.G. (1967), *Persia II*, Geneva, Paris and Munich: Nagel.
- Luschey, H. (1968), 'Studien zu dem Darius-Relief von Bisutun', *AMI* 1, 63–94.
- . (1974), 'Bisutun: Geschichte und Forschungsgeschichte', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 89, 114–49.
- . (1990), 'Bisotun ii. Archeology', *EnIr* 4, 291–9.
- . (1996), 'Die seleukidische Heraklesfigur', in Kleiss, W. and Calmeyer, P., eds., *Bisutun: Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in den Jahren 1963–1967*, Berlin: Teheraner Forschungen 7, 59–60.
- Lyon, B. (1987), 'Marc Bloch: Historian', *French Historical Studies* 15, 195–207.
- MacGinnis, J. (2002), 'Working in Elam', in Wunsch, C., ed., *Mining the archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, Dresden: Babylonische Archive 1, 177–82.
- . (2014), 'Minions to the rule of Erra: The impact of war on the civilian population of Babylonia in the first millennium BC', in Nadali, D. and Vidal, J., eds., *The other face of the battle: The impact of war on civilians in the ancient Near East*, Münster: AOAT 413, 113–26.
- Magee, P. (2003), 'Columned halls, power and legitimisation in the southeast Arabian Iron Age', in Potts, D.T., Al Naboodah, H. and Hellyer, P., eds., *Archaeology of the United Arab Emirates: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Archaeology of the U.A.E.*, London: Trident, 181–91.
- Mahboubian, H. (1995), *Treasures of the mountains: The art of the Medes*, London: self-publication.
- Malayeri, M. (2013), 'Scribal training in Old Babylonian Susa', *SE*, 365–76.
- Malbran-Labat, F. (1975), 'Nabû-bêl-šumâte, prince du Pays-de-la-Mer', *JA* 263, 7–37.
- . (1982), *L'armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Assyrie d'après les lettres des Sargonides trouvées à Ninive*, Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, Hautes Études Orientales 19.
- . (1994), *La version akkadienne de l'inscription trilingue de Darius à Behistun*, Rome: Documenta Asiana 1.
- . (1995), *Les inscriptions royales de Suse: Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'Empire néo-élamite*, Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- . (2004), 'La fête en Elam dans le culte royal et les cérémonies populaires', in Mazoyer, M., Pérez Rey, J., Malbran-Labat, F. and Lebrun, R., eds., *La fête: La rencontre des dieux et des hommes*, Paris: Collection Kubaba série Actes 4, 39–48.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. (1970), 'Elamite problems', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 55, 255–92.
- Mander, P. (1986), *Il pantheon di Abu-Salabikh: Contributo allo studio del pantheon sumerico arcaico*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici Series Minor 26.
- Marchesi, G. (2010), 'The Sumerian King List and the early history of Mesopotamia', in Biga, M.G. and Liverani, M., eds., *Ana turri gimilli: Studi dedicati al Padre Werner R. Mayer, S.J. da amici e allievi*, Rome: Quaderni di Vicino Oriente 5, 231–48.
- . (2013), 'Ur-Nammâ(k)'s conquest of Susa', *SE*, 285–92.
- Maricq, A. (1958), 'Classica et orientalia 5. Res gestae divi saporis', *Syria* 35, 295–360.
- Markoff, A. de (1877), *Les monnaies des Rois parthes: Supplément à l'ouvrage de M. le Comte Prokesch-Osten*, 1st fascicule, Paris: Librairie Numismatique de C. van Peteghem.
- Marquart, J. (1901), *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, Berlin: Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philosophisch-historische Klasse, NF Bd. III/2.
- . (1907), 'Untersuchung zur Geschichte von Eran II (Schluß)', *Philologus Supplement* 10, 1–258.
- . (1931), *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānšahr*, Rome: Analecta Orientalia 3.
- Marschner, R.-F., Duffy, L.J. and Wright, H.T. (1978), 'Asphalts from ancient town sites in southwestern Iran', *Paléorient* 4, 97–112.
- Marsden, E.W. (1969), *Greek and Roman artillery: Historical development*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Martin, L. (1995), 'Ein elamisches Rollsiegel aus Bubastis', *AoF* 22, 103–9.

- Martinez-Sève, L. (1996), 'Une statuette romaine trouvée à Suse et la chronologie du Donjon', *CO*, 171–80.
- . (2002), 'La ville de Suse à l'Époque hellénistique', *Revue archéologique* 33/1, 31–53.
- . (2004), 'Les figurines de Masjid-i Soleiman et les relations entre Suse et l'Élymaïde', *Parthica* 6, 179–201.
- . (2010), 'Suse et les Séleucides au III^e siècle avant J.-C.', *Electrum* 18, 41–66.
- . (2012), 'Les Grecs d'Extrême Orient: Communautés grecques d'Asie Centrale et d'Iran', *Pallas* 89, 367–91.
- . (2014), 'Antiochos IV en Susiane, dans le Golfe Persique et en Élymaïde', in Feyer, C. and Graslín, L., eds., *Le projet politique d'Antiochos IV*, Nancy: Études nancéennes d'histoire grecque II, 363–93.
- Mathiesen, H.E. (1992), *Sculpture in the Parthian empire: A study in chronology*, 2 vols. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Mathis, F. (1997), '1,000 years of Austria and Austrian identity: Founding myths', in Bischof, G. and Pelinka, A., eds., *Austrian historical memory and national identity*, New Brunswick and London: Contemporary Austrian Studies 5, 20–31.
- Matthews, D.M. (1992), *The Kassite glyptic of Nippur*, Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Mattila, R. (1987), 'The political status of Elam after 653 B.C. according to ABL 839', *SAAB* 1/1, 27–30.
- Mayer, W. (1995), *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrier*, Münster: Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens 9.
- Mayrhofer, M. (1973), *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte 286.
- . (1989), 'Über die Verschriftung des Altpersischen', *Historische Sprachforschung* 102/2, 174–86.
- McAlpine, D.W. (1981), *Proto-Elamo-Dravidian: The evidence and its implications*, Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 71/3.
- McCall, B. (2009), *The Mamasani archaeological survey: Epipalaeolithic to Elamite settlement patterns in the Mamasani district of the Zagros Mountains, Fars Province, Iran*, Sydney: University of Sydney, unpublished PhD dissertation.
- . (2013a), 'Re-assessing Elamite highland boundaries: New evidence for the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods in the Mamasani valleys, south-western Iran', *SE*, 191–205.
- . (2013b), 'Bronze Age Fars', *OHAI*, 283–303.
- McClellan, A. (1994), *Inventing the Louvre: Art, politics, and the origins of the modern museum in eighteenth-century Paris*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McEwan, G.J.P. (1986), 'A Parthian campaign against Elymais in 77 BC', *Iran* 24, 91–4.
- McRae, I.K. (2015), *The Achaemenid and Post-Achaemenid ceramics of Qaleh Kali, Iran*, Sydney: University of Sydney, unpublished dissertation.
- Mecquenem, R. de (1911), 'Constructions élamites du tell de l'Acropole de Suse', *MDP* 12, 65–78.
- . (1926), 'Une effigie susienne', *RA* 23, 1–3.
- . (1934), 'Fouilles de Suse, 1929–1933', *MDP* 25, 177–237.
- . (1938), 'The early cultures of Susa', in Pope, A.U. and Ackermann, P., eds., *A survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present*, vol. 1, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 134–50.
- . (1943), 'Fouilles de Suse, 1933–1939', *MDP* 29, 3–161.
- . (1944), 'Note sur les modalités funéraires susiennes et leur chronologie', *Vivre et Penser*, 3rd ser. 1943–4, 133–47.
- . (1947), 'Contribution à l'étude du palais achéménide de Suse', *MDP* 30, 1–119.
- . (1949), 'Épigraphie proto-élamite', *MDP* 31, 5–150.
- . (1953), 'Têtes de cannes susiennes en métal', *RA* 47, 79–82.
- . (1980), 'Les fouilleurs de Suse', *IrAnt* 15, 1–48.
- Meder, O. (1979), *Klimaökologie und Siedlungsgang auf dem Hochland von Iran in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit*, Marburg: Marburger Geographische Schriften 80.
- Medvedskaya, I. (1999), 'Media and its neighbours I: The localization of Ellipi', *IrAnt* 34, 53–70.
- . (2000), 'Zamua, Inner Zamua and Mazamua', *VD*, 429–45.

- Mehrlian, J. (1997), 'The Elymaian rock-carving of Shaivand, Izeh', *Iran* 35, 57–72.
- . (1999), 'Découvertes de nouveaux bas-reliefs d'Elymaïde', *Dossiers d'Archéologie* 243, 61.
- . (2000), 'Un nouveau bas-relief d'Elymaïde à "Shirinow," sur un passage de la migration des Baxtiyaris', *IrAnt* 35, 57–68.
- . (2001), 'Trois bas-reliefs parthes dans les monts Bakhtiari', *IrAnt* 36, 67–72.
- . (2003), 'Algi bas-relief', *Nāme-ye Pazuhešgāh-e Mirās-e Farhangi Quarterly* 1, 81–85 (in Persian).
- Melville, S.C. (2014), 'Win, lose, or draw? Claiming victory in battle', in Neumann, H., Dittmann, H., Paulus, S., Neumann, G. and Schuster-Brandis, A., eds., *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, Münster: AOAT 401, 527–37.
- Merkelbach, R. (2002), 'Der Brief des Artabanos an die Stadt Susa', *Epigraphica Anatolica* 34, 173–7.
- Messina, V. (2014), 'A new proposal for identifying the kings represented on the Hung-e Azhdar rock relief', *IrAnt* 49, 331–45.
- Messina, V. and Mehr Kian, J. (2009), 'Iranian-Italian joint expedition in Khuzistan, 2nd campaign: Laser scanning of the Hung-e Azdhar, Hung-e Yaralivand, Hung-e Kamalvand rock reliefs, topography of the valley of Hung-e Azhdar and trial trenches near the boulder of Hung-e Azhdar', unpublished.
- . (2010), 'The Iranian-Italian joint expedition in Khuzistan Hung-e Azdhar: 1st campaign (2008)', *Parthica* 12, 31–4.
- . (2011), 'Riconoscimento dei rilievi parziali d'Elymaïde. La piana di Izeh-Malamir', *Vicino & Medio Oriente* 15, 215–31.
- Michalowski, P. (1978), 'Foreign tribute to Sumer during the Ur III period', *ZA* 68, 34–49.
- . (1989), *The lamentation over the destruction of Sumer and Ur*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . (2003), 'A man called Enmebaragesi', *LPR*, 195–208.
- . (2006), 'The scribe(s) of MDAI 57 Susa omens?', *NABU* 2006, 41.
- . (2008), 'Observations on "Elamites" and "Elam" in Ur III times', in Michalowski, P., ed., *On the third dynasty of Ur: Studies in honor of Marcel Sigrist*, Boston: JCS Supplement Series 1, 109–24.
- . (2009), 'Aššur during the Ur III period', in Drewnowska, O., ed., *Here & there across the ancient Near East: Studies in honour of Krystyna Łyczkowska*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Agade, 149–56.
- . (2011), *The correspondence of the kings of Ur*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- . (2013), 'Networks of authority and power in Ur III times', in Garfinkle, S. and Molina, M., eds., *From the 21st century B.C. to the 21st century A.D.: Proceedings of the International Conference on Sumerian Studies held in Madrid 22–24 July 2010*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 169–205.
- Michaud, E. (2000), 'Le culte du dieu Kamul en Élam: Une nouvelle brique de Šutruk Nakhunte (1190–1155)', *NABU* 2000, 11.
- Milburn, W. (1813), *Oriental commerce: Containing a geographical description of the principal places in the East Indies, China, and Japan, with their produce, manufactures, and trade, including the coasting or country trade from port to port; also the rise and progress of the trade of the various European nations with the Eastern world, particularly that of the English East India Company, from the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to the present period; with an account of the company's establishments, revenues, debts, assets, &c. at home and abroad*, Vol. 1, London: Black, Parry and Co.
- Millard, A.R. (1964), 'Another Babylonian Chronicle text', *Iraq* 26, 14–35.
- Miller, N.F. (1981), 'The plant remains', in Wright, H.T., *An early town on the Deh Luran plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 13, 227–32.
- . (1984), 'The interpretation of some carbonized cereal remains as remnants of dung cake fuel', *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 1, 45–7.
- . (1985), 'Paleoethnobotanical evidence for deforestation in ancient Iran: A case study of urban Malyan', *Journal of Ethnobiology* 5, 1–19.
- . (1990a), 'Clearing land for farmland and fuel: Archaeobotanical studies of the ancient Near East', in Miller, N.F., ed., *Economy and settlement in the Near East: Analyses of ancient sites and materials*, Philadelphia: MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology Supplement to Vol. 7, 71–8.

- . (1990b), 'Archaeobotanical perspectives on the rural-urban connection', in Miller, N.F., ed., *Economy and settlement in the Near East: Analyses of ancient sites and materials*, Philadelphia: MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology Supplement to Vol. 7, 79–83.
- . (2003), 'Archaeobotany in Iran, past and future', *YBYN*, 8–15.
- Miller, N.F. and Kimiaie, M. (2006), 'Some plant remains from the 2004 excavations at Tall-e Mushki, Tall-e Jari A and B, and Tall-e Bakun A and B', in Alizadeh, A., *The origins of state organizations in prehistoric highland Fars, southern Iran: Excavations at Tall-e Bakun*, Chicago: OIP 128, 107–18.
- Miller, N.F. and Smart, T.L. (1984), 'Intentional burning of dung as fuel: A mechanism for the incorporation of charred seeds into the archaeological record', *Journal of Ethnobiology* 4, 15–28.
- Miller, N.F. and Sumner, W.M. (2004), 'The Banesh-Kaftari interface: The view from Operation H5, Malyan', *Iran* 42, 77–89.
- Minorsky, V. (1957), 'Mongol place-names in Mukri Kurdistan (Mongolica, 4)', *BSOAS* 19/1, 58–81.
- Mionnet, T.E. (1811), *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation*, vol. 5, Paris: Imprimerie de Testu.
- . (1837), *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation, Supplément*, vol. 8, Paris: Debure frères.
- Miri, N. (2012), *Sasanian Pārs: Historical geography and administrative organization*, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- Miroschedji, P. de (1973), 'Vases et objets en stéatite susiens du Musée du Louvre', *CDAFI* 3, 9–79.
- . (1978), 'Stratigraphie de la période néo-élamite à Suse', *Paléorient* 4, 213–27.
- . (1981a), 'Le dieu élamite au serpent et aux eaux jaillissantes', *IrAnt* 16, 1–25.
- . (1981b), 'Fouilles du chantier Ville Royale II à Suse (1975–1977). I. Niveaux élamites', *CDAFI* 12, 9–136.
- . (1981c), 'Observations dans les couches néo-élamites au nord-ouest du tell de la Ville Royale à Suse', *CDAFI* 12, 143–67.
- . (1982), 'Notes sur la glyptique de la fin de l'Élam', *RA* 76, 51–63.
- . (1985), 'La fin du royaume de l'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'empire perse', *ZA* 75, 265–306.
- . (1986), 'La localisation de Madaktu et l'organisation politique de l'Élam à l'époque Neo-Élamite', *FHE*, 209–25.
- . (1987), 'Fouilles du chantier Ville Royale II à Suse (1975–1977) II. Niveaux d'époques achéménide, parthe et islamique', *CDAFI* 15, 11–143.
- . (1990), 'La fin de l'Élam: Essai d'analyse et d'interprétation', *IrAnt* 25, 47–95.
- . (2003), 'Susa and the highlands: Major trends in the history of Elamite civilization', *YBYN*, 16–38.
- Mitsuma, Y. (2007), 'The general in charge of the four strategiai?', *NABU* 2007, 9.
- . (2009), *Royal officials in the city of Babylon in the Seleucid and Arsacid periods: A study of "diaries"*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo, unpublished PhD dissertation.
- Mittag, P.F. (2006), *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes. Eine politische Biographie*, Berlin: Klio Beiheft NF 11.
- Modarres, R. and Sarhadi, A. (2010), 'Statistically-based regionalization of rainfall climates of Iran', *Global and Planetary Change* 75, 67–75.
- Modi, J.J. (1889), 'The River Karun', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 17, 1–22.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, B. (2003–4), 'Archäologische Untersuchungen in Haft Tappeh (Iran)', *AMIT* 35–6, 225–39.
- . (2005), 'Eine Steininschrift des Amarsuena aus Tappeh Bormi (Iran)', *ZA* 95, 161–71.
- . (2007), *Archäologische Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Čoğā Zanbil*, Münster: Agenda Verlag.
- . (2009), *Aspekte der Herrschaft und der Herrscherdarstellungen in Elam im 2. Jt. v. Chr.*, Münster: AOAT 356.
- . (2010), 'Archäologische Untersuchungen in Horriyeh und Dehno, Khuzestan (Iran)', *IrAnt* 45, 259–76.
- . (2011a), 'Die Glyptik aus Haft Tappeh: Interkulturelle Aspekte zur Herstellung und Benutzung von Siegeln der Anfangsphase der mittelelamischen Zeit', *Elamica* 1, 1–355.
- . (2011b), 'The grave of a *puhu-teppu* from Haft Tappeh', *Akkadica* 132, 151–161.

- . (2012a), 'Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2008–2010 in Haft Tappeh (Iran)', *Elamica* 2, 55–115.
- . (2012b), 'Arbeitszimmer eines Schreibers aus der mittelelamischen Zeit', in Wilhelm, G., ed., *Organization, representation, and symbols of power in the ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 747–56.
- . (2012c), 'The spatial order in the tomb buildings of the Middle Elamite period', in Pfälzner, P., Niehr, H., Pernicka, E. and Wissing, A. eds., *(Re-)Constructing funerary rituals in the ancient Near East: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School 'Symbols of the Dead' in May 2009*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 261–70.
- . (2013), 'Some chronological aspects of the building structures at Haft Tappeh', *SE*, 161–72.
- . (2014a), 'Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2012–2013 in Haft Tappeh (Iran)', *Elamica* 4, 67–168.
- . (2014b), 'Qualitative Veränderungen in der serienmäßigen Herstellung des Knopfbeckers in der Spätbronzezeit Elams', in Luciani, M. and Hausleiter, A., eds., *Recent trends in the study of Late Bronze Age ceramics in Syro-Mesopotamia and neighbouring regions: Proceedings of the International Workshop in Berlin, 2–5 November 2006*, Rahden: Orient-Archäologie 32, 385–97.
- . (2015), 'Bibliography of Elamite studies', <http://www.staff.uni-mainz.de/mofidi/ELAMICA/bibliography.html>.
- Mofidi-Nasrabadi, B., Prechel, D. and Vahidzadeh, R. (2010), *Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2005–2007 in Haft Tappeh (Iran)*, Münster: Agenda Verlag.
- Moghaddam, A. (2012a), *Later Village period settlement development in the foothills of the Karun River Basin, Upper Khuzestan Plains, Greater Susiana*, Oxford: Archaeopress.
- . (2012b), 'A note on the Gargar irrigation system', *Iranian Journal of Archaeological Studies* 2/2, 37–49.
- . (2013), 'The Later Village (Chalcolithic) period in Khuzestan', *OHAI*, 105–19.
- Moghaddam, A. and Miri, N. (2003), 'Archaeological research in the Mianab Plain of lowland Susiana, south-western Iran', *Iran* 41, 99–137.
- . (2007), 'Archaeological surveys in the Eastern Corridor, southwestern Iran', *Iran* 44, 23–55.
- Mohaseb, F.A. and Mashkour, M. (2012), 'Animal exploitation during the Middle Elamite period based on the faunal remains of Haft Tappeh (Khuzestan-Iran)', *Elamica* 2, 33–54.
- Mohebbi, P. (1996), *Techniques et ressources en Iran du 7e au 19e siècle*, Tehran: Institut Français de Recherche en Iran.
- Mokhtarian, J.S. (2010), 'Rabbinic depictions of the Achaemenid King Cyrus the Great: The Babylonian Esther Midrash (bMeg. 10b–17a) in its Iranian context', in Bakhos, C. and Shayegan, M.R., eds., *The Talmud in its Iranian context*, Tübingen: Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 135, 112–39.
- Momenzadeh, M. (2004), 'Metallic mineral resources of Iran, mined in ancient times: A brief review', in Stöllner, T., Slotta, R. and Vatandoust, A., eds., *Persiens antike Pracht: Bergbau, Handwerk, Archäologie*, Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, 8–21.
- Momigliano, A. (1975), *Alien wisdom: The limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Monsieur, P., Boucharlat, R. and Haerincq, E. (2011), 'Amphores grecques timbrées découvertes à Suse (SO-Iran)', *IrAnt* 46, 161–92.
- Montagne, C. and Grillot-Susini, F. (1996), 'Les inscriptions royales de Suse, Musée du Louvre (R.M.N., Paris, 1995), par Florence Malbran-Labat', *NABU* 1996, 33.
- Moorey, P.R.S. (1982), 'Archaeology and pre-Achaemenid metalworking in Iran: A fifteen year retrospective', *Iran* 20, 81–101.
- Moortgat, A. (1969), *The art of ancient Mesopotamia*, London and New York: Phaidon.
- Moqaddam, A. (2009), 'Ancient geometry and "Proto-Iranian" scripts: South Konar Sandal mound inscriptions, Jiroft', in Allison, C., Joisten-Pruschke, A. and Wendtland, A., eds., *From Daēnā to Dīn: Religion, Kultur und Sprache in der iranischen Welt. Festschrift für Philip Kreyenbroek zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 53–103.

- Mordtmann, A.D. (1874), 'Zur vergleichenden Geographie Persiens', *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* 1874/1, 231–62.
- . (1880), 'Weitere Beiträge zur Kenntniss der persepolitischen Münzen', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 7, 40–53.
- Morgan, J. de (1905), *Histoire et travaux de la Mission en Perse du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1897–1905*, Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Morgan, J. de, Jéquier, G. and Lampre, G. (1900), *Recherches archéologiques, première série, fouilles à Suse en 1897–1898 et 1898–1899*, Paris: MDP 1.
- Morgan, J. de, Jéquier, G., de Mecquenem, R., Haussoullier, B. and Graadt van Roggen, D.L. (1905), *Recherches archéologiques, deuxième série*, Paris: MDP 7.
- Morgan, J. de and Scheil, V. (1893), 'Les deux stèles de Zohâb', *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 14, 100–6.
- Moriggi, M. (2011), 'An Aramaic inscription in the Ḥong-e Yār-'Alīwand rock relief (Elymais)', *Parthica* 13, 107–9.
- Mørkholm, O. (1965), 'A Greek coin hoard from Susiana', *Acta Archaeologica* 36, 127–56.
- . (1966), *Antiochus IV of Syria*, Copenhagen: Classica et Mediaevalia Dissertationes 8.
- Morony, M.G. (2013), 'The Islamic conquest of Sasanian Iran', *OHAI*, 975–86.
- Mosig-Walburg, K. (1982), *Die frühen sasani-dischen Könige als Vertreter und Förderer der zarthustrischen Religion*, Frankfurt and Bern: Peter Lang.
- Moukarzel, K. (2014), 'Some observations about "foreigners" in Babylonia during the VI century BCE', in Geller, M.J., ed., *Melammu: The ancient world in an age of globalization*, Berlin: Edition Open Access, 129–55.
- Mousavi, A. (1990), 'Tépé Horreeye, le bit akitu de Tchogha Zanbil?', *MJP*, 143–5.
- . (1996), 'Early archaeological adventures and methodological problems in Iranian archaeology: the evidence from Susa', *IrAnt* 31, 1–16.
- . (2012), *Persepolis: Discovery and afterlife of a world wonder*, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- . (2013), 'The history of archaeological research in Iran: A brief survey', *OHAI*, 3–16.
- Muir, E. (1991), 'Introduction: Observing trifles', in Muir, E. and Ruggiero, G., eds., *Microhistory and the lost peoples of Europe: Selections from Quaderni Storici*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins, vii–xxviii.
- Müller, B. (1994), ed., Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre et les Annales d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, *Correspondance, Tome Premier 1928–1933*, Paris: Fayard.
- Müller, G.G.W. (1994), *Studien zur Siedlungsgeographie und Bevölkerung des mittleren Osttigrisgebietes*, Heidelberg: HSAO 7.
- Nadali, D. (2005), 'The representation of foreign soldiers and their employment in the Assyrian army', in van Soldt, W.H., ed., *Ethnicity in ancient Mesopotamia: Papers read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1–4 July 2002*, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 222–44.
- . (2007), 'Ashurbanipal against Elam: Figurative patterns and architectural location of the Elamite wars', *Historiae* 4, 57–91.
- . (2008), 'La stele di Daduša come documento storico dell'età paleobabilonese. Immagini e iscrizione a confronto', *Vicino Oriente* 14, 129–46.
- Nash, M. (1989), *The cauldron of ethnicity in the modern world*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Nasiri-Moghaddam, N. (2004), *L'archéologie française en Perse et les antiquités nationales (1884–1914)*, Paris: Éditions Connaissances et Savoirs.
- Nassouhi, E. (1924), 'La stèle de Sargon l'ancien', *RA* 21, 65–74.
- . (1924–5), 'Prisme d'Assurbânipal daté de sa trentième année, provenant du temple de Gula à Babylone', *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* 2, 97–106.
- Naster, P. (1989), 'L'or et l'argent dans les textes élamites des tablettes comptables de Persépolis', *Sacris Erudiri* 31, 323–36.
- Neely, J.A. (1974), 'Sassanian and early Islamic water-control and irrigation systems on the Deh Luran plain, Iran', in Downing, T.E. and Gibson, McG., eds., *Irrigation's impact on society*, Tucson: Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona 25, 21–42.
- Neely, J.A. and Wright, H.T. (1994), *Early settlement and irrigation on the Deh Luran plain: Village and early state societies in southwestern Iran*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Technical Report 26.

- Negahban, E.O. (1984), 'Haft Tepe roundels: An example of Middle Elamite art', *AJA* 88, 3–10.
- . (1990), 'The Haft Tepe bronze plaque: An example of Middle Elamite art', *MJP*, 137–42.
- . (1991), *Excavations at Haft Tepe, Iran*, Philadelphia: University Museum Monograph 70.
- . (1994), 'The artist's workshop of Haft Tepe', *CDR*, 31–41.
- Neubauer, A. (1868), *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.
- Neumann, G. (2012), 'Siegel für Jedermann: Neue Erkenntnisse zur sog. Série Élamite Populaire und zur magischen Bedeutung von Siegelsteinen', in Wilhelm, G., ed., *Organization, representation, and symbols of power in the ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg, 20–25 July 2008*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 757–69.
- . (2013), 'Elams Kulturkontakte mit seiner Nachbarn im Spiegel der Glyptik des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.', *SE*, 83–128.
- Neumann, H. (1992), 'Bemerkungen zum Problem der Fremdarbeit in Mesopotamien (3. Jahrtausend v.u.Z.)', *AoF* 19, 266–75.
- Newell, E.T. (1938), *The coinage of the eastern Seleucid mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, New York: Numismatic Studies 1.
- Nezafati, N. (2006), *Au-Sn-W-Cu mineralization in the Astenah-Sarband area, west central Iran, including a comparison of the ores with ancient bronze artifacts from Western Asia*, Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls University, unpublished PhD dissertation.
- Nezafati, N., Pernicka, E. and Momenzadeh, M. (2006), 'Ancient tin: Old question and new answer', *Antiquity* 80/308 Project Gallery.
- . (2009), 'Introduction of the Deh Hosein ancient tin-copper mine, western Iran: Evidence from geology, archaeology, geochemistry and lead isotope data', *TÜBA-AR* 12, 223–36.
- Nicholas, I.M. (1990), *The Proto-Elamite settlement at TUV*, Philadelphia: University Museum Monograph 69 [= Malyan Excavation Reports 1].
- Nickerson, J. (1977), 'Malyan wall paintings', *Expedition* 19, 2–6.
- . (1991), 'Investigating intrasite variability at Tal-e Malyan (Anshan), Iran', *IrAnt* 26, 1–38.
- Nicol, M. (1970), 'Excavations at Darvazeh Tepe: A preliminary report', *Bastan chenassi va honar-e Iran* 5, 19–22.
- . (1971), 'Darvazeh Tepe', *Iran* 9, 168–9.
- Niebel, V. (2012), 'Möglichkeiten und Probleme der ¹⁴C-Datierung am Beispiel der Proben aus Haft Tappeh (Iran)', *Elamica* 2, 161–8.
- Nielsen, J.P. (2012), 'Nebuchadnezzar I's eastern front', in Galil, G., Gilboa, A., Maeir, A.M., and Kahn, D., eds., *The ancient Near East in the 12th–10th centuries BCE*, Münster: AOAT 392, 413–24.
- Nissen, H.J. (1972), 'The city wall of Uruk', in Ucko, P.J., Tringham, R. and Dimbleby, G. W., eds., *Man, settlement and urbanism*, London: Duckworth, 794–8.
- . (1985a), 'Problems of the Uruk-period in Susiana, viewed from Uruk', *Paléorient* 11, 39–40.
- . (1985b), 'The emergence of writing in the ancient Near East', *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 10, 349–61.
- . (1986), 'The development of writing and glyptic art', in Finkbeiner, U. and Röllig, W., eds., *Ĝamdat Našr: Period or regional style?*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 62, 316–31.
- . (1993), 'The Early Uruk period – a sketch', in Frangipane, M., Hauptmann, H., Liverani, M., Matthiae, P., and Mellink, M., eds., *Between the rivers and over the mountains: Archaeologica anatolica et mesopotamica Alba Palmieri dedicata*, Rome: University of Rome 'La Sapienza', 123–31.
- . (2001), 'Cultural and political networks in the ancient Near East during the fourth and third millennia BC', in Rothman, M., ed., *Uruk Mesopotamia and its neighbors: Cross-cultural interactions in the era of state formation*, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press and Oxford: James Currey, 149–79.
- Nissen, H.J., Damerow, P., and Englund, R.K. (1990), *Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient*, Bad Oldesloe: Franzbecker.
- Nodelman, S.A. (1960), 'A preliminary history of Characene', *Berytus* 13, 83–122.
- Nöldeke, T. (1874), 'Griechische Namen Susiana's', *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, und der Georg-August Universität zu Göttingen* 8, 173–97.
- . (1879), *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, Leiden: Brill.

- . (1893), 'Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik', *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Cl.* 128, 1–48.
- Noruzi, A. (2003), 'A newly found Elamite site beyond the determined Elamite borders', *Nāme-ye Pažuhešgāh-e Mirās-e Farhangi* 1/3, 12.
- Novotny, J. and Watanabe, C.E. (2008), 'After the fall of Babylon: A new look at the presentation scene on Assurbanipal relief BM ME 124945–6', *Iraq* 70, 105–125.
- Nunn, A. (1988), *Die Wandmalerei und der glasierte Wandschmuck im alten Orient*, Leiden and Cologne: HdO 7/1/2/6.
- Nylander, C. (1967), 'Who wrote the inscriptions at Pasargadae?', *Orientalia Suecana* 16, 135–80.
- . (1970), *Ionians in Pasargadae: Studies in Old Persian architecture*, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 1.
- . (1974), 'Anatolians in Susa – and Persepolis (?)', *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg III, Hommages et Opera Minora*, Leiden: AcIr 6, 317–23.
- . (1999), 'Breaking the cup of kingship: An Elamite coup in Nineveh?', *IrAnt* 34, 71–83.
- Oates, D. and Oates, J. (1994), 'Tell Brak: A stratigraphic summary, 1976–1993', *Iraq* 56, 167–76.
- Oates, J. (1991), 'The fall of Assyria (635–609 BC)', *CAH* 3/2, 162–93.
- . (1993), 'Trade and power in the fifth and fourth millennia BC: New evidence from northern Mesopotamia', *World Archaeology* 24, 403–22.
- Oates, J. and Oates, D. (2002), 'The reattribution of Middle Uruk materials at Brak', in Ehrenberg, E., ed., *Leaving no stones unturned: Essays on the ancient Near East and Egypt in honor of Donald P. Hansen*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 145–54.
- Obermeyer, J. (1929), *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats: Geographie und Geschichte nach talmudischen, arabischen und anderen Quellen*, Frankfurt: Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums 30.
- Oded, B. (1979), *Mass deportations and deportees in the Neo-Assyrian empire*, Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.
- Oelsner, J. (1964), 'Ein Beitrag zur keilschriftlichen Königstitulaturen in hellenistischer Zeit', *ZA* 56, 262–74.
- Oers, L. (2010), 'A round peg in a square hole? The *sikkatu* in Old Babylonian Susa', *Akkadica* 131, 121–43.
- . (2013), 'To invest in harvest: Field leases in Old Babylonian Susa', *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 19, 155–69.
- Olbrycht, M.J. (2013), 'Iranians in the Diadochi period', in Troncoso, V.A. and Anson, E.M. eds., *After Alexander: The time of the Diadochi (323–281 BC)*, Oxford and Oakville, CT: Oxbow, 159–82.
- Olmstead, A.T. (1923), *History of Assyria*, Chicago and London: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
- . (1937), 'Cuneiform texts and Hellenistic chronology', *Classical Philology* 32, 1–14.
- Olshausen, J. (1877), 'Parthava und Pahlav, Mâda und Mâh. Ein Votum', *Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin* 1876, 3–61.
- Oppenheim, A.L. (1935), 'Studien zu den altbabylonischen Stadtrechten', *Or* 4, 145–74.
- . (1936), 'Der Eid in den Rechtsurkunden aus Susa. (Vortrag, gehalten am XIX. Internationalen Orientalistenkongreß; Rom, September 1935)', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 43, 242–62.
- . (1964), *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a dead civilization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Oppenheimer, A. (1983), *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic period*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 47.
- Östör, A. (1993), *Vessels of time: An essay on temporal change and social transformation*, Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Oudbashi, O. and Mohammadamin Emami, S. (2010), 'A note on the corrosion morphology of some Middle Elamite copper alloy artefacts from Haft Tappeh, south-west Iran', *Studies in Conservation* 55, 20–5.
- Overlaet, B. (1993), ed., *Hofkunst van de Sassaniden*, Brussels: Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis.
- . (1997), 'A report on the 1952 and 1954/55 soundings at Tall-i Taimuran (Fars), Iran: A file-excavation at the Royal Museums of Art and History, Brussels', *IrAnt* 32, 1–51.
- . (2013), 'Luristan during the Iron Age', *OHAI*, 377–91.
- Pallis, S.A. (1954), 'Early exploration in Mesopotamia', *Det Kongelige Danske*

- Videnskabelnes Selskab, hist.-fil. Meddelelser* 33, 1–58.
- Paper, H. (1954), 'Note préliminaire sur la date des trois tablettes élamites de Suse', in Ghirshman, R., *Village perse-achéménide*, Paris: MDP 36, 79–82.
- Parpola, S. (1972), 'A letter from Šamaš-šumukin to Esarhaddon', *Iraq* 34, 21–34.
- . (1980), 'The murderer of Sennacherib', in Alster, B., ed., *Death in Mesopotamia*, Copenhagen: Mesopotamia 8, 171–82.
- Parpola, S. and Porter, M. (2001), *The Helsinki atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian period*, Casco Bay: Casco Bay Assyriological Institute and Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.
- Paulus, S. (2013), 'Beziehungen zweier Großmächte – Elam und Babylonien in der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v. Chr.: Ein Beitrag zur internen Chronologie', *SE*, 429–49.
- Payne, S. (1991), 'Early Holocene equids from Tall-i-Mushki (Iran) and Can Hassan III (Turkey)', in Meadow, R.H. and Uerpmann, H.-P., eds., *Equids in the ancient world*, vol. 2, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beihefte A 19/2, 132–77.
- Pédech, P. (1958), 'Deux campagnes d'Antiochus III chez Polybe', *Revue des études anciennes* 60, 67–81.
- Pedersén, O. (2005), 'Foreign professionals in Babylon: Evidence from the archive in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar II', in van Soldt, W.H., Kalvelagen, R. and Katz, D., eds., *Ethnicity in ancient Mesopotamia*, Leiden: Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 102, 267–72.
- Peeters, P. (1924), 'S. Démétrianus, évêque d'Antioche?', *Analecta Bollandiana* 42, 288–314.
- Perrot, J. (1971), 'Recherches archéologiques à Suse et en Susiane en 1969 et en 1970', *Syria* 48, 21–51.
- . (1981), 'L'architecture militaire et palatiale des Achéménides à Suse', in *150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 1829–1979*, Mainz: von Zabern, 79–94.
- . (1985), 'Suse à la période achéménide', *Paléorient* 11, 67–9.
- . (2010), *Le palais de Darius à Suse: Une résidence royale sur la route de Persépolis à Babylone*, Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne.
- . (2013), *The palace of Darius at Susa: The great royal residence of Achaemenid Persia*, London: I.B. Tauris.
- Perrot, J. and Madjidzadeh, Y. (2005), 'L'iconographie des vases et objets en chlorite de Jiroft (Iran)', *Paléorient* 31, 123–52.
- Petit, T. (1990), *Satrapes et satrapies dans l'empire achéménide de Cyrus le Grand à Xerxès I^{er}*, Paris: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 254.
- Pétrequin, G. (1990), 'Les vases *k/guna(n)gi* et la chronologie élamite', *NABU* 1990, 16.
- Petrie, C.A. (2013a), 'The Chalcolithic in southern Iran', *OHAI*, 120–58.
- . (2013b), 'Mamasani in the fourth millennium BC', *AIN*, 171–94.
- Petrie, C.A., Asgari Chaverdi, A., and Seyedin, M. (2005), 'From Anshan to Dilmun and Magan: The spatial and temporal distribution of Kaftari and Kaftari-related ceramic vessels', *Iran* 43, 49–86.
- Petrie, C.A., Sardari Zarchi, A., Alamdari, K. and Javanmard Zadeh, A. (2007), 'Developing societies and economies in 4th millennium BC Fars: Further excavations at Tol-e Spid', *Iran* 45, 301–9.
- Pettinato, G. (1982), 'Il tesoro del nemico Elamita ovvero il bottino della guerra contro Anšan di Šulgi', *OrAnt* 20, 49–72.
- Peyronel, L. (2007), 'Chronological aspects of cultural interrelations between Syria and the Persian Gulf during the late third and second millennium BC', in Matthiae, P., Pinnock, F., Nigro, L. and Peyronel, L., eds., *Proceedings of the International Colloquium From relative chronology to absolute chronology: The second millennium BC in Syria-Palestine (Rome, 29th November–1st December 2001)*, Rome: Contributi dell'Centro Linceo Interdisciplinare 'Beniamino Segre' 117, 425–55.
- . (2013), 'Elam and Eshnunna: Historical and archaeological interrelations during the Old Babylonian period', *SE*, 51–70.
- Pézard, M. (1914), *Mission à Bender-Bouchir: Documents archéologiques et épigraphiques*, Paris: MDP 15.
- Pézard, M. and Pottier, E. (1926), *Catalogue des antiquités de la Susiane (Mission J. de Morgan)*, Paris: Musées Nationaux.
- Piacentini, V.F. (1984), 'La presa di potere sassanide sul Golfo Persico tra leggenda e realtà', *Clio* 20, 173–210.

- . (1985), 'Ardashir i Papakan and the wars against the Arabs: Working hypothesis on the Sasanian hold of the Gulf', *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 15, 57–77.
- Pickett, T.H. (1996), *Inventing nations: Justifications of authority in the modern world*, Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Piepkorn, A.C. (1933), *Historical prism inscriptions of Ashurbanipal I: Editions E, B₁₋₅, D, and K*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pigott, V.C. (1984), 'Ahan', *Enl* 1, 624–33.
- . (2011), 'Sources of tin and the tin trade in Southwest Asia: Recent research and its relevance to current understanding', in Betancourt, P.B. and Ferrence, S.C., eds., *Metallurgy: Understanding how, learning why: Studies in honor of James D. Muhly*, Philadelphia: Prehistory Monographs 29, 273–91.
- Pigott, V.C., Rogers, H.C. and Nash, S.K. (2003), 'Archaeometallurgical investigations at Malyan: The evidence for tin-bronze in the Kaftari phase', *YBYN*, 160–75.
- Pillet, M.L. (1914), *Le palais de Darius 1er à Suse*, Paris: Geuthner.
- Pinches, T.G. (1890), 'A Babylonian tablet dated in the reign of Aspasine', *Babylonian and Oriental Record* 4, 131–5.
- Pintore, F. (1978), *Il matrimonio interdinastico nel Vicino Oriente durante i secoli XV–XIII*, Rome: *Orientis Antiqui Collectio* 14.
- Pittman, H. (1994), *The glazed steatite glyptic style: The structure and function of an image system in the administration of protoliterate Mesopotamia*, Berlin: BBVO 16.
- . (2002), 'The "jeweler's" seal from Susa and art of Awan', in Ehrenberg, E., ed., *Leaving no stones unturned: Essays on the ancient Near East and Egypt in honor of Donald P. Hansen*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 211–35.
- . (2003), 'Reconsidering the *Trouvaille de la statuette d'or*: Late Sukkalmah Period at Susa', *YBYN*, 176–191.
- . (2013), 'Imagery in administrative context: Susiana and the west in the fourth millennium BC', *AIN*, 293–336.
- Pohanka, R. (1986), *Burgen und Heiligtümer in Laristan, Südiran: Ein Surveybericht*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte 466.
- Pollock, S. (1989), 'Power politics in the Susa A period', in Henrickson, E.F. and Thuesen, I., eds., *Upon this foundation – the 'Ubaid reconsidered*, Copenhagen: CNIP 10, 281–92.
- Pollock, S., Bernbeck, R. and Abdi, K. (2010), *The 2003 excavations at Tol-e Baši, Iran: Social life in a Neolithic village*, Mainz: AIT 10.
- Pomponio, F. and Visicato, G. (1994), *Early dynastic administrative texts from Šuruppak*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
- Pons, N. (1994), 'Tchoga Zanbil après Untas-Napirisa', *CDR*, 43–51.
- Porada, E. (1965), *The art of ancient Iran*, New York: Crown.
- . (1970), *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) Vol. IV: La Glyptique*, Paris: MDP 42.
- . (1971), 'Aspects of Elamite art and archaeology', *Expedition* 13/3–4, 28–34.
- . (1990), 'More seals of the time of the Sukkalmah', *RA* 84, 171–7.
- Porter, B.N. (1993), *Images, power, politics: Figurative aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian policy*, Philadelphia: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 208.
- Porter, Y. and Vesel, C.E. (1993), 'La joaillerie et la peinture: Approvisionnement en pierres et en pigments dans l'Iran médiéval', in Gyselen, R., ed., *Circulation des monnaies, des marchandises et des biens*, Bures-sur-Yvette: Res Orientales v, 141–57.
- Postgate, J.N. (1993), 'The four "Neo-Assyrian" tablets from Šēh Ḥamad', *SAAB* 7, 109–24.
- Postgate, J.N. and Mattila, R.A. (2004), 'Il-Yada' and Sargon's southeast frontier', in Frame, G., ed., *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the history of Assyria and Babylonia in honour of A.K. Grayson*, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 235–54.
- Potter, D.S. (1996), 'Hierodouloi', *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³, 705.
- Pottier, E. (1902), 'Sur un vase grec trouvé à Suse par la mission de J. de Morgan', *CRAIBL* 46/4, 428–38.
- . (1903), 'L'auteur du vase grec trouvé à Suse: Note complémentaire', *CRAIBL* 47/3, 216–19.
- . (1909), 'Vases grecs trouvés en Perse', in *Florilegium: Ou Recueil de travaux d'érudition dédiés à Monsieur le marquis Melchior de Vogüé à l'occasion du quatre-vingtième anniversaire de sa naissance, 18 Octobre 1909*, Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 505–10.
- Potts, D.T. (1986), 'The booty of Magan', *OrAnt* 25, 271–85.

- . (1988), 'Arabia and the kingdom of Characene', in Potts, D.T., ed., *Araby the blest: Studies in Arabian archaeology*, Copenhagen: CNIP 7, 137–67.
- . (1989), 'Gundešapur and the *Gondeisos*', *IrAnt* 24, 323–35.
- . (1990a), 'Notes on some horned buildings in Iran, Mesopotamia and Iran', *RA* 84, 33–40.
- . (1990b), *The Arabian Gulf in antiquity*, 2 vols., Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . (1991), 'A note on rice cultivation in Mesopotamia and Susiana', *NABU* 1991, 2.
- . (1993), 'Occidental and oriental elements in the religions of Babylonia and Iran during the third and second centuries BC', *Topoi* 3, 345–54.
- . (1996), 'The Parthian presence in the Arabian Gulf', in Reade, J.E., ed., *The Indian Ocean in antiquity*, London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 269–85.
- . (1997a), *Mesopotamian civilization: The material foundations*, London: Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Near Eastern Archaeology.
- . (1997b), 'The Roman relationship with the Persicus sinus from the rise of Spasinou Charax (127 BC) to the reign of Shapur II (AD 309–379)', in Alcock, S., ed., *The early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford: Oxbow Monographs 95, 89–107.
- . (1999a), 'Madaktu and Badace', *Isimu* 2, 13–28.
- . (1999b; app. 2002), 'Elamite Ulā, Akkadian Ūlāya, and Greek Choaspes: A solution to the Eulaios problem', *BAI* 13, 27–44.
- . (2001), 'Nana in Bactria', *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7, 23–35.
- . (2002a), 'Five episodes in the history of Elymais, 145–124 B.C.: New data from the astronomical diaries', in Hourcade, B. and Huyse, P., eds., *Actes de la 4e Conférence Européenne d'Études Iraniennes*, vol. 1, Paris: CNRS, 343–56.
- . (2002b), 'Total prestation in Marhashi-Ur relations', *IrAnt* 37, 343–57.
- . (2003), 'Anshan, Liyan and Magan c. 2000 B.C.', *YBYN*, 156–9.
- . (2004a), 'Exit Aratta: Southeastern Iran and the land of Marhashi', *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 4/1, 1–11.
- . (2004b), 'The numinous and the immanent: Some thoughts on Kurangun and the Rudkhaneh-e Fahliyan', in von Folsach, K., Thrane, H. and Thuesen, I., eds., *From handaxe to Khan: Essays presented to Peder Mortensen on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 143–56.
- . (2004c), 'The Uruk explosion: More heat than light?', *The Review of Archaeology* 25/2, 19–28.
- . (2005a), 'Cyrus the Great and the Kingdom of Anshan', in Curtis, V.S. and Stewart, S., eds., *Birth of the Persian empire*, London: I.B. Tauris, 7–28.
- . (2005b), 'Neo-Elamite problems', *IrAnt* 40, 165–77.
- . (2006), 'Elamites and Kassites in the Persian Gulf', *JNES* 65, 111–19.
- . (2007), 'Once more on "the general who is above the four generals" and his congeners', *NABU* 2007, 51.
- . (2008), 'Puzur-Inšušinak and the Oxus civilization (BMAC): Reflections on the geopolitical landscape of Iran and Central Asia in the Ur III period', *ZA* 98, 165–94.
- . (2009a), 'Uartian and Assyrian echoes at Saruq al-Hadid (Emirate of Dubai)', *Liwa* 1/2, 3–9.
- . (2009b), 'The Persepolis fortification texts (PFTs) and the Royal Road: Another look at the Fahliyan area', *AFP*, 275–300.
- . (2010a), 'Adamšah, Kimaš and the miners of Lagaš', in Baker, H.D., Robson, E. and Zólyomi, G., eds., *Your praise is sweet: A memorial volume for Jeremy Black from students, colleagues and friends*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, 245–54.
- . (2010b), 'Elamite temple building', in Boda, M.J. and Novotny, J.R., eds., *From the foundations to the crenellations: Essays on temple building in the ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible*, Münster: AOAT 366, 49–70 and 479–509.
- . (2010c), 'Monarchy, factionalism and warlordism: Reflections on Neo-Elamite courts', in Jacobs, B. and Rollinger, R., eds., *Der Achämenidenhof/ The Achaemenid court*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 107–37.
- . (2011a), 'A note on the limits of Anšan', *EP*, 35–43.
- . (2011b), 'Equus asinus in highland Iran: Evidence old and new', in Conard, N., Drechsler, P. and Morales, A., eds., *Between*

- sand and sea: *The archaeology and human ecology of southwestern Asia*, Tübingen: Kerns Verlag, 167–76.
- . (2011c), ‘The *abuttu* and the alleged Elamite “slave hairstyle”’, in Vacín, L., ed., **u₄ du₁₁-ga-ni sá mu-ni-ib-du₁₁**: *Ancient Near Eastern studies in memory of Blahoslav Hruška*, Dresden: ISLET-Verlag, 183–94.
- . (2011d), ‘Nomadismus in Iran von der Frühzeit bis in die Moderne – Eine Untersuchung sowohl aus archäologischer als auch historischer Sicht’, *Eurasia Antiqua* 16, 1–18.
- . (2012), ‘The Elamites’, in Daryaei, T. and Marashi, A., eds., *The Oxford handbook of Iranian studies*, New York: Oxford University Press, 37–56.
- . (2013a), ‘In the shadow of Kurangun: Cultural developments in the highlands between Khuzestan and Anšan’, *SE*, 129–37.
- . (2013b), ‘Luristan in the Bronze Age’, *OHAI*, 203–16.
- . (2014a), *Nomadism in Iran: From antiquity to the modern era*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- . (2014b), ‘Elamite monumentality and architectural scale: Lessons from Susa and Choga Zanbil’, in Osborne, J., ed., *Approaching monumentality in the archaeological record*, Buffalo: State University of New York Press, 23–38.
- . (in press a), ‘The maneless Asiatic lion (*Panthera leo persica*) of southwestern Iran’, in Abdi, K., ed., *Shapur Shahbazi Memorial Volume*.
- . (in press b), ‘Balanophagy in Iran: Ancient and modern’, *International Journal of the Society of Iranian Archaeologists*.
- Potts, D.T., Parpola, A., Parpola, S. and Tidmarsh, J. (1996), ‘Guhlu and Guggulu’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 86, 291–305.
- Potts, D.T. et al. (2007), ‘The Mamasani archaeological project, Stage Two: Excavations at Qaleh Kali (Tappeh Servan/Jinjun [MS 46])’, *Iran* 45, 287–300.
- . (2009a), ‘Further excavations at Qaleh Kali (MS 46) by the Joint ICAR–University of Sydney Mamasani expedition: Results of the 2008 season’, *Iran* 44, 207–82.
- . (2009b), *The Mamasani archaeological project Stage One: A report on the first two seasons of the ICAR–University of Sydney expedition to the Mamasani district, Fars Province, Iran*, Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Potts, T.F. (1989), ‘Foreign stone vessels of the late third millennium BC from southern Mesopotamia: Their origins and mechanisms of exchange’, *Iraq* 51, 123–64.
- Powell, M.A. (1981), ‘Three problems in the history of cuneiform writing: Origins, direction of script, literacy’, *Visible Language* 15, 419–40.
- . (1982), ‘Merodach-Baladan at Dur-Jakin: A note on the defense of Babylonian cities’, *JCS* 34, 59–61.
- . (1985), ‘Salt, seed and yields in Sumerian agriculture: A critique of the theory of progressive salinization’, *ZA* 75, 7–38.
- Prášek, J.D. (1913), ‘Kambyses’, *AO* 14/2, 3–31.
- Prechel, D. (2010), ‘Die Tontafeln aus Haft Tappeh 2005–2007’, in Mofidi-Nasrabadi, B., Niehr, H. and Prechel, D., *Vorbericht der archäologischen Ausgrabungen der Kampagnen 2005–2007 in Haft Tappeh (Iran)*, Münster: Agenda Verlag, 51–7.
- Pritchard, J.B. (1969³), *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Prokesch-Osten, M. le Comte (1874–5), *Les monnaies des rois parthes*, Paris: Société Française de Numismatique.
- Pullar, J. (1990), *Tepe Abdul Hosein: A Neolithic site in western Iran, excavations 1978*, Oxford: BAR International Series 563.
- Purinton, N. and Watters, M. (1991), ‘A study of the materials used by medieval Persian painters’, *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 30/2, 125–44.
- Quintana, E. (1996a), ‘ELAM = halhatamti = high land’, *NABU* 1996, 50.
- . (1996b), ‘Le sukkalmah Kuknašur’, *NABU* 1996, 86.
- . (1996c), ‘Humban-numena I, un usurpateur à la royauté en Elam’, *NABU* 1996, 106.
- . (1996d), ‘¿Trilogía de poder en Elam en el primer milenio?’, *NABU* 1996, 109.
- . (1998), ‘De nuevo sobre la dinastía elamita de Šimaški’, *NABU* 1998, 4.
- . (2008), ‘Textos elamitas de Tchoga Zambil’, *Mundo Elamita* 2008/2 (<http://www.um.es/ipoa/cuneiforme/elamita>).
- . (2009), ‘Creencias, manifestaciones religiosas y usos mágicos en el mundo elamita’, *Mundo Elamita* 2009/1 (<http://www.um.es/ipoa/cuneiforme/elamita>).

- . (2010a), 'Filiación y acceso al trono el Elam (2ª Mitad II milenio a.c.)', *RA* 104, 45–63.
- . (2010b), 'Los reyes de Elam', *Mundo Elamita* 2010/1 (<http://www.um.es/ipoa/cuneiforme/elamita>).
- Radner, K. (2013), 'Assyria and the Medes', *OHAI*, 442–56.
- Rafiei Alavi, B. (2012), 'Ein Hinweis auf die Herstellungsmethode eines Dolchtyps aus Haft Tappeh', *Elamica* 2, 169–76.
- . (2014), 'Archäologische und ikonographische Untersuchung einer "Bes-Vase" aus Haft Tappeh', *Elamica* 4, 169–92.
- Rahimi-Laridjani, F. (1988), *Die Entwicklung der Bewässerungslandwirtschaft im Iran bis in sasanidisch-frühislamische Zeit*, Wiesbaden: Beiträge zur Iranistik 13.
- Rawlinson, G. (1898), *A memoir of Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson Bart. K.C.B., F.R.S., D.C.L., F.R.G.S., &c.* New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co.
- Rawlinson, H.C. (1839), 'Notes on a march from Zoháb, at the foot of Zagros, along the mountains to Khúzistán (Susiana), and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmánsháh, in the year 1836', *JRGS* 9, 26–116.
- Razmjou, S. (2004), 'The *lan* ceremony and other ritual ceremonies in the Achaemenid period: The Persepolis Fortification Tablets', *Iran* 42, 103–17.
- . (2010), 'Persepolis: A reinterpretation of palaces and their function', *WAP*, 23–45.
- Reade, J.E. (1964), 'More drawings of Ashurbanipal sculptures', *Iraq* 26/1, 1–13.
- . (1972), 'The Neo-Assyrian court and army: Evidence from the sculptures', *Iraq* 34, 87–112.
- . (1976), 'Elam and Elamites in Assyrian sculpture', *AMI* 9, 97–105.
- . (1978), 'Kassites and Assyrians in Iran', *Iran* 16, 137–43.
- . (1983), *Assyrian sculpture*, London: The British Museum.
- . (1992a), 'An early Warka tablet', in Hrouda, B., Kroll, S. and Spanos, P.Z., eds., *Von Uruk nach Tuttul*, Munich: Profil Verlag, 177–9.
- . (1992b), 'The Elamite tablets from Nineveh', *NABU* 1992, 119.
- . (1995), 'Iran in the Neo-Assyrian period', in Liverani, M., ed., *Neo-Assyrian geography*, Rome: Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5, 31–42.
- . (2000), 'Elam after the Assyrian sack of Susa in 647 BC', *NABU* 2000, 80.
- Redding, R.W. (1981), 'The faunal remains', in Wright, H.T., *An early town on the Deh Luran plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 13, 233–61.
- Reiner, E. (1963), 'Mâlamir', *RA* 57, 169–74.
- . (1965), 'The earliest Elamite inscription?', *JNES* 24/4, 337–40.
- . (1969), *The Elamite language*, Leiden and Cologne: HdO i/ii/1/2/2, 54–118.
- . (1973a), 'The location of Anšan', *RA* 67, 57–62.
- . (1973b), 'Inscription from a royal Elamite tomb', *AfO* 24, 87–102.
- Renette, S. (2013), 'The trans-Tigridian corridor in the early third millennium BC', *SE*, 43–50.
- Rennell, J. (1800), *The geographical system of Herodotus examined and explained, by a comparison with those of other ancient authors, and with modern geography*, London: W. Bulmer.
- Rezaei, M.H. and Bargahi, H. (2015), 'Spatial analysis of Bakun period settlements in Kazeroun and Nurabad Mamasani Counties in Fars Province, southern Iran', *International Journal of Economy, Management and Social Sciences* 4/3, 330–7.
- Rezakhani, K. (2011), 'Elymais', in Nelson, B. R., ed., *Numismatic art of Persia: The Sunrise Collection, Part I: Ancient – 650 BC to AD 650*, Lancaster and London: Classical Numismatic Group, 222–31.
- . (2013), 'Arsacid, Elymaean, and Persid coinage', *OHAI*, 766–78.
- Riehl, S., Benz, M., Conard, N.J., Darabi, H., Deckers, K., Fazeli Nashli, H. and Zeidi-Kulehparcheh, M. (2011), 'Plant use in three pre-pottery Neolithic sites of the northern and eastern Fertile Crescent: A preliminary report', *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 21, 95–106.
- Riehl, S., Zeidi, M. and Conard, N. (2013), 'Emergence of agriculture in the foothills of the Zagros Mountains of Iran', *Science* 341, 65–7.
- Roaf, M. (1973), 'The diffusion of the "salles à quatre saillants"', *Iraq* 35, 83–93.
- Robert, L. (1936), 'Études d'épigraphie grecque XLIII. Sur les affranchissements de Suse', *Revue de Philologie* 10, 137–52.

- . (1963), review of Fraser, P.M., *Samothrace* Vol. 2/1. *The inscriptions on stone*, *Gnomon* 35, 50–79.
- Robinson, E.S.G. (1921), 'Aspeias satrap of Susiana', *Numismatic Chronicle* 1, 37–8.
- Rochberg-Halton, F. (1991), 'The Babylonian astronomical diaries', *JAOS* 111, 323–32.
- Roche, C. (1986), 'Les ziggurats de Tchogha Zanbil', *FHE*, 191–7.
- Roche, C. and Overlaet, B. (2006, app. 2009), 'Briques élamites du IIe millénaire av. J.-C. conservées aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire/Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis* 77, 17–72.
- Rogers, R.W. (1900), *A history of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. 1, New York: Eaton and Mains and Cincinnati: Jennings and Pye.
- Rollinger, R. (1999), 'Zur Lokalisation von Parsu(m)aš in der Fārs und zu einigen Fragen der frühen persischen Geschichte', *ZA* 89, 115–39.
- . (2005), 'Das Phantom des medischen "Großreiches" und die Behistun-Inschrift', *Electrum* 10, 11–29.
- Roosens, E.E. (1989), *Creating ethnicity: The process of ethnogenesis*, *Frontiers of Anthropology* 5, Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Root, M.C. (1979), *The king and kingship in Achaemenid art*, Leiden: AclIr 19.
- . (2003), 'The lioness of Elam', *AH* 13, 9–32.
- . (2011), 'Elam in the imperial imagination: From Nineveh to Persepolis', *EP*, 419–74.
- Ross, R. (1996), 'Henri Pirenne and the legitimisation of Belgium', in Atkinson, J.A., Banks, I. and O'Sullivan, J., eds., *Nationalism and archaeology*, Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 143–54.
- Rossi, A.V. (2000), 'L'iscrizione originaria di Bisotun: DB elam. A+L', in Graziani, S., ed., *Studi sul vicino oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor 61, 2065–107.
- . (2003), 'Archeologia, storia e filologia a Susa', in Fontana, M.V. and Genito, B., eds., *Studi in onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno*, Naples: Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici and Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Series Minor 65, 681–700.
- . (n.d.), 'Once again on DB/AE L and DB/OP iv 89–92', in Schmitt, R., Rossi, A. V., Panaino, A.C.D., Filippone, E. and Sadovski, V., eds., *Achaimenidika* 1, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Rost, S. (2011), 'Irrigation management in the Ur III period: A reconsideration based on a case study of the maintenance of the id-NINA-šè-DU canal of the province Lagaš', in G. Selz, ed., *The empirical dimension of Ancient Near Eastern studies / Die empirische Dimension altorientalischer Forschungen*, Vienna: Wiener Offene Orientalistik 6, 211–69.
- Rostovtzeff, M. (1941), *The social and economic history of the Hellenistic world*, vols. 1–3, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Rougemont, G. (2012a), *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale*, London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum II/1.
- . (2012b), 'Les inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale. Bilinguismes, interférences culturelles, colonisation', *Journal des Savants* (January–June), 3–27.
- . (2013), 'The use of Greek in pre-Sasanian Iran', *OHAI*, 795–801.
- . (2014), 'Grecs et non Grecs dans les inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale', *StIr* 43, 7–39.
- Roustaei, K., Alamdari, K. and Petrie, C.A. (2009), 'Chapter 2: Landscape and environment in Mamasani', in Potts, D.T., Roustaei, K., Petrie, C.A. and Weeks, L.R., eds., *The Mamasani archaeological project Stage One: A report on the first two seasons of the ICAR–University of Sydney expedition to the Mamasani district, Fars Province, Iran*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 17–30.
- Rova, E. (1994), *Ricerche sui sigilli a cilindro vicino-orientali del periodo da Uruk/Jemdet Nasr*, Rome: Oriens Antiqui Collectio 20.
- Rowett, C. (2013), 'On calling the gods by the right names', *Rhizomata* 1/2, 168–93.
- Rowton, M.B. (1967, app. 1969), 'Watercourses and water rights in the official correspondence from Larsa and Isin', *JCS* 21, 267–74.
- Rubio, G. (2006), 'Writing in another tongue: Alloglottography in the ancient Near East', in Sanders, S.L., ed., *Margins of writing, origins of cultures*, Chicago: Oriental Institute Seminars 2, 33–66.

- Russell, J.M. (1997), *From Nineveh to New York: The strange story of the Assyrian reliefs in the Metropolitan Museum and the hidden masterpiece at Canford School*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Rutz, M.T. (2006), 'Textual transmission between Babylonia and Susa: A new solar omen compendium', *JCS* 58, 63–96.
- Sachau, E. (1916), *Vom Christentum in der Persis*, Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse 39, 958–80.
- Sachs, A. and Hunger, H. (1988), *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia I: Diaries from 652 BC to 262 BC*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 195.
- . (1989), *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia II: Diaries from 261 BC to 165 BC*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 210.
- . (1996), *Astronomical diaries and related texts from Babylonia III: Diaries from 164 BC to 61 BC*, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 247.
- Sachs, A. and Wiseman, D.J. (1954), 'A Babylonian king list of the Hellenistic period', *Iraq* 16, 202–11.
- Saggs, H.W.F. (1963), 'Assyrian warfare in the Sargonid period', *Iraq* 25, 145–54.
- Sainsbury, E.B. (1916), *A calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company 1655–1659*, vol. 3, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Sajjidi, M. and Wright, H.T. (1979), 'Test excavations in the Elamite layers at the Izeh East Face', in Wright, H.T., ed., *Archaeological investigations in northeastern Xuzestan, 1976*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Technical Report No. 10, 106–13.
- Sallaberger, W. and Westenholz, A. (1999), *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, Fribourg and Göttingen: OBO 160/3.
- Sallet, A. von (1877), 'Literatur', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 4, 289–90.
- . (1881), 'Kamnaskires und seine Dynastie', *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 8, 205–11.
- Salonen, E. (1962), *Untersuchungen zur Schrift und Sprache des Altbabylonischen von Susa (mit Berücksichtigung der Mālamir-Texte)*, Helsinki: Studia Orientalia 27.
- . (1965), *Die Waffen der alten Mesopotamier: Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, Helsinki: Studia Orientalia 33.
- . (1967), *Glossar zu den altbabylonischen Urkunden aus Susa*, Helsinki: Studia Orientalia 36.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. (1988), 'Was there ever a Median empire?', *AH* 3, 197–212.
- Sanson, N. (1694), *Estat présent du Royaume de Perse*, Paris: La Veuve de Jacques Langlois and Jacques Colombat.
- Sardari, A. (2013), 'Northern Fars in the fourth millennium BC: Cultural developments during the *Lapui* phase', *AIN*, 195–206.
- Sarre, F. and Herzfeld, E. (1910), *Iranische Felsreliefs: Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit*, Berlin: Wasmuth.
- Sasson, J.M. (1995), 'King Hammurabi of Babylon', *CANE*, 901–15.
- Sawyer, Lt. Col. H.A. (1894), 'The Bakhtiyari mountains and Upper Elam', *Geographical Journal* 4, 481–505.
- Sayce, A.H. (1874), 'The languages of the cuneiform inscriptions of Elam and Media', *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 3, 465–85.
- . (1880), 'Rise of the Persian empire', *The Academy* 441 (October 16), 276–7.
- Scarcia, G. (1979), 'Ricognizione a Shimbar: Note sull'Eracle iranico', *OrAnt* 18, 255–75.
- Schacht, R.M. (1975), 'A preliminary report on the excavations at Tepe Sharafabad, 1971', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 2, 307–29.
- Schaudig, H. (2001), *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften*, Münster: AOAT 256.
- Schawe, J. (1927), *Untersuchung der Elambriefe aus dem Archiv Assurbanipals. Beiträge zur elamisch-assyrischen Geschichte in der Sargonidenzeit*, Berlin: Inaugural-Dissertation, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität.
- Scheil, V. (1900), *Textes élamites-sémitiques, première série*, Paris: MDP 2.
- . (1902), *Textes élamites-sémitiques, deuxième série*, Paris: MDP 4.
- . (1904), *Textes élamites-anzanites, deuxième série*, Paris: MDP 5.
- . (1905), *Textes élamites-sémitiques, troisième série*, Paris: MDP 6.

- . (1907), *Textes élamites-anzanites, troisième série*, Paris: MDP 9.
- . (1908), *Textes élamites-sémitiques, quatrième série*, Paris: MDP 10.
- . (1910), 'L'extension de la langue Anzanite', *CRAIBL* 54/6, 564–75.
- . (1911), *Textes élamites-anzanites, quatrième série*, Paris: MDP 11.
- . (1913), *Textes élamites-sémitiques, cinquième série*, Paris: MDP 14.
- . (1914), 'Fouilles de Suse: Découverte d'une nécropole élamite', *CRAIBL* 58/3, 219–23.
- . (1917), 'Déchiffrement d'un document anzanite relatif aux présages', *RA* 14, 29–59.
- . (1927), 'Carptim', *RA* 24, 47–8.
- . (1930), *Actes juridiques susiens*, Paris: MDP 22.
- . (1931), 'Dynasties élamites d'Awan et de Šimaš', *RA* 28, 1–8.
- . (1932), *Actes juridiques susiens (suite: n° 166 à n° 327)*, Paris: MDP 23.
- . (1933), *Actes juridiques susiens; inscriptions des Achéménides*, Paris: MDP 24.
- . (1939), *Mélanges épigraphiques*, Paris: MDP 28.
- Scher, A. (1907), *Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)*, Pt. 1, Paris: Patrologia Orientalis IV/3.
- Schippmann, K. (1971), 'Von der elamischen Strichschrift bis zu den sasanidischen Felsreliefs: Neue Entdeckungen aus Iran', *OLZ* 66, 229–37.
- . (1990), *Grundzüge der Geschichte des sasanidischen Reiches*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. (1981), 'From tokens to tablets: A re-evaluation of the so-called "numerical tablets"', *Visible Language* 15, 321–44.
- . (1986), 'Tokens at Susa', *OrAnt* 25, 93–125.
- Schmidt, E.F. (1953), *Persepolis I*, Chicago: OIP 68.
- . (1957), *Persepolis II*, Chicago: OIP 69.
- Schmidt, E.F., Van Loon, M.N. and Curvers, H. H. (1989), *The Holmes expeditions to Luristan*, vols. 1–2, Chicago: OIP 108.
- Schmitt, H.H. (1964), *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit*, Wiesbaden: Historia Einzelschriften 6.
- Schmitt, R. (1973), 'Die Kosenamensuffixe -ina- und -uka-', in Mayrhofer, M., *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*, Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse 286, 287–98.
- . (1978), 'Fragen der Anthroponomastik des achaimenidischen Vielvölkerstaates', *ZDMG* 128, 116–24.
- . (1990a), 'Epigraphisch-exegetische Noten zu Dareios' Bisutun-Inschriften', *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse* 561, 3–88.
- . (1990b), 'Bisutun iii. Darius's inscriptions', *EnIr* 4, 299–305.
- . (1991a), 'Name und Religion: Anthroponomastisches zur Frage der religiösen Verhältnisse des Achaimenidenreiches', in Kellens, J., ed., *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*, Ghent: *IrAnt* Supplement 5, 111–35.
- . (1991b), review of Harmatta, J., ed, *From Alexander the Great to Kül Tegin: Studies in Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Chinese, Türk, Greek and Latin sources for the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia*, *Kratylos* 36, 211–14.
- . (1991c), *The Bisutun inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian text*, London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I/1/1.
- . (1998), 'Neue Lesungen des Bīsūtūn-Textes', in Gnoli, G., Gusalov, V.M. and Rossi, A.V., eds., *Studia iranica et alantica: Festschrift for Prof. Vasilij Ivanovič Abaev on the occasion of his 95th birthday*, Rome: Serie Orientale Roma 82, 447–64.
- Schnapp, A. (1995), 'L'archéologie', in Bédarida, F., ed., *L'histoire et le métier d'historien en France 1945–1995*, Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 255–69.
- Schrakamp, I. (2010), *Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien: Organisation und Bewaffnung des Militärs in frühdynastischer und sargonischer Zeit*, Marburg: Philipps-University.
- . (2014), 'On the reading of a-dam-DUN^{ki}', *CDLN* 2014, 14.
- Schroeder, O. (1925), 'Elam. A. Geschichte', *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* 3, 69–70.
- Schuol, M. (2000), *Die Charakene: Ein mesopotamisches Königreich in hellenistisch-parthischer Zeit*, Stuttgart: Oriens et Occidens 1.
- Schwaigert, W. (1989), *Das Christentum in Hūzistān im Rahmen der frühen Kirchengeschichte*

- Persiens bis zur Synode von Seleukia-Ktesiphon im Jahre 401*, Marburg: Philipps-Universität.
- Schwarz, P. (1969), *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag.
- Scott, W.H. (1864–5), ‘On Parthian coins’, *Numismatic Chronicle* 17, 131–73.
- Scurlock, J. (2012), ‘Getting smashed at the victory celebration, or what happened to Esarhaddon’s so-called vassal treaties and why’, in May, N.N., ed., *Iconoclasm and text destruction in the ancient Near East and beyond*, Chicago: Oriental Institute Seminar 8, 175–86.
- Seibert, J. (1985), *Die Eroberung des Perserreiches durch Alexander d. Gr. auf kartographischer Grundlage*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 68.
- Seibt, G.F. (1977), *Griechische Söldner im Achaimenidenreich*, Bonn: Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Alte Geschichte 11.
- Seidl, U. (1965), ‘Zur Umarbeitung zweier Stelenbekrönungen aus Susa und anderer altorientalischen Reliefs’, *Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 5, 175–86.
- . (1968), ‘Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs’, *BaM* 4, 7–220.
- . (1986), *Die elamischen Felsreliefs von Kurangun und Naqš-e Rostam*, Berlin: Iranische Denkmäler 12/II/H.
- . (1990), ‘Altelamische Siegel’, *MJP*, 129–35.
- . (1997), ‘Izeh’, in Meyers, E.M., ed., *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 3, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 199–203.
- Sekunda, N. (1988), ‘Achaemenid military terminology’, *AMI* 21, 69–77.
- . (2010), ‘Changes in Achaemenid royal dress’, *WAP*, 255–72.
- Selb, W. (1981), *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht, Band I, Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Nestorianer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)*, Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse 388.
- Selby, W.B. (1844), ‘Account of the Ascent of the Kárún and Dizful Rivers and the Ab-í-Gargar Canal, to Shushter’, *JRGS* 14, 219–46.
- Sellwood, D. (1980²), *An introduction to the coinage of Parthia*, London: Spink and Son.
- . (1983), ‘Minor states in southern Iran’, *CHI* 3/1, 299–321.
- Sellwood, D., Whitting, P. and Williams, R. (1985), *An introduction to Sasanian coins*, London: Spink and Son.
- Selz, G. (1989), ‘lù-su-a vs. LU₂.SU.A’, *NABU* 1989, 94.
- . (1991), “‘Elam” und “Sumer” – Skizze einer Nachbarschaft nach inschriftlichen Quellen der vorsargonischen Zeit’, *MHEOP* 1, 27–43.
- . (2014), ‘Feeding the travellers: On Early Dynastic travel, travel networks and travel provisions in the frame of third millennium Mesopotamia’, in Milano, L., ed., *Paleonutrition and food practices in the ancient Near East: Towards a multidisciplinary approach*, Padua: History of the Ancient Near East Monograph 14, 261–79.
- Shahbazi, A.S. (1993), ‘Cyrus II. Cyrus I’, *EnIr* 6, 516.
- Shayegan, M.R. (2003, app. 2007), ‘On Demetrius II Nicator’s Arsacid captivity and second rule’, *BAI* 17, 83–103.
- . (2007, app. 2012), ‘Prosopographical notes: The Iranian nobility during and after the Macedonian conquest’, *BAI* 21, 97–126.
- . (2011), *Arsacids and Sasanians: Political ideology in post-Hellenistic and late antique Persia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sherwin-White, S. and Kuhrt, A. (1993), *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A new approach to the Seleucid empire*, London: Duckworth.
- Shishegar, A. (2008), *Discovery of a tomb attributed to members of King Shutur-Nahunte dynasty, son of Indid (or Indattu), Neo-Elamite III period (c. 585–539 BC)*, Tehran: Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (in Persian).
- . (2015), *Tomb of the two Elamite princesses: Of the house of King Shutur-Nahunte son of Indada. Neo-Elamite period, phase IIIB (ca. 585–539 B.C.)*, Tehran: Pazhuheshgah-e Sazman-e Miras-e Farhangi (in Persian).
- Sigrist, M. (1986), ‘Les courriers de Lagaš’, *FHE*, 51–63.
- . (1988), *Isin year names*, Berrien Springs: Andrews University Institute of Archaeology Publications, Assyriological Series II.
- . (1990), *Larsa year names*, Berrien Springs: Andrews University Institute of Archaeology Publications, Assyriological Series II.
- . (1992), *Drehem*, Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Sigrist, M. and Butz, K. (1986), ‘Wirtschaftliche Beziehungen zwischen der Susiana und

- Südmesopotamien in der Ur-III-Zeit', *AMI* 19, 27–31.
- Sigrist, M. and Gomi, T. (1991), *The comprehensive catalogue of published Ur III tablets*, Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Simons, J. (1959), *The geographical and topographical texts of the Old Testament*, Leiden: Brill.
- Skjærvø, P.O. (2013), 'Avesta and Zoroastrianism under the Achaemenids and early Sasanians', *OHAI*, 547–65.
- Slanski, K.E. (2000), 'Classification, historiography and monumental authority: The Babylonian entitlement "narûs (kudurrus)"', *JCS* 52, 95–114.
- Smith, P. (1844), 'Arsaces (Ἀρσάκης) X., king of Parthia', in *The biographical dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* 3/2, 656.
- Sollberger, E. (1968), 'A tankard for Atta-hušu', *JCS* 22, 30–3.
- Sollberger, E. and Kupper, J.-R. (1971), *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, Paris: Littératures du Proche-Orient 3.
- Southall, A. (1956), *Alur society*, Cambridge: Heffer and Sons.
- Spar, I. and Jursa, M. (2014), *The Ebabbar temple archive and other texts from the fourth to the first millennium B.C.*, New York and Winona Lake, IN: Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 4.
- Spiegel, F. (1863), *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris. Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Landes und seiner Geschichte*, Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- . (1971; repr. of 1873 ed.), *Erânische Altertumskunde*, 3 vols., Amsterdam: Oriental Press.
- Springer, A. (1864), *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Leipzig: Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft III/3.
- Spycket, A. (1981), *La statuaire du Proche-Orient ancien*, Leiden and Cologne: HdO 7/1/2/B/2.
- . (1992), *Les figurines de Suse*, Paris: MDP 52.
- . (2000), 'La bague et l'anneau: Un symbole d'Iran et de Mésopotamie', *VD*, 651–66.
- Starostin, G. (2002), 'On the genetic affiliation of the Elamite language', *Mother Tongue* 7, 147–71.
- Starr, I. (1985), 'Historical omens concerning Ashurbanipal's war against Elam', *AfO* 32, 60–7.
- Steible, H. (1975), *Rimsîn, mein König: Drei kultische Texte aus Ur mit der Schlußdoxologie ^dri-im-^dšîn lugal-mu*, Wiesbaden: FAOS 1.
- . (1982), *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, vols. 1–2, Wiesbaden: FAOS 5.
- Steinkeller, P. (1981), 'Early history of the Hamrin basin in the light of textual evidence', Gibson, McG., ed., *Uch Tepe 1*, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 163–8.
- . (1982a), 'The question of Marḥaši: A contribution to the historical geography of Iran in the third millennium BC', *ZA* 72, 237–64.
- . (1982b), 'The Mesopotamian god Kakka', *JNES* 41, 289–94.
- . (1984), 'Sumerian miscellanea', *Aula Orientalis* 2, 137–42.
- . (1987), 'The administrative and economic organization of the Ur III state: The core and the periphery', in Gibson, McG. and Biggs, R.D., eds., *The organization of power: Aspects of bureaucracy in the ancient Near East*, Chicago: SAOC 46, 19–41.
- . (1988a), 'On the identity of the toponyms LÚ.SU(A)', *JAOS* 108, 197–202.
- . (1988b), 'The date of Gudea and his dynasty', *JCS* 40, 47–53.
- . (1989), 'Marḥaši', *RIA* 7, 381–2.
- . (1990), 'More on LÚ.SU(A) = Šimaški', *NABU* 1990, 13.
- . (1993), 'Settlement patterns and material culture of the Akkadian period: Continuity and discontinuity', in Liverani, M., ed., *Akkad, the first world empire: Structure, ideology, traditions*, Padua: History of the Ancient Near East/Studies v, 91–129.
- . (2003), 'An Ur III manuscript of the Sumerian King List', *LPR*, 267–92.
- . (2007), 'New light on Šimaški and its rulers', *ZA* 97, 215–32.
- . (2008a), 'Addenda to "New light on Šimaški and its rulers"', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 97 (2007) 215–232', *NABU* 2008, 15.
- . (2008b), 'On Birbirum, the alleged earliest-documented rabiānum official, and on the end of Ibbi-Suen's reign', *NABU* 2008, 3.
- . (2009), 'Camels in Ur III Babylonia?', in Schloen, J.D., ed., *Exploring the longue durée: Essays in honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 415–19.
- . (2011), 'Idattu I of Šimaški', *CUSAS* 17, 21–2.

- . (2012), 'New light on Marḥaši and its contacts with Makkan and Babylonia', in Giraud, J. and Gernez, G., eds., *Aux marges de l'archéologie: Hommages à Serge Cleuziou*, Paris: Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès 16, 261–74.
- . (2013), 'Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa: A pivotal episode of early Elamite history reconsidered', *SE*, 293–318.
- . (2014), 'On the dynasty of Šimaški: Twenty years (or so) after', *EC*, 287–96.
- Steve, M.-J. (1967), *Tchoga Zanbil (Dur-Untash) III. Textes élamites et accadiens de Tchoga Zanbil*, Paris: MDP 41.
- . (1968), 'Fragmenta Elamica', *Or* 37, 290–307.
- . (1987), *Nouveaux mélanges épigraphiques, Inscriptions royales de Suse et de la Susiane*, Nice: MDP 53.
- . (1989), 'Des sceaux-cylindres de Šimaški?', *RA* 83, 13–26.
- . (1991), 'Elam: Histoire continue ou discontinue?', *MHEOP* 1, 1–9.
- . (1992), *Syllabaire élamite: Histoire et paléographie*, vol. 1, Neuchâtel and Paris: Civilisations du Proche-Orient, Ser. II, Philologie.
- . (1994), 'Suse: La couche XII du Chantier "A" de la "Ville Royale" et la fin de l'époque des sukkalmah', *CDR*, 23–30.
- . (2001), 'La tablette sumérienne de Šuštār (T. MK 203)', *Akkadica* 121, 5–21.
- . (2003), *L'île de Khāng. Une page de l'histoire du Golfe Persique et du monachisme oriental*, Neuchâtel: Civilisations du Proche-Orient, Série 1, Archéologie et Environnement 1.
- Steve, M.-J., and Gasche, H. (1971), *L'Acropole de Suse*, Paris and Leiden: MDP 46.
- . (1990), 'Le tell de l'Apadana avant les Achéménides: Contribution à la topographie de Suse', *MJP*, 15–60.
- . (1996), 'L'accès à l'au-delà, à Suse', *CO*, 329–48.
- Steve, M.-J., Gasche, H., and De Meyer, L. (1980), 'La Susiane du deuxième millénaire: À propos d'une interprétation des fouilles de Suse', *IrAnt* 15, 49–154.
- Steve, M.-J. and Vallat, F. (1989), 'La dynastie des Igihalkides: Nouvelles interprétations', *ATÖ*, 223–38.
- Stevens, L.R., Wright, H.E. and Ito, E. (2001), 'Proposed changes in seasonality of climate during the Late Glacial and Holocene at Lake Zeribar, Iran', *The Holocene* 11, 747–55.
- Stol, M. (1976), *Studies in Old Babylonian history*, Leiden: Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 40.
- Stolper, M.W. (1978), 'Inscribed fragments from Khuzistan', *CDAFI* 8, 89–91.
- . (1982), 'On the dynasty of Šimaški and the early sukkalmahs', *ZA* 72, 42–67.
- . (1984), *Texts from Tall-i Malyan, I. Elamite administrative texts (1972–1974)*, Philadelphia: Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 6.
- . (1985), 'Proto-Elamite texts from Tall-i Malyan', *Kadmos* 24, 1–12.
- . (1986), 'A Neo-Babylonian text from the reign of Hallušu', *FHE*, 235–41.
- . (1987–90), 'Malamir. B. Philologisch', *RLA* 7, 276–80.
- . (1989), 'Awan', *EnIr* 3, 113–14.
- . (1992), 'The Murašu texts from Susa', *RA* 86, 69–77.
- . (2003), 'Three stray Elamite tablets from Malyan', *YBYN*, 201–6.
- . (2004), 'Elamite', in Woodard, R., ed., *The Cambridge encyclopedia of the world's ancient languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 60–94.
- . (2005), 'Pittit', *RLA* 10, 587.
- . (2013), 'Sugirs of Anšan', *SE*, 399–415.
- Stolper, M.W. and Tavernier, J. (2007), 'From the Persepolis fortification archive project, 1: An Old Persian administrative tablet from the Persepolis fortification', *ARTA* 2007.001: 1–28.
- Stolper, M.W. and Wright, H.T. (1990), 'Elamite brick fragments from Choga Pahn East and related fragments', *MJP*, 151–63.
- Stordeur, D. and Anderson-Gerfaud, P. (1985), 'Les omoplates encochées néolithiques de Ganj Dareh (Iran): Étude morphologique et fonctionnelle', *Cahiers de l'Euphrate* 4, 289–313.
- Strauss, P. (1971), 'Un trésor de monnaies hellénistiques trouvé près de Suse (2^e partie)', *RN* 6th ser. 13, 109–40.
- Streck, M. (1901), *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen, II. Teil*, Leiden: Brill.
- . (1916), *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Niniveh's*, 3 vols., Leipzig: Hinrichs.

- Strommenger, E. (1994), 'Elamier, Perser und Babylonier', in Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., eds., *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients: Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius*, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 312–25.
- Stronach, D. (1974), 'Achaemenid village I at Susa and the Persian migration to Fars', *Iraq* 36, 239–48.
- . (1978), *Pasargadae*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . (1984), 'Notes on religion in Iran in the seventh and sixth centuries BC', in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin Emerito Oblata, Hommages et Opera Minora* 9, Leiden: AclR 23, 479–90.
- . (1985), 'The Apadana: A signature of the line of Darius I', in Huot, J.-L., Yon, M. and Calvet, Y., eds., *De l'Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la mémoire de Jean Deshayes*, Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 433–45.
- . (1989a) 'The royal garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and legacy', *AIO*, 475–502.
- . (1989b), 'Early Achaemenid coinage: Perspectives from the homeland', *IrAnt* 24, 255–79.
- . (1990a), 'The garden as a political statement: Some case studies from the Near East in the first millennium BC', *B AI* 4, 171–80.
- . (1990b), 'On the genesis of the Old Persian cuneiform script', *MJP*, 195–203.
- . (1994), 'Parterres and stone water-courses at Pasargadae: Notes on the Achaemenid contribution to garden design', *Journal of Garden History* 14, 3–12.
- . (1997), 'Anshan and Parsa: Early Achaemenid history, art and architecture on the Iranian Plateau', in Curtis, J., ed., *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian period: Conquest and imperialism, 539–331 BC*, London: British Museum, 35–53.
- . (2000), 'Of Cyrus, Darius and Alexander: A new look at the "epitaphs" of Cyrus the Great', *VD*, 681–702.
- . (2001), 'From Cyrus to Darius: Notes on art and architecture in early Achaemenid palaces', in Nielsen, I., ed., *The royal palace institution in the first millennium BC: Regional development and cultural interchange between East and West*, Athens: Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 4, 95–111.
- . (2003a), 'The tomb at Arjan and the history of southwestern Iran in the early sixth century B.C.', *YBYN*, 249–59.
- . (2003b), 'Early Achaemenid Iran: New considerations', in Dever, W.G. and Gitin, S., eds., *Symbiosis, symbolism and the power of the past: Canaan, Israel, and their neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 133–44.
- . (2004a), 'Notes on a fortified building and a "yurt" in adjacent registers of the Arjan bowl', in Sagona, A., ed., *A view from the highlands: Essays in honour of Charles Burney*, Leuven: Peeters, 711–28.
- . (2004b), 'On the antiquity of the yurt: Evidence from Arjan and elsewhere', *The Silk Road* 2/1, 9–18.
- . (2005), 'The Arjan tomb: Innovation and acculturation in the last days of Elam', *IrAnt* 40, 179–96.
- Sumner, W.M. (1974), 'Excavations at Tall-i Malyan, 1971–72', *Iran* 12, 155–80.
- . (1985), 'The Proto-Elamite city wall at Tal-i Malyan', *Iran* 23, 153–61.
- . (1986a), 'Proto-Elamite civilization in Fars', in Finkbeiner, U. and Röhlig, W., eds., *Ġamdat Našr – period or regional style?*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 62, 199–211.
- . (1986b), 'Achaemenid settlement in the Persepolis plain', *AJA* 90, 3–31.
- . (1988a), 'Prelude to Proto-Elamite Anshan: The Lapui phase', *IrAnt* 23, 23–43.
- . (1988b), 'Maljan, Tall-e (Anšan)', *RIA* 7, 306–20.
- . (1989), 'Anshan in the Kaftari phase: Patterns of settlement and land use', *AIO*, 135–61.
- . (1992), 'Ceramics VI. Uruk, Proto-Elamite, and Early Bronze Age in southern Persia', *EnIr* 5, 284–8.
- . (1994), 'Archaeological measures of cultural continuity and the arrival of the Persians in Fars', *AH* 8, 97–105.
- . (1999), 'The birds of Anshan', *IW*, 85–100.
- . (2003), *Early urban life in the land of Anshan: Excavations at Tal-e Malyan in the highlands of Iran*, Philadelphia: University Museum Monograph 117.
- Sykes, Lt.-Col. P.M. (1915), *A history of Persia*, vols. 1–2, London: Macmillan.
- Sylvestre de Sacy, A.I. (1793), *Mémoires sur diverse antiquités de la Perse, et sur les médailles des rois de la Dynastie des Sassanides; suivis de l'Histoire de cette Dynastie, traduite du Persan de Mirkhond*,

- Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Exécutive du Louvre.
- Szemerényi, O. (1966), 'Iranica II', *Die Sprache* 12, 191–226.
- Tadmor, H. (1958), 'The campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A chronological-historical study', *JCS* 12, 22–40, 77–100.
- Tallis, N. (2010), 'The Achaemenid army in a Near Eastern context', *WAP*, 309–14.
- Tallon, F. (1987), *Métallurgie susienne: De la fondation de Suse au XVIII^e siècle av. J.-C.*, vols. 1–2, Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Tallon, F., Hurtel, L., and Drilhon, F. (1989), 'Un aspect de la métallurgie du cuivre à Suse: La petite statuaire du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.', *IrAnt* 24, 121–51.
- Tanabe, K. (1986), 'A study of the investiture of Narseh at Naqsh-e Rostam – Anahitah or queen of queens?', *Orient* 22, 105–27.
- Tanret, M. and De Graef, K. (2010), 'The exercise tablets from Chantier B in Susa revisited', *IrAnt* 45, 225–57.
- Tarn, W.W. (1930), 'Seleucid-Parthian Studies', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 16, 105–35.
- . (1932), 'Tiridates II and the young Phraates', in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz II*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 831–7.
- . (1938), *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarn, W.W. and Vickers, M. (1996), 'Susa', in *Oxford classical dictionary*³, 1458.
- Tavernier, J. (2002), 'Iranian presence in Neo-Elamite Susa', *NABU* 2002, 79.
- . (2004), 'Some thoughts on Neo-Elamite chronology', *ARTA* 2004.003.
- . (2006), 'Iranian toponyms in the Elamite fortification archive', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 41, 371–97.
- . (2007a), 'The case of Elamite *tep-/tip-* and Akkadian *tuppu*', *Iran* 45, 57–69.
- . (2007b), *Iranica in the Achaemenid period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, attested in non-Iranian texts*, Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 158.
- . (2008), 'Multilingualism in the fortification and treasury archives', *AFP*, 59–86.
- . (2010), 'Migration des savoirs entre l'Élam et la Mésopotamie', *Res Antiquae* 7, 199–222.
- . (2011), 'Iranians in Neo-Elamite texts', *EP*, 191–261.
- . (2013a), 'Elamite and Old Iranian after-life concepts', *SE*, 471–89.
- . (2013b), 'Der Achämenidenhof weiter untersucht: Zum Themaband *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid Court*', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 103, 365–80.
- . (2014), 'What's in a name: Hallušu, Hallutaš or Hallutuš?', *RA* 108, 61–6.
- Teich, M. and Porter, R. (1993), eds., *The national question in Europe in historical context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Teixidor, J. (1990), 'Interpretations and misinterpretations of the East in Hellenistic times', in Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L. and Zahle, J., eds., *Religion and religious practice in the Seleucid kingdom*, Aarhus: Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 1, 66–78.
- Tengberg, M. (2012), 'Fruit-growing', in Potts, D.T., ed., *A companion to the archaeology of the ancient Near East*, vol. 1, Malden, MA and Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 181–200.
- Thirlwall, C. (1833), 'On the position of Susa', *The Philological Museum* 2/4, 185–92.
- Thompson, C.R. (1940), 'Erasmus' translation of Lucian's *Longaevi*', *Classical Philology* 35, 397–415.
- Thompson, J.A. (1980), *The Book of Jeremiah*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Thordeman, B. (1939), *Armour from the battle of Wisby 1361*, vol. 1. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Thureau-Dangin, F. (1907), *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig: VAB 1/1.
- . (1912), 'Notes assyriologiques', *RA* 9, 21–5.
- Tinney, S. (1995), 'A new look at Naram-Sin and the "Great Rebellion"', *JCS* 47, 1–14.
- Tolini, G. (2008), 'Les travailleurs babyloniens et le palais de Taokè', *ARTA* 2008.002.
- Tomaschek, W. (1890), 'Topographische Erläuterungen der Küstenfahrt Nearchs vom Indus bis zum Euphrat', *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophische-historische Cl.* 121, 1–88.
- Tourovets, A. (1996), 'La glyptique de Bani Surmah, Pusht-i Kuh-Luristan', *IrAnt* 31, 19–45.
- . (1997), 'Observations concernant l'existence d'une ancienne voie cérémonielle au

- nord-est du site de Tchoga Zanbil', *IrAnt* 32, 71–90.
- . (2005), “Pour que mon règne soit prospère.”: Formulation du souhait dans les dédicaces des rois élamites aux XIV^e et XIII^e s. avant notre ère’, in Cannuyer, C. ed., *La langue dans tous ses états: Michel Malaise in honorem*, Brussels: Acta Orientalia Belgica, Subsidia 18, 33–40.
- Treidler, H. (1965), ‘Paraitakene’, *RE Suppl.* 10, 478–82.
- Trichet, J. and Vallat, F. (1990), ‘L’origine égyptienne de la statue de Darius’, *MJP*, 205–8.
- Trokay, M. (1991), ‘Les origines du dieu élamite au serpent’, *MHEOP* 1, 154–61.
- Trümpelmann, L. (1976), ‘Metrologische Untersuchungen am Kyrosgrab in Pasargadae’, *The Memorial Volume of the VIth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, September 11–16th 1972*, Tehran, 319–26.
- . (1981), ‘Eine Kneipe in Susa’, *IrAnt* 16, 35–44.
- . (1988), ‘Zur Herkunft von Medern und Persern’, *AMI* 21, 79–90.
- Tscherikower, V. (1927), *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*, Leipzig: Philologus Supplementband 29/1.
- Tuplin, C. (1996), *Achaemenid studies*, Stuttgart: Historia Einzelschriften 99.
- Uchitel, A. (1991), ‘Foreign workers in the fortification archive’, *MHEOP* 1, 127–35.
- Uerpmann, H.-P. (1987), *The ancient distribution of ungulate mammals in the Middle East*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft A 27.
- Unger, E. (1938), ‘Elam und Elamiten in assyrischer Darstellung’, *RLA* 2, 353–4.
- Unvala, J.-M. (1929), ‘Ancient sites in Susiana’, *RA* 25, 83–93.
- . (1934a), ‘Monnaies sassanides trouvées dans un vase’, *MDP* 25, 68–76.
- . (1934b), ‘Tessères et médaillons frustes’, *MDP* 25, 239–44.
- . (1935), ‘Notes des numismatique (fouilles de Suse, 1934)’, *RN* 38, 155–62.
- Vallat, F. (1971), ‘Deux nouvelles “chartes de fondation” d’un palais de Darius I^{er} à Suse’, *Syria* 48, 53–9.
- . (1972), ‘Deux inscriptions élamites de Darius I^{er} (DSf et DSz)’, *StIr* 1, 3–13.
- . (1978), ‘Une brique élamite de Hutelutush-Insushnak’, *CDAFI* 8, 97–107.
- . (1980a), *Suse et l’Elam*, Paris: Recherche sur les grandes civilisations.
- . (1980b), ‘Documents épigraphiques de la Ville Royale I (1972 et 1975)’, *CDAFI* 11, 135–9.
- . (1981), ‘L’inscription de la stèle d’Untash-Napirisha’, *IrAnt* 16, 27–33.
- . (1983a), ‘Le dieu Enzak: Une divinité dilmunite vénérée à Suse’, in Potts, D.T., ed., *Dilmun: New studies in the archaeology and early history of Bahrain*, Berlin: BBVO 2, 93–100.
- . (1983b), ‘Un fragment de tablette achéménide et la turquoise’, *Akkadica* 33, 63–8.
- . (1984a), ‘Une inscription cunéiforme de Bouchir’, *Dédalo* 23, 255–60.
- . (1984b), ‘Kidin-Hutran et l’époque néo-élamite’, *Akkadica* 37, 1–17.
- . (1985a), ‘Hutelutuš-Inšušinak et la famille royale élamite’, *RA* 79, 43–50.
- . (1985b), ‘Éléments de géographie élamite (résumée)’, *Paléorient* 11, 49–54.
- . (1986a), ‘The most ancient scripts of Iran: The current situation’, *World Archaeology* 17, 335–47.
- . (1986b), ‘Tablet accadienne de Darius Ier (DSaa)’, *FHE*, 277–87.
- . (1987a), ‘Elamite nulkippi’, *NABU* 1987, 88.
- . (1987b), ‘^dU = élamite *usan/iššan*’, *NABU* 1987, 89.
- . (1988a), ‘Légendes élamites de fragments de statues d’Untaš-Napiriša et Tchogha Zanbil’, *IrAnt* 23, 169–77.
- . (1988b), ‘A propos de l’origine des tablettes élamites dites “de Ninive” conservées au British Museum’, *NABU* 1988, 39.
- . (1988c), ‘^dUmu à l’époque néo-élamite’, *NABU* 1988, 14.
- . (1989a), ‘Le scribe Ibni-Adad et les premiers sukkalmah’, *NABU* 1989, 34.
- . (1989b), ‘L’expression ADDA LUGAL an-ša-an à MUŠ.EREN^{ki} dans un texte d’Atta-hušu’, *NABU* 1989, 101.
- . (1989c), ‘L’inscription du sceau-cylindre du sukkalmah Tan-Uli’, *NABU* 1989, 117.
- . (1990a), ‘Reflexions sur l’époque des sukkalmah’, *MJP*, 119–27.

- . (1990b), 'Les cornes élamites', *NABU* 1990, 136.
- . (1990c), 'Une inscription élamite de Tépé Horreeye', *MJP*, 147–9.
- . (1991), 'La géographie de l'Elam d'après quelques textes mésopotamiens', *MHEOP* 1, 11–21.
- . (1992), 'Les prétendus fonctionnaires *unsak* des textes néo-élamites et achéménides', *DATA: Achaemenid History Newsletter* 1/4, 5.
- . (1993a), *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites*, Wiesbaden: RGTC 11.
- . (1993b), 'Kuk-Naşur et Ammişaduqa', *NABU* 1993, 39.
- . (1994), 'Succession royale en Elam au II^{ème} millénaire', *CDR*, 1–14.
- . (1995a), 'Susa and Susiana in second-millennium Iran', *CANE*, 1023–33.
- . (1995b), 'Šutruk-Nahunte, Šutur-Nahunte et l'imbroglio néo-élamite', *NABU* 1995, 44.
- . (1996a), 'Šu-ilišu, Iddin-Dagan et Imazu, roi d'Anšan', *NABU* 1996, 87.
- . (1996b), 'Le retour de Hutelutus-Insusnak à Suse', *NABU* 1996, 88.
- . (1996c), 'Le royaume élamite de SAMATI', *NABU* 1996, 31.
- . (1996d), 'Nouvelle analyse des inscriptions néo-élamites', *CO*, 385–95.
- . (1996e), 'L'Élam à l'époque paléo-babylonienne et ses relations avec la Mésopotamie', in Durand, J.-M., ed., *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites, dix ans de travaux, première partie*, Paris: Amurru 1, 297–319.
- . (1996f), 'ELAM: *Haltamti/Elamtu*', *NABU* 1996, 89.
- . (1997a), 'Nouveaux problèmes de succession en Elam', *IrAnt* 32, 53–70.
- . (1997b), 'La politesse élamite à l'époque des Igihalkides', *NABU* 1997, 74.
- . (1997c), 'Les trois Kuk-Naşur', *NABU* 1997, 110.
- . (1997d), 'Inšušinak, Ea et Enzag', *NABU* 1997, 111.
- . (1997e), 'La lettre élamite d'Arménie', *ZA* 87, 258–70.
- . (1997f), 'Le caractère funéraire de la ziggurat en Élam', *NABU* 1997, 38.
- . (1997g), 'Elam vi. Elamite religion', *EnIr* 8, 335–42.
- . (1997h), 'Cyrus l'usurpateur', *TOPOI Supplément* 1, 423–34.
- . (1998), 'Le royaume élamite de Zamin et les "lettres de Ninive"', *IrAnt* 33, 95–106.
- . (1999a), 'Le palais élamite de Suse', *Akkadica* 112, 34–43.
- . (1999b), 'L'hommage de l'élamite Untash-Napirisha au Cassite Burnaburiash', *Akkadica* 114–15, 109–17.
- . (2000a), 'Une inscription élamite sur un rhyton en argent à tête de bélier', *Akkadica* 116, 29–33.
- . (2000b), 'L'Elam du II^e millénaire et la chronologie courte', *Akkadica* 119–20, 7–17.
- . (2002), 'Les prétendus fonctionnaires *unsak* des textes néo-élamites et achéménides', *ARTA* 2002.006.
- . (2002–3), 'Suse. G1. La religion suso-élamite', *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 74, 529–53.
- . (2004a), 'Chroniques bibliographiques 4. Curiosités élamites', *RA* 98, 179–84.
- . (2004b), 'Le cylindre de Hute-kazan et la chronologie des premiers sukkalmah', *Akkadica* 125/2, 135–40.
- . (2006a), 'Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak, Shutur-Nahhunte et la chronologie néo-élamite', *Akkadica* 127, 59–62.
- . (2006b), 'La chronologie méso-élamite et la lettre de Berlin', *Akkadica* 127/2, 123–36.
- . (2007), 'Temti-Agun I. Un nouveau sukkalmah', *Akkadica* 128/1–2, 73–84.
- . (2008), 'Légendes élamites sur les cylindres de Persépolis', *Akkadica* 129/2, 197–202.
- . (2009), 'Du règne de Kindadu à celui d'Atta-ḫušu', *NABU* 2009, 16.
- . (2010), 'Les principales inscriptions achéménides de Suse', *PDS*, 300–21.
- . (2011a), 'Darius, l'héritier légitime, et les premiers Achéménides', *EP*, 263–84.
- . (2011b), 'Textes historiques élamites et achéménides', *CUSAS* 17, 187–92.
- Van de Meer, P.E. (1935), *Textes scolaires de Suse*, Paris: MDP 27.
- Vanden Berghe, L. (1959), *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden: Brill.
- . (1963a), 'Les reliefs élamites de Malamir', *IrAnt* 3, 22–39.
- . (1963b), 'Le relief parthe de Hung-i Nauruzi', *IrAnt* 3, 155–68.
- . (1968), 'La nécropole de Bani Surmah, aurore d'une civilisation du Bronze', *Archéologia* 24, 52–63.

- . (1971), 'La nécropole de Bard-i Bal au Luristan', *Archéologia* 43, 14–23.
- . (1973), 'Le Luristan à l'âge du fer: La nécropole de Kut-i Gulgul', *Archéologia* 65 (December), 16–29.
- . (1983), *Reliefs rupestres de l'Iran ancien*, Brussels: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire.
- . (1986a), 'Données nouvelles concernant le relief rupestre élamite de Kurangun', *FHE*, 157–73.
- . (1986b), 'Le relief rupestre de Gardanah Galumushk (Qir)', *IrAnt* 21, 141–55.
- . (1987), 'Luristan, Pusht-i Kuh au Chalcolithique moyen (les nécropoles de Parchinah et de Hakalan)', in Huot, J.-L., ed., *Préhistoire de la Mésopotamie*, Paris: Editions du CNRS, 91–126.
- Vanden Berghe, L. and Schippmann, K. (1985), *Les reliefs rupestres d'Elymaïde (Iran) de l'époque parthe*, Ghent: IrAnt Supplement 3.
- Van den Boom, G.P.F., Houtkamp, J.M. and Verhart, L.B.M. (1989), 'Surface finds from KS-sites east of Haft Tepe (Khuzistan)', *IrAnt* 24, 13–43.
- Van der Spek, R.J. (1993), 'The astronomical diaries as a source for Achaemenid and Seleucid history', *BiOr* 50, 91–101.
- van Dijk, J. (1970), 'Remarques sur l'histoire d'Elam et d'Ešnunna', *AfO* 23, 63–72.
- . (1978), 'Išbi'erra, Kindattu, l'homme d'Elam, et la chute de la ville d'Ur', *JCS* 30, 189–208.
- . (1986), 'Die dynastischen Heiraten zwischen Kassiten und Elamern: Eine verhängnisvolle Politik', *Or* 55, 159–70.
- Van Loon, M.N. (1988), 'Two Neo-Elamite cylinder seals with mounted huntsmen', *IrAnt* 23, 221–6.
- van't Haaff, P.A. (2007), *Catalogue of Elymaean coinage ca. 147 B.C.–A.D. 228*, Lancaster and London: Classical Numismatic Group.
- Van Zeist, W. (1967), 'Late Quaternary vegetation history of western Iran', *Review of Palaeobotany and Palynology* 2, 301–11.
- Vardanian, R. (1986), 'Elymaean coins: A chronological systematization of bronze emissions in the second century AD', *VDI* 176/1, 99–117 (in Russian with English summary).
- . (1997), 'A propos de la datation de Tang-i Sarvak II', *IrAnt* 32, 151–61.
- . (1999), 'La monetazione di bronzo elimea del II sec. d.C. Problemi di classificazione e datazione', *Parthica* 1, 117–34.
- Vatandoust, A., Parzinger, H. and Helwing, B. (2011), *Early mining and metallurgy on the Western Central Iranian Plateau: The first five years of work*, Berlin: AIT 9.
- Vaux, W.S.W. (1856), 'On some coins, chiefly Greek, which have been lately brought from the East', *Numismatic Chronicle* 18, 137–52.
- Veenhof, K. (2003), *The Old Assyrian list of year eponyms from Karum Kanish and its chronological implications*, Ankara: Publications of the Turkish Historical Society Series 6 no. 64.
- Veenhof, K. and Eidem, J. (2008), *Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian period*, Fribourg and Göttingen: Annäherungen 5 [= OBO 160/5].
- Vértessalji, P.P. (1989), 'Were there supralocal cemeteries in southern Mesopotamia in late Chalcolithic times?', in Henrickson, E.F. and Thuesen, I., eds., *Upon this Foundation – the 'Ubaid reconsidered*, Copenhagen: CNIP 10, 181–98.
- Villard, P. (1995), 'Shamshi-Adad and sons: The rise and fall of an Upper Mesopotamian empire', *CANE*, 873–83.
- Visconti, E.Q. (1811), *Iconographie grecque*, vol. 3, Paris: Didot.
- . (1817), 'Médaille de la Reine Thermuse, épouse de Phraate IV, et mère de Phraatacès, roi des Parthes', *Journal des Savans* (December), 735–8.
- Vogelsang, W. (1988), 'Some observations on Achaemenid Hyrcania: A combination of sources', *AH* 3, 121–35.
- . (2006), 'A distinctive, but apparently not so very old headgear from the Indo-Iranian borderlands', *Khil'a* 2, 149–55.
- Voigt, M. and Dyson, R.H. (1992), 'The chronology of Iran, ca. 8000–2000 BC', in Ehrich, R.W., ed., *Chronologies in Old World archaeology*³, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 122–78.
- von Bissing, F.W. (1940), 'Ägyptische und ägyptisierende Alabastergefäße aus den Deutschen Ausgrabungen in Assur', *ZA* 46, 149–82.
- von der Osten-Sakken, E. (1996), review of Pittman, H., *The glazed steatite glyptic style*, *BiOr* 91, 566–71.
- von Gall, H. (1980), 'Relieffragment eines elymäischen Königs aus Masġed-e Soleiman', *IrAnt* 15, 241–50.
- . (1986a), 'Einleitung F. Zu Eigenart, Verwertbarkeit und Bestand der literarischen und archäologischen Primärquellen', in

- Haussig, W., ed., *Götter und Mythen der kaukasischen und iranischen Völker*, Stuttgart: Wörterbuch der Mythologie 4, 195–219.
- . (1986b), ‘Nana(i)(a)’, in Haussig, W., ed., *Götter und Mythen der kaukasischen und iranischen Völker*, Stuttgart: Wörterbuch der Mythologie 4, 409–11.
- . (1990), ‘The figural capitals at Taq-e Bostan and the question of the so-called investiture in Parthian and Sasanian art’, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 1, 99–122.
- . (2000), ‘Das parthische Felsheiligtum von Tang-e Sarwak in der Elymais (Khuzestan)’, *AMIT* 32, 319–59.
- Von Voigtlander, E.N. (1978), *The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian version*, London: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 1/II/1.
- Vööbus, A. (1965), *History of the School of Nisibis*, Louvain: CSCO 266 [= *Subsidia* 26].
- Vovelle, M. (1990), *Ideologies and mentalities*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 126–53.
- Wacholder, B.Z. (1980), ‘The date of the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and 1 Macc. 6:16–17’, in Burstein, S.M. and Okin, L.A., eds., *Panhellenica: Essays in ancient history and historiography in honor of Truesdell S. Brown*, Lawrence: Coronado, 129–32.
- Waddington, W.H. (1866), ‘Numismatique et chronologie des rois de la Characène’, *RN* 11, 303–33.
- Waele, E. de (1972), ‘Shutruk-Nahunte II et les reliefs rupestres dits néo-élamites d’Iseh/Malamir’, *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d’Art de Louvain* 5, 17–32.
- . (1976), ‘Remarques sur les inscriptions élamites de Šekaf-e Salman et Kul-e Farah près Izeh I. Leur corrélation avec les bas-reliefs’, *Le Muséon* 89, 441–50.
- . (1981), ‘Travaux archéologiques à Šekaf-e Salman et Kul-e Farah près d’Izeh (Malamir)’, *IrAnt* 45–61.
- . (1989), ‘Musicians and musical instruments on the rock reliefs in the Elamite sanctuary of Kul-e Farah (Izeh)’, *Iran* 27, 29–38.
- Waerzeggers, C. (2010a), ‘Babylonians in Susa: The travels of Babylonian “businessmen” to Susa reconsidered’, in Jacobs, B. and Rollinger, R., eds., *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid court*, Wiesbaden: Classica et Orientalia 2, 777–813.
- . (2010b), ‘KU 14: A Neo-Babylonian tablet about Susa in Amsterdam’, *NABU* 2010, 45.
- Wagensonner, K. (2014), ‘Elamites in Edinburgh’, *CDLN* 2014: 18.
- Walker, C.B.F. (1980), ‘Elamite inscriptions in the British Museum’, *Iran* 18, 75–81.
- . (1981), *Cuneiform brick inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museums and Art Gallery*, London: British Museum Press.
- Walser, G. (1980), *Persepolis: Die Königspfalz des Darius*, Tübingen: Wasmuth.
- Walstra, J., Heyvaert, V.M.A. and Verkinderen, P. (2010), ‘Assessing human impact on alluvial fan development: A multidisciplinary case-study from Lower Khuzestan (SW Iran)’, *Geodinamica Acta* 23/5–6, 267–85.
- Wasilewska, E. (1991), ‘To be or not to be a temple? Possible identification of a Banesh period temple at Tall-i Malyan, Iran’, *MHEOP* 1, 143–52.
- Wasylikowa, K. and Witkowski, A. (2008), *The palaeoecology of Lake Zeribar and surrounding areas, western Iran, during the last 48,000 years*, Ruggell: Diaton Monographs 8.
- Watanabe, C.E. (2006), ‘Pictorial narrative in Assyrian art: The ‘continuous style’ applied to the Battle of Til-Tuba’, *KASKAL* 3, 81–104.
- . (2008), ‘A compositional analysis of the Battle of Til-Tuba’, in Kühne, H. et al., eds., *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 601–12.
- . (2014), ‘Styles of pictorial narratives in Assurbanipal’s reliefs’, in Brown, B.A. and Feldman, M.H., eds., *Critical approaches to ancient Near Eastern art*, Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 345–67.
- Waterfield, R. (2011), *Dividing the spoils: The war for Alexander the Great’s empire*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Waters, M.W. (1996), ‘Darius and the Achaemenid line’, *Ancient History Bulletin* 10/1, 11–18.
- . (1999a), ‘The earliest Persians in south-western Iran: The textual evidence’, *Iranian Studies* 32/1, 99–107.
- . (1999b), ‘Te’umman in the Neo-Assyrian correspondence’, *JAOS* 119, 473–7.

- . (1999c), 'ABL 268 and Tammaritu', *AO* 67, 72–4.
- . (2000), *A survey of Neo-Elamite history*. Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria Studies 12.
- . (2001), 'Mesopotamian sources and Neo-Elamite history', in Abusch, T. et al., eds., *Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Part 1, Harvard University, historiography in the cuneiform world*, Bethesda: CDL Press, 473–82.
- . (2002a), 'Another Huban-nikaš', *NABU* 2002, 88.
- . (2002b), 'A letter from Ashurbanipal to the elders of Elam (BM 132980)', *JCS* 54, 79–86.
- . (2004), 'Cyrus and the Achaemenids', *Iran* 42, 91–102.
- . (2005), 'Media and its discontents', *JAOS* 125, 517–33.
- . (2006a), 'A Neo-Elamite royal family', *IrAnt* 41, 59–69.
- . (2006b), 'Four brothers and a throne', in Guinan, A.K. et al., eds., *If a man builds a joyful house: Assyriological studies in honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, Leiden and Boston: Cuneiform Monographs 31, 499–502.
- . (2008, app. 2010), 'Cyrus and Susa', *RA* 102, 115–18.
- . (2011a), 'Notes on the Medes and their "empire" from Jer 25:25 to Hdt. 1.134', in Frame, G. et al., eds., *A common cultural heritage: Studies on Mesopotamia and the Biblical world in honor of Barry L. Eichler*, Bethesda: CDL Press, 243–53.
- . (2011b), 'Parsumaš, Anšan, and Cyrus', *EP*, 285–96.
- . (2013), 'Elam, Assyria, and Babylonia in the early first millennium BC', *OHAI*, 478–99.
- . (2014), *Ancient Persia: A concise history of the Achaemenid empire, 550–530 BCE*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weeks, L.R. (1999), 'Lead isotope analyses from Tell Abra, United Arab Emirates: New data regarding the "tin problem" in Western Asia', *Antiquity* 73, 49–64.
- . (2013a), 'Iranian metallurgy of the fourth millennium BC in its wider technological and cultural contexts', *AIN*, 277–91.
- . (2013b), 'The Neolithisation of Fars', in Matthews, R. and Fazeli Nashli, H., eds., *The Neolithisation of Iran: The formation of new societies*, Oxford and Oakville, CT: Oxbow, 97–107.
- Weeks, L.R., Alizadeh, K., Niakan, L., Alamdari, K., Zeidi, M., Khosrowzadeh, A. and McCall, B. (2006), 'The Neolithic settlement of highland of SW Iran: New evidence from the Mamasani district', *Iran* 44, 1–31.
- Weeks, L.R., Petrie, C.A. and Potts, D.T. (2010), 'Ubaid-related-related? The "black-on-buff" ceramic traditions of highland south-west Iran', in Carter, R.A. and Philip, G., eds., *Beyond the Ubaid: Transformation and integration in the late prehistoric societies of the Middle East*, Chicago: SAOC 63, 247–78.
- Wehrli, C. (1968), *Antigone et Démétrios*, Geneva: Droz.
- Weidner, E.F. (1931–2), 'Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus: Kyros I. ein Zeitgenosse Assurbânâplîs', *AfO* 7, 1–7.
- . (1939), 'Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten', *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, vol. 2, Paris: Geuthner, 923–35.
- . (1954–6), 'Hochverrat gegen Asarhaddon', *AfO* 17, 5–9.
- . (1959), *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger*, Graz: AfO Beiheft 12.
- Weisberg, D.B. (1984), 'The length of the reign of Hallušu-Inšušinak', *JAOS* 104, 213–17.
- . (2003), *Neo-Babylonian texts in the Oriental Institute Collection*, Chicago: OIP 122.
- Weiss, H. (1977), 'Periodization, population and early state formation in Khuzistan', in Levine, L.D. and Young, T.C., Jr., eds., *Mountains and lowlands: Essays in the archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, Malibu: BiMes 7, 347–69.
- Weissbach, F.H. (1894), 'Das Grab des Cyrus und die Inschriften von Murghāb', *ZDMG* 48, 653–65.
- . (1895), 'Anzanisches', *ZDMG* 49, 692–4.
- . (1902), 'Susische Thontäfelchen', *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 4, 168–74.
- . (1908), 'Elymais', *RE* 5, 2458–67.
- . (1909a), 'Eulaios', *RE* 6, 1061–3.
- . (1909b), review of A. Hoffmann-Kutschke, *Die altpersischen Keilschriften des Großkönigs Dārajavausch des Ersten bei Behistun* and *Die altpersischen Keilschriften des Großkönigs Dārajavausch des Ersten am Berge Bagistān*, *ZDMG* 63, 830–46.
- . (1910a), 'Tašai', *RE* 7, 411.
- . (1910b), 'Gabiene', *RE* 7, 420.

- . (1911), *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig: VAB 3.
- . (1921), 'Κισσία', *RE* 11, 519–21.
- . (1922a), 'Κορβιανή', *RE* 11, 1382.
- . (1922b), 'Κοσσαίοι', *RE* 11, 1499–1503.
- . (1927), 'Sostra', *RE*² 5, 1199.
- . (1930), 'Μασσαβατιχη', *RE*² 28, 2123.
- Weissert, E. (1997), 'Creating a political climate: Literary allusions to Enūma Eliš in Sennacherib's account of the Battle of Halule', in Waetzoldt, H. and Hauptmann, H., eds., *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten*, Heidelberg: HSAO 6, 191–202.
- Wenke, R.J. (1976), 'Imperial investments and agricultural developments in Parthian and Sasanian Khuzestan: 150 BC to AD 640', *Mesopotamia* 10–11, 31–221.
- . (1981), 'Elymeans, Parthians, and the evolution of empires in southwestern Iran', *JAOS* 101, 303–15.
- Westenholz, A. (1970), 'Berūtum, damtum, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL: Burial of dead enemies in ancient Mesopotamia', *AfO* 23, 27–31.
- . (1979), 'The Old Akkadian empire in contemporary opinion', in Larsen, M.T., ed., *Power and propaganda: A symposium on ancient empires*, Copenhagen: Mesopotamia 7, 107–24.
- . (1987), *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian texts in Philadelphia*, Copenhagen: CNIP 3.
- . (2000), 'Assyriologists, ancient and modern, on Naramsin and Sharkalisharri', in Marzahn, J. and Neumann, H., eds., *Assyriologica et Semitica: Festschrift für Joachim Oelsner anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 18. Februar 1997*, Münster: AOAT 252, 545–56.
- Westenholz, J.G. (1997), 'Nanaya: Lady of mystery', in Finkel, I.L. and Geller, M.J., eds., *Sumerian gods and their representations*, Groningen: Cuneiform Monographs 7, 57–84.
- Westphal, G. (1901), *Untersuchungen über die Quellen und die Glaubwürdigkeit der Patriarchenchroniken des Mari Ibn Sulaiman, 'Amr Ibn Matai und Saliba Ibn Johannan I. Bis zum Beginn des nestorianischen Streites*, Kirchhain: University of Strasbourg.
- Widengren, G. (1971), 'The establishment of the Sasanian dynasty in the light of new evidence', in *La Persia nel medioevo*, Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei Quaderno 160, 711–82.
- Wiesehöfer, J. (1978), *Der Aufstand Gaumātas und die Anfänge Dareios' I.*, Bonn: Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Alte Geschichte 13.
- . (1994), *Die 'dunklen Jahrhunderte' der Persis: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fāers in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330–140 v. Chr.)*, Munich: Zetemata 90.
- . (1996), 'Discordia et Defectio – Dynamis kai Pithanourgia. Die frühen Seleukiden und Iran', in Funck, B., ed., *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 29–56.
- . (2002), 'Συνοίκις und ἀπορία χρημάτων. Antiochos IV. und die Heiligtümer der Elymais', in Ehrhardt, N. and Günther, L.-M., eds., *Widerstand – Anpassung – Integration. Die griechische Staatenwelt und Rom. Festschrift für Jürgen Deininger*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 109–20.
- . (2006), 'Das elymäische Doppeldiadem', in Rollinger, R. and Truschegg, B., eds., *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart: Oriens et Occidens 12, 401–6.
- . (2013), 'Fratarakā and Seleucids', *OHAI*, 718–27.
- Wiessner, G. (1967), 'Zu den Subskriptionslisten der ältesten christlichen Synoden in Iran', in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 288–98.
- Wiggermann, F.A.M. (1992), *Mesopotamian protective spirits: The ritual texts*, Groningen: STYX and PP Publications.
- . (1996), 'Scenes from the shadow side', in Vogelzang, M.E. and Vanstiphout, H.L.J., eds., *Mesopotamian poetic language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, Groningen: Cuneiform Monographs 6 [= Proceedings of the Groningen Group for the Study of Mesopotamian Literature Vol. 2], 207–30.
- Wilcke, C. (1987), 'Inschriften 1983–1984 (7.–8. Kampagne)', in Hrouda, B., *Isin-Išān Bahrīyāt III*, Munich: Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse, Abh. N.F. 94, 83–120.
- . (2010), 'Die Inschrift "Tukultī-Ninurta I 1". Tukultī-Ninurtas I. von Assyrien

- Feldzug gegen Gutäer und andere, nordöstliche und nordwestliche Feinde und der erste Bericht über den Bau seines neuen Palastes', in Fincke, J.C., ed., *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm anlässlich seines 65. Geburtstages am 28. Januar 2010*, Dresden: Islet Verlag, 411–46.
- . (2011), 'Eine Weihinschrift Gudeas von Lagaš mit altbabylonischer Übersetzung', *CUSAS* 17, 29–47.
- Wilhelm, A. (1935), 'Drei griechische Epigramme aus Susa und aus Heliopolis-Baalbek', *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philosophische-historische Klasse, Fachgruppe 1 NF* 1/4, 79–94.
- Will, E. (1979), *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av. J.-C.)*, Vol. 1, Nancy: Annales de l'Est, Mémoire 30.
- Willcox, G. (1990), 'Charcoal remains from Tepe Abdul Hosein', in Pullar, J., *Tepe Abdul Hosein: A Neolithic site in western Iran, excavations 1978*, Oxford: BAR Int Ser 563, 223–7.
- . (1992), 'Timber and trees: Ancient exploitation in the Middle East; Evidence from plant remains', *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 6, 1–31.
- Winckler, H. (1891), 'Zu den altsusischen Inschriften', *ZA* 6, 317–26.
- . (1905), *Auszug aus der vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung.
- Windfuhr, G.L. (1974), 'Isoglosses: A sketch on Persians and Parthians, Kurds and Medes', in *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg*, vol. 2, *Hommages et Opera Minora*, AcIr 5, 457–72.
- Winter, E. (1988), *Die sasanidisch-römischen Friedensverträge des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. – ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der außenpolitischen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden Großmächten*, Frankfurt: Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe III, Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften 350.
- Winter, I. (1996), 'Artists' trial pieces from Susa?', *CO*, 397–406.
- Wiseman, D.J. (1956), *Chronicles of the Chaldaean kings (626–556 BC) in the British Museum*, London: The British Museum.
- . (1984), *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . (1991), 'Babylonia 605–539 BC', *CAH* 3/2, 229–51.
- Wolski, J. (1977), 'L'Iran dans la politique des séleucides', *AAASH* 25, 149–56.
- . (1983), 'Les relations de Justin et de Plutarque sur les esclaves et la population dépendante dans l'empire parthe', *Iran* 18, 145–57.
- . (1989), 'L'hellénisme et l'Iran', in Mactoux, M.-M. and Geny, E., eds., *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque 2: Anthropologie et société*, Paris: Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 377, 439–46.
- . (1993), *L'empire des Arsacides*, Leiden: AcIr 32.
- Wright, H.T. (1981), *An early town on the Deh Luran plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, No. 13.
- . (2013), 'A bridge between worlds: south-western Iran during the fourth millennium BC', *AIN*, 51–74.
- Wright, H.T. and Carter, E. (2003), 'Archaeological survey on the western Ram Hormuz plain, 1969', *YBYN*, 61–82.
- Wright, H.T. and Johnson, G.A. (1985), 'Regional perspectives on southwest Iranian state development', *Paléorient* 11, 25–30.
- Wright, H.T., Miller, N. and Redding, R. (1980), 'Time and process in an Uruk rural center', in *L'archéologie de l'Iraq, du début de l'Époque néolithique à 333 avant notre ère. Perspectives et limites de l'interprétation anthropologique des documents*, Paris: Colloques Internationaux du C.N.R.S. 580, 265–84.
- Wright, H.T. and Neely, J.A. (2010), *Elamite and Achaemenid settlement on the Deh Luran plain: Towns and villages of the early empires in south-western Iran*, Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, 47.
- Wroth, W. (1900), 'On the rearrangement of Parthian coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle* 3rd ser. 20, 181–99.
- Wu, Y. (1994), *A political history of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria during the Early Old Babylonian period (from the end of Ur III to the death of Šamši-Adad)*, Changchun: Supplement to the *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 1.
- Wulff, H.E. (1966), *The traditional crafts of Persia: Their development, technology and influence on Eastern and Western civilizations*, Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.
- Wunsch, C. (1993), *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk: Zum Handel mit Naturalien im 6. Jahrhundert v.*

- Chr., Groningen: Cuneiform Monographs 3a–b.
- Yang, Z. (1989), *Sargonic inscriptions from Adab*, Changchun: Northeast Normal University.
- Yoffee, N. (1993), 'The late great tradition in ancient Mesopotamia', in Cohen, M.E., Snell, D. and Weisberg, D, eds., *The tablet and the scroll: Near Eastern studies in honor of William W. Hallo*, Bethesda: CDL Press, 300–8.
- Young, T.C., Jr. (1986), 'Godin Tepe VI/V and central western Iran at the end of the fourth millennium', in Finkbeiner, U. and Röllig, W., eds., *Ĝamdat Našr: Period or regional style?*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft B 62, 212–28.
- . (2003), 'Parsua, Parsa, and potsherds', *YBYN*, 243–48.
- Young, T.C., Jr. and Levine, L.D. (1974), *Excavations of the Godin project: Second progress report*, Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 26.
- Yusifov, Y.B. (1963), 'Elamskie chozjajstvennye dokumenty iz Suz', *VDI* 84/2, 189–22 and 85/3, 199–261.
- . (1974), 'The problem of the order of succession in Elam again', *AAASH* 22, 321–31.
- . (1975), 'Elamische Probleme', *OLZ* 70/5, 437–40.
- Zaccagnini, C. (1979), *The rural landscape of the land of Arraphé*, Rome: Quaderni di Geografia Storica 1.
- Zadok, R. (1976a), 'On the connections between Iran and Babylonia in the sixth century BC', *Iran* 14, 61–78.
- . (1976b), review of W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, *BiOr* 33, 213–19.
- . (1977), 'On five Biblical names', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 89, 266–8.
- . (1979a), 'On some non-Semitic names in cuneiform sources', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 14, 294–301.
- . (1979b), 'On some foreign population groups in first-millennium Babylonia', *Tel Aviv* 6, 164–81.
- . (1983), 'A tentative structural analysis of Elamite hypocoristica', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 18, 93–120.
- . (1984a), 'On some non-Semitic names in the ancient Near East', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 19, 385–9.
- . (1984b), *The Elamite Onomasticon*, Naples: AION Suppl. 40.
- . (1985a), *Geographical names according to New- and Late-Babylonian texts*, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beihefte B 7.
- . (1985b), 'Zur Geographie Babyloniens während des sargonidischen, chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeitalters', *WO* 16, 19–79.
- . (1986a), 'Some non-Semitic names in Akkadian sources', *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 21, 243–8.
- . (1986b), 'Notes on Esther', *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 98, 105–10.
- . (1987), 'Peoples from the Iranian plateau in Babylonia during the second millennium BC', *Iran* 25, 1–26.
- . (1990), 'Some Elamite names in Mesopotamian sources', *NABU* 1990, 39.
- . (1991), 'Elamite Onomastics', *SEL* 8, 225–37.
- . (1992), 'Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam during the 1st millennium B.C.', *Lingua Aegyptia* 2, 139–46.
- . (1993), 'Hurrians as well as individuals bearing Hurrian and strange names in Sumerian sources', in Rainey, A.F., ed., *Kinattūtu ša dārañ: Raphael Kutscher memorial volume*, Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University Occasional Publications No. 1, 219–45.
- . (1994), 'Elamites and other peoples from Iran and the Persian Gulf region in early Mesopotamian sources', *Iran* 32, 31–51.
- . (1995a), 'On the late-Assyrian texts from Dur-Katlimmu and the significance of the NA documentation for ethno-linguistic classification', *NABU* 1995, 2.
- . (1995b), 'A document concerning work in Elam: BM 49718', *NABU* 1995, 4.
- . (1995c), 'The ethno-linguistic character of the Jezireh and adjacent regions in the 9th–7th centuries (Assyria proper vs. periphery)', in Liverani, M., ed., *Neo-Assyrian geography*, Rome: Quaderni di Geografia Storica 5, 217–82.
- . (2001), 'On the location of NA Parsua', *NABU* 2001, 28.
- . (2002), 'The ethno-linguistic character of northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian period', *Iran* 40, 89–151.
- . (2009), *Iranische Personennamen in der neu- und spätbabylonischen Nebenüberlieferung*,

- Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 777.
- . (2011), 'The Babylonia-Elam connections in the Chaldaean and Achaemenid periods (part one)', *Tel Aviv* 38, 120–43.
- . (2013), 'Linguistic groups in Iran', *OHAI*, 407–22.
- Zakeri, M. (1995), *Sasanid soldiers in early Muslim society: The origins of 'Ayyaran and Futuwwa*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Zalaghi, A. (2014), 'Entwicklung der Siedlungsmuster im Westen des Karkheh-Flusses in der Region Khuzestan (Iran) in prähistorischer Zeit', *Elamica* 4, 193–291.
- Zambelli, M. (1963), 'La lettera di Artabano III alla città di Susa', *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 91, 154–69.
- Zawadzki, S. (1988), *The fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian relations in light of the Nabopolassar Chronicle*, Poznań: Seria Historia 149.
- . (1996a), 'The first Persian journey of Itti-Marduk-Balaṭu', *AMI* 27, 123–6.
- . (1996b), 'Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian usurpers in the light of the Bisitun inscription and Babylonian sources', *AMI* 27, 127–46.
- . (2001), 'Zazannu and Šušān in the Babylonian texts from the archive of the Šāhit ginē family', *VD*, 723–44.
- Zeder, M. (1986), 'The equid remains from Tale Malyan, southern Iran', in Meadow, R.H. and Uerpmann, H.-P., eds., *Equids in the ancient world*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden: TAVO Beiheft 19/1, 366–412.
- . (1988), 'Understanding urban process through the study of specialized subsistence economy in the Near East', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 7, 1–55.
- . (1991), *Feeding cities: Specialized animal economy in the ancient Near East*, Washington, DC and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Zeder, M.A. and Blackman, J. (2003), 'Economy and administration at Banesh Malyan: Exploring the potential of faunal and chemical data for understanding state process', *YBYN*, 121–39.
- Ziegler, K. (1979), 'Kossaioi', *KP* 3, 316.
- Zutterman, C. (2003), 'The bow in the Ancient Near East, a re-evaluation of archery from the late 2nd millennium to the end of the Achaemenid empire', *IrAnt* 38, 119–65.

INDEX

- A'anzu, 82
 Aahitek, 202
 Abalgamash, 96
 Abbashaga, 126
 Abieshuh, 160
 Abiradu, 326
 Abu Fanduweh, 55
 Abu Salabikh, 80, 234
 Abulites, 312, 343, 345
 Aburanum, 130
 Açina, 315
 acorns, 369ff.
 Acropole, see [Susa](#)
 Adab, 98
 Adad-erish, 195
 Adad-nirari, III, 253, 265
 Adad-Rabi, 167
 Adad-sharru-rabu, 179
 Adad-shuma-iddina, 223
 Adad-shuma-usur, 224
 Adamdun, 125, 137
adda kalam, 150
 Afghanistan, 158
 Agade, 98, 116
 Agapit, 425
 Agapta, 420
 Agha Jari, hills, 19
 Aginis, 389
 Ahasuerus, 9, 327ff.
 Ahriman, 366
 Ahuramazda, 315, 317, 340ff., 377
 Ahwaz, 19, 409ff.
 Ainsworth, W.F., 15
akinakes, 337
 Akkadian, language, 154; personal names, 154
 Akkadianization, of Susa and Susiana, 101
 Akshak, 98
 Aksi-marti, 304
 Al Untash-Napirisha, see [Choga Zanbil](#)
 alabaster, 221
 Aleppo, 158
 Alexander, I Balas, 367, 377, 382; satrap of Persis, 353ff.; the Great, 25, 27, 263, 307, 343ff., 346, 349, 351, 355, 367
 Allabria, 253
 Allahad, 158
 alluviation, 25ff.
 Alumiddatum, 132
 Amar-Sin, 116, 126, 129, 130
 ambassadors, 130, 157, 253
 Amedirra, 277
 Amel-Marduk, 287
 Amida, 415
 Ammiditana, 161
 Ammisaduqa, 161, 177
 Amorites, 156
 Ampe, 389
 Ampirish, 304
 Amurru, 181
 Anahita, 378, 407
 Anatolia, 174
 Andia, 253
 Andreas, F.C., 282, 310
 Anni-ilha, 304
 Anni-Shilha, 304
 Anshan, 11, 77, 116, 126ff., 129, 132ff., 141, 149, 203, 242, 299, 304ff., 308, 310
 Antigonus, the One-Eyed, 351
 Antioch, on-the-Orontes, 411, 416, 420
 Antiochia, in-Persis, 353
 Antiochus, general, 384; I 353, 363, 383; II, 353; III, 353, 363ff., 368, 375ff., 377, 381; IV, 377ff., 378ff.; V, 377; VII, 389
 Anu, 283, 365
 Anzan, 264ff.
 Anzaze, 380, 390ff.
 Anzu, 161
 Apadana, see [Susa](#)
 Apamea, in-Mesene, 383
 Aphrodite, 378
 Aple, 389
 Apollo, 343, 381

- Apollodoros, 354
 Apolloniatis, 375, 380
 Apollophanos, 364
 apples, 127
 Apuliti, 312
 Arabs, Taghlib, 414
 Arahir, 132
 Aramaeans, 253, 257, 264
 Aramaic, 318, 403; coin legends, 396
 Arashu, 280
 Arawa, 83, 91, 125
 Archaic texts, see *Uruk*
 Archelaos, 343
 Arda-Mulishshi, 267
 Ardashir, I, 408ff.
 Ardaya, 382ff.
 Argishti-henele, 295
 Aristolochos, 343
 Arjan, 295, 301ff., 409
 Armanum, 97
 Armavir, 295
 armour, 271
 army, Assyrian, 253
 Arraphe, 234
 arsenic, 210
 Artabanus, I, 389; II, 389; III, 363; IV, 398, 408
 Artaxerxes, I, 9, 331; II, 9, 327, 329, 331ff., 357; III, 332
 Artemis, 378
 Arukku, 281
 Ashuhash, 234
 Ashur-Dan, I, 234
 'Askar Mukram, 409
 Aspasine, see *Hyspaosines*
 Assur-nadin-shumi, 261, 267ff.
 Assur, 126, 156, 159, 220, 222
 Assurbanipal, 251, 260, 262, 269ff., 277, 279, 283, 304, 365
 Assurnasirpal, II, 253
 Assyria, 252ff.
 Astyages, 289, 310
 Atamaita, 316
 Atamrum, 158
 Athena, 367ff.
 Athibu, 195
 Atta-hamiti-Inshushinak, 265, 291, 316
 Atta-hushu, 153, 171; axe, 167
 Attametu, 277
 Attar-kittah, 197, 199, 203, 214, 227
 Aurelian, 416
 Avva, 296
 Awal, 116
 Awan, 72, 79, 81ff., 86, 92, 100, 113ff., 137
 Ayapir, 293, 305
 Azahar, 132
 Azar, 392
 Azara, 391ff.
 Azerbaijan, 112
 Baba Jan, 90, 329
 Babylon, 140, 157, 159, 160, 243, 255, 261, 263, 266, 277, 290, 308, 329, 332, 382
 Bactria, 158, 169, 323
 Bactria-Margiana, 94, 133
 Badakê, 263, 351
 Badakhshan, 158
 Bahram II, 172
 Baitawand, 376
 Bakhtiyari, mountains, 245, 345, 370; nomads, 370
 Bakun, phase, 53; pottery, 73
bala, 126
 Balahute, 234; 293
 Balahuteppe, 235
 Balippiti, 227
 Baluchistan, 91, 93
 Bama, 294
 Bampur, 91
 Band-e Kaisar, 413
 Bandar Abbas, 14, 18
 Banesh, Early phase, 66; Middle and Late, 72, 143
 bangles, shell, 111
 Bani Surmah, 88, 90
 Banu Ka'b, 22
 Bar-Uli, 233
 Barahshum, 82, 92ff., 94, 96ff.; see also *Marhashi*
 Bard-e Nechandeh, 377ff., 383, 390, 392, 395ff.
 Bard-i But, 400
 barley, 144
 Barsine, 349
 Bashime, 149; see also *Mishime*
 Basinna, 414
 Be(th) Huza(j)e, 11, 369, 420
 Be(th) Lapat, 416, 425
 beads, etched carnelian, 111
 Behbahan, 19, 295, 301, 391
 Bel-dusha, 376
 Bel-ibni, 276ff.
 Bel-iqisha, 269
 Bel, 368, 376ff., 381
 Belala, 210
 Belapaton, 416
 Belet-Ali, 210, 214, 215
 Beli-Ariq, 126
 Belilit, 214
 Benjamin, of Tudela, 9, 11, 327
 Beranan, 97
 Bernshtam, A., 48
 Bes, 194
 Bilalama, 140
 Billatu, 261
 Binzird, 97
 Birdawn, 414
 Birud, 414
 Bishapur, 411
 bismuth, 211
 Bisotun, 313ff., 340; Heracles relief, 367
 Bit-Bunakku, see *Bit-Burnaki*

- Bit-Burnaki/ Burnakka, 263, 280
 Bit-Dakkuri, 268
 Bit-Imbi, 270
 Bit-Jakin, 254, 259, 261, 268
 Bit-Karkudi, 384
 Bit-Karziabku, 244
 Bit-Sagbat, 258
 bitumen, 81, 210; compound, 165
 Bochart, Samuel, 370
 Bode, Baron C.A. de, 370, 391
 booty, 98, 133, 169, 228, 299
 Borsippa, 332
 bow, 130, 253, 338ff.
bratus, 404
 bread, 129
 Brentjes, B., 337
 brocade, 414
 bronze, 126, 166, 210, 211, 242, 291
 Bubastis, 220
 bullae, at Susa, 63; Sasanian, 420, 423
 Bulma, 132
 Bunban, 92
 burials, 255
 Burna-Buriash, II, 205, 212, 222
 Bushehr, 15, 18, 144, 161, 168, 204, 230, 353, 414
 Buzurg-Sabur, 413

 Cambyses, 311, 313
 camels, Bactrian, 94
 Cameron, G.G., 6, 100, 150, 269, 283
caravanserais, 130
 Carians, 323
 carnelian, 126, 323
 Caspian Sea, 133
 cedar, 323
 Central Asia, 112, 133
 Chaldaea, 254, 264
 Chaldaeans, 261, 293
 Characene, 388
 charcoal, 27
 Chardin, Jean, 8
 chariots, 89ff., 190, 194
 cheetah, 141
 Chigha Sabz, 304
 Choga Gavaneh, 163
 Choga Kal, 415
 Choga Mish, 49, 56, 61, 65, 166
 Choga Pahn, East, 198, 205; West, 225, 230
 Choga Sefid, 28
 Choga Zambil, 176ff., 214ff., 227, 240, 245, 278, 311, 329; palace, 221ff.; tombs, 221ff.; ziggurat, 214ff.
 Chorasmia, 323
 Christianity, in Khuzistan, 414, 417, 422
 Christians, persecution of, 422
Chronicle, Babylonian, 253ff., 260, 262ff., 266ff., 268; *Dynastic*, 252; *of Early Kings*, 178; *Nabopolassar*, 283; *P*, 202, 223; 2, 284; *of Seert*, 412, 414, 425; *Syriac*, 425
 Cilicia, 311, 380

 Cincaxraish, 316
 clamps, dovetail, 310
 climate, 14ff., 19, 23ff.
 cobalt, 211
 coinage, Achaemenid, 338; Arsacid, 389ff.; Characenean, 389; Elymaean, 348ff., 379ff., 394ff.; Sasanian, 424; Seleucid, 351ff., 377, 380, 381, 383
 colonies, Greek military, 357
 copper, 90, 126, 166, 169, 211, 228, 242
 Cosmas Indicopleustes, 354
 couriers, 130
courte durée, 428ff.
 Ctesiphon, 416
 cubit, Elamite, 215
 cultivars, 38ff.
 Cumont, Franz, 378
Curse of Agade, 161
Cyropaedia, 312
 Cyrus, I, 281, 304; II, 269, 281, 305, 307ff., 313; Cylinder, 308; tomb of, 311

 Dada, 130
 Dadisho, 425
 Dadusha, 157
 dagger, Elamite, 337
 Dahak, 439
 Dalta, 258ff.
 Daniel, prophet, 5, 9, 11
 Dar Tanha, 90
 Darab, 411
 Darabgird, 408
 Darius, I, 279, 310, 313ff., 343; II, 331ff.; III, 312, 343ff., 369
 Darvazeh Tepe, 243
Datepalm and Tamarisk, 161
 dates, 355
 Dauraq, 235, 409
 deer, red, 28
 deforestation, 21
 Deh Hosein, 158
 Deh Luran, 15, 81, 88, 167, 263
 Deh-e Now, 55, 199, 202, 225, 230
 della Valle, Pietro, 7
 Demetrianus, bishop of Antioch, 414
 Demetrius, I, 377, 382; II, 377, 382, 386, 389
 deportation, 282, 413ff.
 Der, 156, 210, 234, 252, 266, 270; battle of, 255
 Diadochoi, 351, 357
 Diana, 378
 diaries, astronomical, 332, 346, 382, 385
 Didyma, 343
 Dieulafoy, Jane, 327; Marcel, 327, 330, 356, 381
 Dilbat, 289, 293, 304
 Dilmun, 168
 Diogenes, 379
 Dirtaq, see *Tartaq*
 Diyala, region, 81, 116, 234
 Diz, river, 19, 394, 413

- Dizful, 19, 234, 413
 Donjon, see *Susa*
 Doriscus, 332ff., 335
 dress, 336
 Drouin, Edmond, 381
 Dudu, 99
 Dum Gar Parchineh, 53
Dumuzi's Dream, 161
 Dunanu, 271
 Dur Kurigalzu, 190
 Dur-Jakin, 257ff.
 Dur-Katlimmu, 282
 Dur-Kurigalzu, 227, 257
 Dur-Ladini, 257
 Dur-Papsukkal, 252
 Dur-Sharrukin, see *Khorsabad*
 Dur-Untash, 278
 Duwairij, river, 263

 Ea-gamil, 178
 Ea[?]-sunkir, 210
 Eanna, see *Uruk*
 Eannatum, 82, 95ff., 92, 99
 Ebabbar, 155
 Ebarat, I, 94, 135; II, 135, 137, 143, 149
 Ebla, 81, 97, 234
 Egibi, 311, 332
 Egirda, 130
 Egypt, 288
 Egyptians, 326
 Ekallatum, 156
 Ekbatana, 253, 370, 377, 398
 Ekikuanna, 161
 Elamatum, 168
 Elamite, Achaemenid, 295, 381; language, 8; Linear, 72, 117ff.; Old, 71, 100; syllabary, 250
 Elammat, 202
elammatum, 1, 6
Elamtu, 4
 elders, of Elam, 276
 elephant, at Haft Tepe, 188
 Ellipi, 253, 258ff., 264
 Elymaea, 375
 Elymaeans, 11, 368, 370ff., 379, 384
 Elymais, 351ff., 370ff., 375, 377, 380, 389
 Emar, 132
 Emashini, 99
 Emutbal, see *Yamutbal*
 Enannatum, 86
 English East India Company, 7
 Enki, 156, 215
 Enlil-nadin-ahi, 229
 Enlil-nadin-shumi, 223
 Enlil, 98, 181
 Enmebaragesi, 81, 92
 Enna'il, 82, 92
ensí, 100, 114, 125ff., 129, 135, 140, 145
 Entemena, 99
Enuma Elish, 266

 Enzag/k, 168
 Ephrem, 425
 Epirmupi, 97, 100, 105
 Eran-xwarrah-Shapur, 420ff., 424
 Eran-xwarrah-Shapur-shahrestan, 415, 417, 420ff.
 Eridu, 52
 erosion, soil, 21
 Erythraean Sea, 353
 Esagila, 243
 Esarhaddon, 261, 267ff.
 Eshnunna, 116, 140, 149, 157ff., 227
 Eshpum, 96ff.
 Esther, Book of, 5, 326, 410
Etana, Legend of, 161
 ethnicity, 48ff., 434ff.
 ethnogenesis, 48ff., 305, 434ff.
 Eumenes, of Cardia, 351, 355
 extispicy, 189
 Ezekiel, Book of, 288ff.

 Fahliyan, 230
 faience, 242; see also *glaze*
 Falkenstein, Adam, 134
 Fam as-Silh, 383
 fauna, 28ff., 73
 federation, 145
 fenugreek, 38
 figurines, 111, 166, 181ff., 194, 210, 219ff., 396
 flora, 20
 Flower, Samuel (or Stephen), 7
 fodder, 144
 forest, oak-pistachio, 24
 Foy-Vaillant, Jean, 379
frataraka, 352
 Fravartish, 316
 fuel, 27

 Gabae, 378
 Gabai, 367
 Gabiane, 367, 375
 Gambulu, 269, 271
 Gandhara, 323
 Ganj Dareh, 36
 Gardaneh Gulmash, 375
 Gardner, Percy, 380
 garlic, 127
garmsir, 22
 Garta, 132
 Gasur, 98
 Gaubaruva, 316
 Gaugamela, 343, 345, 369
 Gaumata, 313, 315
 Gautier, Joseph-Étienne, 88
 Ghirshman, Roman, 216, 328ff., 330, 367, 422
Gilgamesh and Huwawa A, 161
 Ginadu, 186
 GÌR.NÍTA, 99ff., 105, 114, 140ff.
 Girmamme, 135
 Girsu, 100, 117, 127, 130, 149

- Gitiya, 293
 glaciers, 24
 glaze, 216, 242, 255; see also *faience*
 glyptic, Achaemenid, 307; Anshanite, 94, 143;
 Anzanite or late Neo-Elamite, 334; Cappadocian, 167; Dilmun, 168; Early Dynastic, 85, 89;
 Elamite, 220; Elamo-Persian, 250, 290; Greco-Persian, 334; Isin-Larsa, 167; Kassite, 220; Middle Elamite, 179ff., 182ff., 186ff., 190, 220, 223; Neo-Assyrian, 290; Neo-Elamite, 302, 304; Old Akkadian, 105ff., 111; Old Babylonian, 167; popular Elamite, 143, 167, 170; Proto-Elamite, 67, 73; Shimashkian, 137, 140; *sukkalimah*, 167, 190; Susa I, 53; Susa II, 53, 60, 64; Susa III, 67
 goblet, Elamite, 255
 Godin Tepe, 61, 86, 88, 90 143, 161, 329, 355
 gold, 126, 155, 166, 210, 211, 227ff., 242, 291, 323
 Gondeisos, 393ff., 416
 Gondisapor, see *Gundeshapur*
 Gonur Depe, 117
 Gordian, III, 411
 Gotarzes, I, 389; II, 389, 394
 grape, 355
 grasses, 27
 Greek, use of, 357, 364
 Greeks, 322
 greyware, incised, 163, 165
 griffon, 219
 Gu'abba, 83, 85
 Gudea, 116ff.
gún ma-da, 125
 Gundeshapur, 413, 415ff., 421, 425
 Gungunum, 149ff., 153
 Gunilaha, 92, 94
 Gupin, 94
 Guti, 106, 112, 156ff.
 Gutium, 112, 160
 Gutschmid, Alfred von, 376, 381
- Habuba Kabira, 61
 Hadanu, 277
hadish, 330
 Haft Tepe, 171, 179ff., 184ff.; stele, 185ff.; royal tomb, 186ff.; Terrace Complex I, 186ff.; Terrace Complex II, 194
 Haidala, see *Hidalu*
 Hajji Firuz, 355
 Hakalan, 53
 Halilrud, 91; see also *Jiroft*
 Halkatash, 291
 Hallo, W.W., 126
 Hallushu-Inshushinak, 260
 Hallushu, 260ff.
 Hallutush-Inshushinak, 213, 225, 227, 260, 265, 291,
 Halule, 264ff.
 Hamadan, 253
 Hamanu, 278
 Hammurabi, 157, 160; Codex or Law Code of, 225
 Hani, 346
 Hanni, 291, 295, 299ff., 303, 305
 Hapate, 234
 harbours, 18
 harp, 298
 Harshi, 129
 Hasanlu, 329
Hatamti, 4
 Hatra, 411
 Haulāye, 266
haute terrasse, see *Susa*
 Hawiza, marshes, 22
 Hazor, 158
 Hedyphon, river, 353, 391
 Heni, 92
 Henning, W.B., 376, 398, 403ff.
 Heracles, 367ff.
 Herodotus, 305
 Hi-she-ip ra-te-ip, 82
 Hi-shi-ip-ra-shi-ni, 82, 99
 Hidalu, 260ff., 263, 270, 274ff., 279ff.
 Hidarida-, 92
 Hilim, 276, 280
 Hilmu, 161
 Hindian, see *Zuhreh*
 hinnies, 144
 Hinz, Walter, 6, 145
 Hishibrashini, 92, 99
 Hishmitik, 214, 215
histoire totale, 430ff., 436
 Hita, 100
hiyan, 225
 Hoffmann, Georg, 375, 378
 Holleaux, Maurice, 378
 Hormizd-Ardashir, 409, 415, 417
 horns, on buildings, 65, 279
 horse, 242, 424
 Hoski, 369
 Hozki, see *Hoski*
 Hu'urti, 126
 Hu(m)ban, 101, 214, 299, 340
 Huban-haltash, I, 267; II, 267ff.; III, 291
 Huban-kidin, 270
 Huban-kitin, 290ff.
 Huban-mena, 254
 Huban-menana, 265; III, 264
 Huban-nikash, I, 253ff.; II, 270, 274; son of Merodach-Baladan, 267
 Huban-tahra, 253, 291
 Huban-Untash, 266
 Hubshen, 225
 Hudhud, river, 277
 Hudimiri, 281
 Huhnur, 116, 126, 134, 196, 293
 Huhun, 301
 Hulailan, 143
 Humbahaldashu, 267
 Humban-numena, 197, 203, 205, 225, 230, 246
 Humban, see *Hu(m)ban*
 Humbanundasha, 266

- Hung-i Azhdar, 385, 400
 Hung-i Kamalvand, 400
 Hung-i Nauruzi, see *Hung-i Azhdar*
 Hung-i Yar-i 'Alivand, 400
 Hupanna, 290
 Hupapanu, 261
 Hurpatila, 202
 Hutelutush-Inshushinak, 233, 235, 240, 242, 244, 246, 254
 Hutran-tepti, 291
 Hutran, 101
 Huzi-x, 92
 Huziya, 410
Hwzstn, 410
 Hyakinthos, 367
 Hyrcania, 384, 385
 Hyspaosines, 388ff.

 I/Ashpabara, 258ff.
 Iapulmat, see *Nipulmat*
 Ibal-pi-EL, II, 160
 Ibbi-Sin, 127, 130, 134ff., 141
 Ibnahaza, see *Nibhaz*
 Ibni-Adad, 167
 Idattu, I, 135, 137, 140; II, 137, 140
 Idattu-napir, 135, 140
 Idattu-temti, 135
 Iddin-Dagan, 141
 identity, 48ff.
 ideograms, 68
 Idide, river, 278
 Igi-halki, 178, 197, 199, 225, 230
 Igihalkids, 176ff.
 Igi-hatet, 201
 Ilaba, 101
 Ili'ishmani, 97, 100
 Ilshu-rabi, 96
 IM, 210, 214, 215
 Imanish, 316
 Imazu, 137, 141
 Imbappa, 259, 277
 Immeriya, 205
 impacts, human, 26
 Imtaa, 112
 Inanna, 98, 214, 232; see also *Ishtar*
 Indabibi, 278
 Indada, 254, 291
 Indassu, 157
 Indasu, 133, 157
 India, 323
 inlays, mother-of-pearl, 89
 Inshushinak-shar-ilani, 179ff., 186, 195ff.
 Inshushinak, 58, 101, 124, 161, 170, 179ff., 183, 190, 204, 210ff., 214ff., 217ff., 227, 229ff., 233ff., 240, 260, 269, 291, 293
Instructions of Shuruppak, 161
 Intercultural Style, 91
Introduction of Grain to Sumer, 161
 Inzak, see *Enzag*

 Inzuzu, 171
 Ionia, 310
 Ionians, 323, 327
 Ipsos, 351
 Iqbi-Bel, 257
 Iramians, 265; see also *Persians*
 Irmakka, 294
 iron, 210, 291
 irrigation, 20, 144, 393
 Ishara, 101
 Ishbi-Erra, 134ff., 141
 Ishkibal, 178
 Ishnikarab, 210, 214, 215, 230, 239, 255
 Ishnikarabat, 233
 Ishnikarab-huhun, 240
 Ishtar-hundu, 254
 Ishtar, 317; see also *Inanna*
 Ishtaran, 156, 210
 Isin, 134, 140, 149, 155, 223; First Dynasty of, 134; Second Dynasty of, 234ff., 254
 Ispubarza, 390
 Israel, 282
 Istakhr, 407
 Ivan-e Kerkha, 363, 420, 422
 ivories, 331
 Izeh, 183

 Jabal Aruda, 61
 Jabal Hamrin, 19, 81, 116
 Jacobsen, Thorkild, 134
 Jamdat Nasr, 62, 80; texts, 68
 Jari, ware, 73
 Jarrahi, river, 353, 391; see also *Hedyphon*
 Jéquier, Gustave, 328
 Jeremiah, Book of, 5, 285, 289
 Jiroft, 91, 93, 117
 Joobji, 303
 jujube, 20

 Ka'ba-i Zardosht, 408
 Kabinak, see *Kabnak*
 Kabir Kuh, 15
 Kabnak, 194ff., 197
 Kabnashkir, 383
 Kadamashman-^dKUR.GAL, 181
 Kadamashman-Enlil, I, 181
 Kadamashman-Harbe, 181
 Kaftari, ceramic style, 143
 Kammashkiri, 379, 382
 Kamnashkiri, 388
 Kamniskires-Orodes, 384
 Kamniskires, Megas Soter (I), 379, 381ff., 392; Nikephorus (II), 380ff., 388, 390ff.
 Kamul, 225
 Kandalanu, 283
 Kanesh, see *Kültepe*
 Kangavar, 86, 88, 143, 376
Kar Namak-i Ardashir-i Papakan, 408
 Karafto, see *Qalah Karafto*

- Karaindash, 227, 232
 Karda, see *Garta*
 Kardedde, 92
 Karka d'Ledan, 417, 420ff., 425
 Karkh, 421
 Karkhai, 296
 Karkheh, river, 19, 22, 227, 244, 263; see also *Ulai*
 Karmanians, 368
 Kartir, 410
 Karun, river, 9, 19
 Kashtilashu, I, 223; IV, 224
 Kassites, 178, 197, 205, 223, 244, 258, 333, 369
 Kawadh, I, 414
 Kazallu, 96, 116, 135, 155
 Kedor-Laomer, 5, 229
 Kerman, 93, 117, 323, 414
 Kermanshah, 15, 258
 Khabur, river, 282
 Khafajah, 60, 81, 88
 Kharg, 396
 Kheit Qasim I, 89
 Khorramabad, 304ff.
 Khorsabad, 255
 Khusrau, I, 415; II, 415, 424
 Khwasak, 398ff., 409
 Kidin-Hutran, I, 199, 223; II, 197, 199, 203, 223ff.; son of Kurlush, 302
 Kidinanu, 284
 Kidinu, 161, 177, 179, 181
 Kidinuids, 176ff.
 Kilah shupir, 214
 Kimash, 129
 Kindattu, 134ff., 137, 140ff.
 Kinneir, J.M., 376
 Kipri, 234
 Kipû, 239
 Kiririsha, 210ff., 214ff., 225, 230, 240
 Kirwashir, 179, 214
 Kish, 81, 86, 96, 135
 Kishsik, 258
 Kismar, 116, 234
 Kissia, 333
 Kissians, 332ff., 335, 368
 Kitepatin, 290
 Kitikka, 294
 Kleomenis, 367
 Konar Sandal, 117ff.
 Kossaeans, 368ff., 379
 Kudu-zulush, II, 177
 Kudur-mabuk, 155ff., 215
 Kudur-nahundu, 262
kudurus, 225
 Kuganaka, 316
 Kuh-i Bul, 18
 Kuh-i Kharman, 18
 Kuh-i Pinar, 18
 Kuh-i Taraz, 400
 Kuk-Kirmash, 149ff.
 Kuk-Nashur, II, 161, 171, 177; III, 177ff.
 Kuk-Simut, 140
 Kukanakka, see *Kuganaka*
kukunnum, 204, 216ff., 235, 254
 Kul-e Farah, 245, 291, 296ff.
 Kültepe, 167
 Kumdupum, 92
kumpum kiduya, 232
 Kunaramika, 294
 Kur, river, 18
 Kurangun, 169ff.
 Kurash, 281ff., 304ff., 334
 Kurigalzu, I, 202, 205
 Kurlush, 290, 302
 Kushans, 411
 Kutir-Huban, 233, 242
 Kutir-Nahhunte, I, 168, 176ff., 224, 227, 229ff., 235, 243; II, 260, 262ff.
 Kûyâ, 140

 Labdudu, 416
 Lagamal/r, 230
 Lagash, 82ff., 98, 127, 130, 134; First Dynasty of, 82; Second Dynasty of, 117
 Lalintash, 293
 Laliya, 289
 Lallar, 293
 Lama, 144
 Lambert, W.G., 154
Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur, 135, 137, 141
 Lampre, Georges, 88
 Lannoy, Benjamin, 8
 Laodicea, in-Persis, 353
 lapis lazuli, 126, 210, 323
 Lapui, phase, 53ff., 66; pottery, 54ff., 73
 Larsa, 150, 155ff., 160
 Layard, A.H., 296
 Le Rider, Georges, 382
 lead, 210, 211
 Leake, W.M., 380
 Lebanon, 323
 legumes, wild, 27, 38
 Libur-beli, 105ff.
 Lil-airtash, 233
 literature, Sumerian and Babylonian, 161
 Liyan, 144, 161, 168ff., 204; see also *Tol-e Peytul*
 Lockhart, Laurence, 366
 Loftus, W.K., 9, 327, 356
 Longpérier, Adrien de, 380
longue durée, 430ff.
 Lordegan, 245
 Lu-uh-ish-shan, 82
 LÚ.Su^{ki}, see *Shimashki*
 Lu'ena, 83
lugal, 140, 145
 Lugalanda, 83ff.
 Lugalidda, 105
^d*lugal*-NIM, 80ff.
 Luhishan, 92

- Lullubi, 97, 317
 Lumatur, 86
 Luristan, 18, 27, 53, 85, 90, 158, 230, 258, 296
 Luschey, Heinz, 314
 Lydia, 310, 323
 Lydians, 327

 Ma, 364
 Mada, 253; see also *Media*
 Madaktu, 260, 263, 275, 278, 280, 351
 Madates, 344ff.
 Madites, see *Madates*
 Magan, 90, 169; see also *Oman*
 Magdalū, 282
 Magnesia, 375ff.
 Mahidasht, 24ff., 27, 86, 143, 282
 Maidan-i Naftun, 365
 Maipergat, 415
 Malamir, 179ff., 181, 295, 305, 345
 Malayer, 143
 Malgium, 160
 Mallowan, M.E.L., 215
 Mamasani, 15, 53, 144
 Manestan i mar, 420
 Mangisi, 275
 Mani, 416
 Manishtushu, 96, 99, 225
 Mankisum, 160
 Mannea, 112, 253, 255
 manumission, 364; see also *slaves*
 Manzat, 214, 225, 230
 Manzat-Ishtar, 201
 Manzi-wartash, 155
 Mar-biti-apla-usur, 252
 Marad, 116, 223
 Marduk-balassu-iqbi, 252
 Marduk-shum-ibni, 269
 Marduk-zakir-shumi, 258
 Marduk, 177, 229, 243, 255, 290, 294, 377
 Marhashi, 93ff., 99, 126ff., 133, 160
 Mari, 61, 157, 159ff., 174
 Marlik, 222, 280
 marriage, interdynastic, 133, 136, 22
 marshes, 22
 Martiya, 316
 Marun, river, 19, 301
 Mashkan-sharrim, 116
 Masjid-i Solaiman, 365ff., 390
 Massabatene, 375
 Massabatice, see *Massabatene*
massif funéraire, see *Susa*
 Mathiesen, H.E., 403
 Matka, 234
 Mattut, 414
 Matum-niatum, 141
 Mazaros, 343
 Mazziat, 101
 McCown, Donald, 392
 Mecquenem, Roland de, 89, 166, 328, 330, 356
 Mecquenem, Roland de, 356
 Medates, see *Madates*
 Medes, 267, 288, 310, 326, 339, 368
 Media, 253, 255, 258, 284ff., 289, 304, 316, 333, 354, 377
 Meli-Shihu, 224, 227
 Meluhha, 382
 Menanu, 263
 Menanu, 266ff.
 Merodach-Baladan, II, 253ff., 255, 257ff., 266ff., 290
 Mesanepada, 82
 Mesene, 388, 413
 messengers, 157; see also *couriers*
 metallurgy, 54
 metals, 36
 Mianab, 167
 Miles, 420, 422
 Miletus, 343
 Milki-El, 168
 Milku-danum, 168
 minerals, 36
 mints, 351
 Mirabad, Lake, 24
 mirror, Tang, 423
 Mishim-ruh, 205
 Mishime, 83, 91
 Mithra, 341, 378
 Mithridates, I, 384ff., 391; II, 389
 Mnaskires, 379
 models, bed, 166
 Mohenjo-Daro, 217
 Molon, 353, 379
 Mordtmann, A., 381
 Morgan, Jacques de, 327ff., 356, 381
 Moses, of Khorene, 11
 mother-of-pearl, 89
 mules, 144
 Murashu, archive, 332
 Murghab, 310
 Musa, 380, 389
 MUshezib-Marduk, 261, 263, 266

 Na'id-Marduk, 267ff.
 Nabium, 214
 Nabonidus, 288ff.
 Nabopolassar, 283, 285
 Nabu, 210, 214, 215, 294
 Nabu-bel-shumate, 268ff., 276, 280
 Nabu-damīq-ilani, 258, 270
 Nabu-le, 288
 Nabu-shum-eresh, 269
 Nabu-shum-ishkun, 266
 Nabu-ushallim, 268
 Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir, 267
 Nagite, 259, 261
 Nahhunte, 210, 214, 289
 Nahhunte-Utu, 230, 233, 235
 Najafehabad, 255

- Namma, 227
 Namri, 234, 253
 Nanaya, 280, 364ff., 368, 378
 Nani, 365
 Nanna, 289
 Napir, 299
 Napir-Asu, 211ff.
 Napirisha, 170, 210ff., 214ff., 220, 240, 289
 Napirisha-Untash, 199
 Napratep, gods, 210, 214, 215
 Naqsh-i Rostam, 172, 310, 408, 411
 Naram-Sin, 96ff., 100ff., 105, 225, 227
 Nazit, 210
 Nearchus, 349, 369
 Nebi Yunus, 266
 Nebuchadnezzar I, 177, 221, 224, 228ff., 243, 245ff.,
 278; II, 285ff., 290, 329
 Negahban, E.O., 183ff.
 Nemed-Laguda, 258
 Nergal, 190
 Nergal-nasir, 259
 Nergal-Ushezib, 261ff.
 Neriglissar, 287
 Neyriz, 24
 Nibe, 258
 Nibhaz, 296
 Nibulmat, 132
 Nicol, Murray, 243
 Nidintu-Bel, 316
 Niebuhr, Carsten, 8
 Nikolaos, 363
 NIM, 1, 5, 6, 11, 80
 Nimrud, 253, 282
 Nin, 230
^dNIN.DAR.A, 214, 225
 Ninenimma, 156
 Nineveh, 262, 270ff., 279, 281, 284, 290, 294ff., 329;
 letters, 295
 Ningal, 124
 Ningirsu, 117
 Ninhursag, 124, 126, 211
 Ninkarrak, 101
 Ninlil, 156
 Ninurta, 101
 Nippur, 55, 60, 98ff., 130, 190, 223, 268ff.
 Nishgamelum, 132
 Nöldeke, Theodor, 379, 387, 391, 414
 nomadism, 74
 numerical systems, see *Uruk*
 Nush-i Jan, 329
 Nushku, 214
 Nushushmar, 132
 Nuzi, 98, 234

 oaths, 155
 oil, sesame, 127, 149
 Oinoparas, 382
 Okkonapses, 383
 Old Persian, 319; cuneiform script, 314

 Oman, 90, 112, 169; see also *Magan*
 omens, 161
 onions, 127
 Opis, 235
 ores, 36
 Orodes, 396, 403; I, 389ff.
 overgrazing, 26
 Oxathres, 343
 Oxus, 94, 133

 Pa'e, 280
 Pahir-ishshan, 197, 202ff., 223, 227
 Pantauchos, 367
 Papak, 408
 Paraetaceni, 11, 375, 392
Paraitakene, 378
 Parmenion, 344
 Parsa, 265, 282, 310
 Parsirra, 290, 293
 Parsu, 308
 Parsua, 253, 264ff., 282
 Parsua(sh), see *Parsua*
 Parsumash, 281ff., 304
 Parthawa, 282
 Pasargadae, 27, 310ff., 351
 Pasargadai, 310
 Pashime, 96, 127, 133, 279; see also *Mishime*
 Pasiru, 264
 Pasitigris, river, 343
 pastoralists, 74; see also *nomadism*
 Paswē, 264
 Persepolis, 7, 8, 287, 289, 302, 318, 342, 251
 Persian Gulf, 168, 279, 396
 Persians, 265, 294, 335, 368; see also *Iranians*
 Persis, 265, 282, 352ff., 413
 petroleum, 366
 philhellenism, 394
 Philip, the Arab, 411
 Philoxenos, 343
 Phraataces, 389
 Phraates, II, 387, 389; III, 389; IV, 380, 389, 392ff.
 pilgrimage, 220
 Pillatu, 276, 280
 Pillet, Maurice, 328
 Pinigir, 101, 210, 214ff., 225, 269, 293
 Pinriri, 290
 Pirna, 294
 Pirri, 304
 Pish-i Kuh, 15, 369
 pistachio, 20, 27
 Pittit, 389
 Pizlume, 281
 plantain, 38
 plaques, wall, 216ff.
polis, 357, 363
 port-of-trade, 76
 precipitation, 19ff.; see also *climate*
 priest-king, 53, 64ff.
 prisoners-of-war, 130, 412

- Prophecy, Dynastic*, 308
 proto-cuneiform, 68
 Proto-Elamite, see *Susa III*
 Ptolemy, III, 354
pulhu-teppu, 186
 Pul-e Kaisar, 413
 Pulvar, river, 18
 Purim, 410
 Pusai, 422; *Acts of*, 421
 Pusht-i Kuh, 15, 85, 86ff., 90, 96, 369
 Pusht-i Qal'eh-i Abdanan, 89ff.
 Puzrish-Dagan, 94, 126, 130, 133
 Puzur-Inshushinak, 72, 79ff., 112ff., 133
 Puzurnumushda, 135

 Qabinashkiri, 390
 Qablutum, river, 82, 96
 Qal'e-ye Toll, 116
 Qal'e Afqan, 245
 Qal'e Geli, 245
 Qal'e Tal-e Kabud, 252
 Qalah Karafto, 367
 Qaleh, 182, 240, 252; ceramics, 243
 Qara Dagħ, 97
 Qatna, 158

 Radet, Georges, 378
 rainfall, 15
 Rakib, 155
 Ram Hormuz, 19, 281, 303
 Raphia, 368
 Rashi, 263
 Rawlinson, H.C., 296, 327, 366, 376
 Re'ialpi, 332
 Reiner, Erica, 183
 reliefs, Elamite rock, 169ff.; Elymaean, 400ff.
 Rennell, John, 9
 Rev-Ardashir, 414, 423
 rice, 355
 Rim-Adad, 167
 Rim-Sin, I, 155ff., 215
 Rimsin-Enlilkurgalani, 157
 Rimush, 82, 93ff.
 Rishap-La, 205
 roads, 130
 Royal Road, 320, 333
 Royal Society, 8
 Ruhurater, 214, 215
ruhushak, 153ff.

 Sa'adya Gaon, 11
 Sabum, 124, 126, 130
 Sabur, 413
 Sad-Sabur, 413
 Sagbat, 258
sag-kul-NIM^{ki}, 81
 Saimarreh, river, 96
 Sallet, A. von, 380
salmu erientum-ia, 232

 Samaria, 282
 Samati, 293, 304ff.
 Sanam-shimut, 92
 Sapum, 92, 133
 Sardis, 323
sardsir, 22
 Sargalab, 112
 Sargon, of Agade, 82, 92; II, 253, 255, 258, 265, 290, 296
sarhadd, 22
 Sar-i Pol 1, 317
 Sarpol-i Zohab, see *Sar-i Pol 1*
 Sasan, 408
 satrap, 311ff., 318, 343
 Sawyer, Lt. Col. H.A., 22
 Scanchrus, Mount, 404
 Scheil, Vincent, 67, 71, 82, 266, 285, 294
 Schippmann, Klaus, 377
 Schmidt, E.F., 304
 scribe, 150, 189
 Scythian, language, 8
 Scythians, 339
 Sealand, 276; Second Dynasty of the, 229
 seals, see *glyptic*
 sedentism, 53
 Seleucia, by-the-Eulaios, 353, 363; -Ctesiphon, 415;
 on-the-Hedyphon, 353, 390; -on-the-Tigris, 416
 Seleucus, I, 351ff., 363; II, 354, 363; IV, 377
 Sellas, 383
 Senandaj, 282
 Sennacherib, 258ff., 261ff., 266, 270, 329, 365
 Sergius, 425
série ancienne, 91
série récente, 111
 sesame, 355
 Sh/igrish, 132
 Shaduppum, see *Tell Harmal*
 Shagarakti-Shuriash, 227
Shah Nameh, 439
 Shahdad, 91, 94, 117
 Shahr-i Sokhta, 75
Shahrastaniha i Eranshahr, 416
shahrestan, 420
shakkanakku, 100
shaknu, 283
 Shala, 210, 214, 215
 Shali'amu, 92
 Shalla, 179
 Shalmaneser, III, 253, 264ff.; V, 254
 Shalulikki, 235ff.
 Sham-Agunu, 296
 Shamash-shum-ukin, 269, 274ff., 277
 Shamash, 289, 319
 Shamsabad, pottery, 73
 Shamshi-Adad, I, 156, 158; V, 234, 252ff., 265
 Shapur, I, 410ff., 414, 416, 422; II, 414, 420ff.
 Sharkalisharri, 98, 99, 100, 112
 Shashum, 289
 Shati, 289

- Shatilu, 132
 Shaur, river, 323, 331
 Shehala, 234
 Shemti-Shilhak, 155
 Sherihum, 92, 94, 96
 Sherkhar, 130
 Shikaft-e Salman, 295, 296ff., 301
 Shilhaha, 149ff., 154, 167, 171, 235
 Shilhak-Inshushinak, I, 177, 197, 202, 230, 232ff., 235, 240, 242ff., 246, 292; II, 270, 292
 Shilhina-hamru-Lagamar, 233, 246, 254
 Shilhite, 298, 301, 305
 Shimashki, 86, 94, 100, 126, 129, 132ff., 149; Dynasty of, 123ff.
 Shimbar, 376
 Shimbishu, 117
 Shimpi'ishhuk, 117
 Shimut, 92, 101, 210, 214ff., 240, 299, 341
 Shinishhe, 234
 Shiraz, 18
 Shiruk-tuh, 156ff., 168
 Shitti-Marduk, 244
 Shu-ilishu, 140ff.
 Shu-Sin, 127, 129, 132, 141, 145
 Shubat-Enlil, 158
 Shulgi, 94, 124, 127, 129, 130
 Shush i er-kar, 420, 422ff.
 Shush, 421
 Shushan, 9, 327ff., 425
 Shushmusi, 214
 Shushshi, 178
 Shushtar, 9, 234, 327, 404, 409, 413ff., 425
 Shutruk-Nahhunte, I, 98, 176, 178, 202, 213ff., 224ff., 227, 230, 255; II, 246, 254ff., 257, 265, 290ff.; king of Hidalu, 270
 Shutrukids, 176ff., 246
 Shutruru, 312
 Shutrurura, 298
 Shutur-Nahhunte, 254, 265, 290ff., 292; son of Indada, 299, 303
 Shuzubu, 261, 263
 Siah Mansur, 414
 Sidga'u, 82, 94, 96, 100
 Silhu, 383
 silk, 414
 silver, 126, 166, 168, 210, 212, 222, 227ff., 242, 291, 319, 343, 345; Sasanian, 424
 Simut, see Shimut
 Simut-wartash, 161, 168
 Sin, 98, 210
 Sinatruces, 389
 Sin-iddinam, 155
 Sin-kashid, 155
 Sin-muballit, 157
 Sippar, 161, 227, 261, 268, 289, 319
 Sirahupitir, 171
 Sisirtum, 132
 sissoo, 323
 sister's son, 153
sit shamshi, 231, 293
sit shamshi, 293
 Sitacene, 375
 Si-ù-um, 112
 Siwe-palar-hupak, 2, 160, 161
siyan-kuk, 214
 slaves, 161, 364
 soft-stone, vessels, 91, 111, 169
 Sogdia, 323
 soils, 27
 Solduz, 264
 Soloce, 391
 Sostra, 409
 Sostrata, 404
 state, secondary, 134; segmentary, 145
 Steve, Marie-Joseph, 161ff., 177ff., 250ff., 289
 stones, semiprecious, 36, 126, 166
stratiarchos, 392
 Suash-takal, 98
 Subartu, 160
sugir, 242
 Suhu, 157
sukkal, 150
sukkalmah, 136, 148ff., 150, 177
 Sulaymaniyah, 97
 Sumerian King List, 81, 85, 112
 Sumerians, 56
 Sumner, W.M., 54, 66, 72ff., 85, 182, 243
 Sumuabum, 140
 Sumuel, 150
 Sunkir risharra, 214
 Surkh Dum-i Luri, 304
 Surraq, 235
 Susa, 11, 126, 129ff., 134, 143, 149, 158, 168, 197, 203ff., 225, 230, 235, 250ff., 254, 278ff., 290ff., 308, 319, 332, 343, 355ff., 385, 387, 389ff., 394, 414; Achaemenid inscriptions, 323, 326; Acropole, 49ff., 102, 235, 291, 294, 357, 390, 423; Acropole texts, 294, 304; Apadana, 49ff., 161ff., 251ff., 255, 279, 294, 323, 326ff., 330, 357, 390, 423; Archive Building, 142; Arsacid mint, 390; Attic red-figured pottery from, 322; burials, 50, 155, 161, 279, 295, 357; canals, 155; Donjon, 89, 330ff., 425; Greek inscriptions, 357ff.; *haute terrasse*, 50, 54, 67; I, 49ff., 162, 165; II, 55ff.; II ceramics, 57, 59; III, 66ff., 102; IV, 102ff.; *massif funéraire*, 50, 54; palace of Darius, I, 279, 294, 319, 323ff., 328, 330; Place d'Armes, 323; propylaeum of Darius, 330; radiocarbon dates, 49; Seleucid mint, 351; texts, 60ff., 68ff., 75ff.; Ville des Artisans, 295, 357, 390; Ville Royale, 67, 89ff., 102, 142, 162ff., 177ff., 181ff., 197, 245, 251ff., 255, 295, 323, 356ff., 390, 422ff.; ziggurat, 279
 Susanu, 283
 Susian, language, 8

- Susiana, 11, 52, 54ff., 66, 75ff., 83, 88, 96, 99ff.,
 136ff., 140, , 145, 183, 203, 238, 243, 262, 271,
 278, 282, 290, 296, 305, 312, 333, 343, 346, 351,
 353ff., 364, 369, 375, 377, 379ff., 389, 391, 396,
 398, 410, 414, 421, 429
 Suis, 25, 355, 375
 Sutians, 259
 Sykes, Sir Percy, 20

 Tabae, see *Gabai*
tachara, 323
 Tal-i Bakun A, 53ff.
 Tal-i Ghazir, 55, 61, 75, 184, 281
 Tal-i Kureh, 66
 Tal-i Malyan, 11, 26, 72ff., 77, 85, 94, 111, 133,
 143ff., 161, 169, 182, 240, 242ff., 279ff., 310; city
 wall, 74
 Tal-i Mushki, 54
 Tal-i Qarib, 66
 Tal-i Shogha, 243
 Tal-i Teimuran, 243
 Tall-i Takht, 310; see also *Pasargadae*
 Talmud, 11, 369
 tamarisk, 20
 Tammari, I, 274ff.; II, 275ff., 278, 280
 Tan-Ruhurater, I, 135, 137, 140, 141; II, 179
 Tan-Uli, 150, 171, 177ff.
 Tang-i Butan, 376, 400
 Tang-i Sarvak, 376, 392, 400, 403
 Tannanu, 259
 Tarn, W.W., 375
 Tarrisha, 301
 Tartaq, 296
 Tasan, 391
 Tashun, 391
 Tawwag, 414
 tax, 125, 319
 Tazitta, 135
 Te'umman, 268, 270ff., 277
 Teispes, 304, 334
 Tell Agrab, 88
 Tell Ahmad al-Hattu, 89
 Tell 'Aqar, 252
 Tell Asmar, 88, 161
 Tell Brak, 58, 61
 Tell Harmal, 157
 Tell Hasan, 161
 Tell al-Hiba, 86
 Tell Ischali, 166
 Tell Razuk, 88ff.
 Tell Shaikh Hamad, 282
 Tell Sheikh Hassan, 58
 Tell Shemshara, 156
 Tell Sinker, 98
 Tell as-Suleimeh, 116
 Tell Uqair, 52
 Tell Zubeidi, 222
 Tello, 161
 Tem-Enzag, 169
 Temti-Agun, 150, 161, 171
 Temti-halki, 177
 Temti-pitet, 240, 246
 Temti-turkatash, 233
 Tepe Abdul Hosein, 27, 28, 36
 Tepe Ali Kosh, 27, 28
 Tepe Aliabad, 88–90
 Tepe Deylam, 205
 Tepe Farukhabad, 55, 88–90, 167
 Tepe Gallegah, 355
 Tepe Ghabristan, 54
 Tepe Gotvand, 205
 Tepe Goughan, 184
 Tepe Jaffarabad, 49
 Tepe Musiyan, 88, 90, 167
 Tepe Ozbaki, 75
 Tepe Patak, 184, 263, 351
 Tepe Pomp, 234
 Tepe Rahmatabad, 53
 Tepe Sharafabad, 183
 Tepe Sialk, 54, 75, 90
 Tepe Sofalin, 75
 Tepe Surkhagan, 125
 Tepe Yahya, 75, 91, 93, 117
teppir, 150
 Tepti, 298
 Tepti-ahar, 179ff., 183ff., 194ff.
 Tepti-halki, 180
 Tepti-Huban-Inshushinak, 235, 269, 292ff.
 Tetep-mada, 153, 171
 textiles, 414
 Thermopylae, 332
 Thrason, 343
 throne, serpent, 170ff.
 Tiglath-Pileser, III, 253, 265
 Tikni, 227
 Til-Tuba, 270, 275
 Timothy, 425
 Timur, 425
 tin, 158, 174ff., 210ff.
 Tiridates, 392
 Tirigan, 112
 Tirmium, 132
 Tirutur, 298, 301
 titles, royal, 140ff., 145, 149ff., 179, 260
 Tod, treasure, 117
 Tol-e Ajori, 310
 Tol-e Bard-e Karegar, 225
 Tol-e Bashi, 53
 Tol-e Bormi, 116, 184, 205, 281
 Tol-e Nurabad, 53
 Tol-e Peytul, 15, 161, 204
 Tol-e Pir, 53
 Tol-e Spid, 53, 230
 Trans-Elamite, 91, 117
 tribute, 319; see also *tax*
 Tukin-hatti-migrisha, 134
 Tukulti-Ninurta, I, 223, 224
Turbinella pyrum, 111

- Turkmenistan, 94, 117
 turquoise, 323; see also *stones*, *semiprecious*
 Turukkeans, 156ff.
 Tutub, see *Khafajah*
 tyres, 194
- Udjahorresnet, 326
 Ugarit, 158
 Uirshu, 299
 Ulai, 243ff., 270; see also *Karkheh*
 Ulul, 100
 Umba-dudu, 304
 Umbadara, 253, 270
 Umbahabua, 278
 Umbakidinu, 270
 Umma, 96, 100, 116, 130, 134
 Umman-menanu, 264
 Ummanaldash, 277ff., 291
 Ummanappa, 274
 Ummanigash, 253, 270, 274ff., 277
 Ummanini, 292
 Ummanunu, 305
 Umu, 293
 Undashi, 275
 Unpahash-Napirisha, 197, 204, 223
 Unsak, 293, 304
 Untash-Napirisha, 176ff., 197ff., 199, 204ff., 210, 213, 218, 224
 Unukaka, 294
 Unzi-kilik, 304
 Upadarma, 316
 Upi, 160, 228, 235
 Upper Sea, 132, 133
 Upurkupak, 210, 235
 Uqnu, river, 253
 Ur-Namma, 114, 116, 124
 Ur, 96, 130, 215, 258, 267; Archaic texts, 80; First Dynasty of, 82; Third Dynasty of, 113ff.
 Urartu, 267
 Urash-ana-bitishu, 332
 Urkum, 130
 Urmia, Lake, 112
 Ursum, 158
 Urtak, 269ff., 274, 291
 Urua, 124; see also *Arawa*
 Uru'aza, 83, 91
 Uruk, 55, 59, 96, 155, 166, 232, 283, 365; Archaic texts, 59ff., 63; ceramics, 55ff., 59; colonies, 63ff.; Eanna, 55; III, texts, 68; numerical systems, 59ff. 68ff.
 Urukagina, 83ff., 149
 Urutuk-Elhalahu, 233
 Usarum, 116
 Utu-ehihhi-Pinigir, 233
 Utuhegal, 112
 Utuk-⁴Hute-kasan, 240
 Uxians, 343ff., 345ff., 370
- Vahman-Ardashir, 423
 Valerian, 411, 416
 Vanden Berghe, Louis, 86, 377
 Vardanes, I, 389, 394
 Vaux, W.S.W., 380
 Verethragna, 368
 Ville des Artisans, see *Susa*
 Ville Royale, see *Susa*
 Vologases, 398
- Walagashi, 398
 Warad-Sin, 155, 156
 weaponry, metal, 166
 weeds, 27, 144
 weight, Harappan, 111
 Weissbach, F.H., 8, 295, 314
 wine, 341, 355
 Worod, 396
- Xenophilus, 351
 Xerxes, 7, 9, 328, 332
xvamah, 396
- Yamutbal, 156
 Yasuj, 144
 Yazdpanah, 420
 yields, agricultural, 355
 Young, T.C., Jr., 76
 Yusifov, Y.B., 154
- Zababa-shuma-iddina, 225, 229
 Zabalam, 100
 Zabshali, 126ff., 129, 132, 134, 136, 140, 145, 157
 Zagros, mountains, 15, 97, 251, 265, 369
 Zahara, 82, 94, 96, 98, 132
 Zamaspes, 392ff.
 Zambija, 155
 Zamua, 253
 Zari, 293
 Zarriq(um), 126
 Zedekiah, 285
 Zeribar, Lake, 24
 Zeus 377
 Zeus, 381
 zigurat, see *Choga Zanbil*, *Susa*
 Zimri-Lim, 157ff., 160
 Zimudar, 116
 Zina, 92
 zinc, 210
 Zinnum, 134, 135
 Ziringu, 145
 Zohak, 439
 Zoroastrianism, 339, 342, 366, 377
 Zoroastrians, 422ff.
 Zuhreh, river, 19

